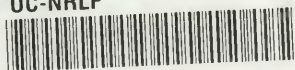


UC-NRLF



B 4 219 639

CALIFORNIA



A GRAMMAR
OF THE
HEBREW LANGUAGE
OF THE OLD TESTAMENT,

BY

GEO. HENRY AUG. EWALD,

DR. PHILOS.

PROFESSOR OF ORIENTAL LITERATURE IN THE UNIVERSITY OF GÖTTINGEN,
MEMBER OF THE ROYAL SOCIETY OF THE SAME, OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC
SOCIETY OF PARIS, OF THE IMPERIAL ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF
PETERSBURG, OF THE HISTORICO-THEOLOGICAL SOCIETY
OF LEIPSIC ETC. ETC. ETC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE LAST EDITION,

AND ENRICHED

WITH LATER ADDITIONS AND IMPROVEMENTS

OF THE AUTHOR,

BY

JOHN NICHOLSON,

A. B. OXON.

PUBLISHED BY WHITTAKER AND CO.

LONDON, 1836.

PRINTED AT GÖTTINGEN BY DIETERICH, UNIVERSITY PRINTER.

P R E F A C E.

The last forty years are memorable in the history of literature for the astonishing progress which has been made in every branch of philological learning. From this period is to be dated the commencement of that philosophical method, which, by treating language as an end as well as means, has first discovered its foundation in the structure of the mind and the laws of thought, and, by tracing the affinities which exist between the different families of language, has rendered it the best commentary on the history of the human race, at the same time that it has extended and established the certainty of its use as means.

Grammar especially has derived great advantage from this enlargement of our view of language. It has received the new honour of being waited on by philosophy, and has been raised to the rank of a science. It is now no longer enough for a Grammar to contain a mere collection of the phenomena of a language as to its forms and syntax; but it must show *how* the forms have arrived at their present state; it must endeavour to attain a correct feeling of the sense which every word has on account of its form; it must trace how time and the fortune of the nation have modified its native type; and lastly, must show how all its syntactical peculiarities are founded on the laws of thought, and that there is nothing arbitrary or accidental in them, but that every language is in harmony with itself, and, like every plant or animal, acknowledges its conformity to certain eternal laws, even in its departure from the particular organization and laws of others. Less than this will not satisfy the demands of our age.

The Greek language was the first whose Grammar received the effects of this new spirit; but it was not long before the Latin also was brought up to the same standard. The names

of BUTTMANN, MATTHIÆ, THIERSCH, ZUMPT, GROTEFEND, and many others, are more or less known to the English reader, as promoters and founders of the improvements which have been introduced into the study of the classical languages.

It was to be expected that the Oriental languages would not wait long before they also received the fruits of that principle which had been so successfully applied to the classical languages. For the advanced state of classical philology rendered it necessary that the grammars of the Oriental languages should be raised to the same standard; and we accordingly find that Oriental Lexicography and Grammar, the publication of original texts, the establishment of Professorships, and the increased study of these languages, have received an impulse proportionate to that which has animated all other philology during this period. The names of VON SCHLEGEL, GESENIUS, FREYTAG, KOSEGARTEN, LASSEN, BORR, ROSEN, WINER, EWALD, and others too numerous to mention, are known wherever there is any study of the languages they have illustrated.

So large a proportion of those by whose labours philology has been really advanced in our day, are Germans, that it is not uninteresting to enquire why it is that philology in general has found its most ardent cultivators in Germany. It is indeed probable that many causes conspire to foster this study, such as Protestantism, their University system, the patronage of their governments, and the absence of the engrossing interest of extensive commerce and political discussion. But the chief external cause appears to be their wise and liberal system of education; and it is purposed to offer a few observations on that, only with reference to its effects on Oriental literature; for though the increased cultivation of Oriental languages is unquestionably dependent on the advanced state of all other philology, yet classical literature must necessarily be excluded as irrelevant to my purpose. It will be very easy to conjecture the one from the other; *ex pede Herculem*.

Every University in Protestant Germany, in all of which Theology is taught (and there are sixteen such) has at least one Professor of Oriental literature. The mode in which he communicates his instruction is by lecture, in which the student is a mere auditor. There are two academical sessions in a year, and he lectures five or six times a week on any book of the old Testament he pleases; accordingly, the Psalms, or Isaiah, form as much as can be conveniently delivered in

a semester. But, as all those who are intended for the study of Theology, are taught Hebrew at the Gymnasium, before they come to the University, the lectures on Hebrew may be, and are, as little occupied with the grammatical difficulties of a mere beginner, as those of a classical Professor on Homer. Thus the student, already grounded in the essentials of the language, is at once lifted up above the narrow view he had formed of the inapproachability of the language, by hearing it pronounced, translated, and explained by one whose long familiarity with it gives him fluency, and whose experience gives him facility in resolving the difficulties. The language is no longer so dead to him, so far removed from his feeling and instinct of a living, spoken language, as it would be if he heard it spelt by his fellowstudents, and stripped of all life and beauty by their mistakes. He not only hears it free from the errors which rob the most sublime poetry of its charm, but he hears it delivered in a manner which would awake a sense for its beauty, if he did not feel it before. The zeal and enthusiasm of the Professor (and seldom is he without zeal) communicate themselves to the student, and by their very example create a warmer interest in the subject, and inspire that ardour without which no study, whose external rewards are small, can prosper. The effect of the Professor's reputation, if he be one whose name has traversed Europe, is not without influence on the minds of the young, prone to admiration, and excites an interest in his person which is reflected to his lectures. The very interest which the Professor excites, reacts upon himself. As almost every word which he utters is written down by the students, he is listened to with an attention which forms the best encouragement to him to exert his best powers. He is himself so acted on by his hearers, that he is ensured against indifference to the matter or manner of his lecture, and can never fall into an apathy which benumbs the ardour the student brings with him. — To this is to be added, that the Professor is not a man who assumes the task of public teaching late in life and without previous practice. For the system of a German University is to have three orders of teachers: Ordinary and Extraordinary Professors, and private lecturers. Any student who, after having taken his degree, determines to devote himself to academical life, undergoes another examination and establishes himself as a private lecturer. He may then possibly lecture the first few Semesters gratuitously, until he has acquired sufficient reputation to entitle him to demand a fee. But, as this class of private teachers begin, as young men, the same method of instruction by lecture which the Professors use, and as almost every Professor has been first a private lecturer,

the consequence is, that the Professor comes to the cathedra long experienced in the mode of teaching by lecture. Moreover, this regulation with regard to the three orders of teachers is attended by these advantages: first, as there is no limit to the number of private lecturers, there is no likelihood of any branch of knowledge having too few to teach it, — and secondly, it is an impossibility for patronage to appoint a driveller and to give him the monopoly of instruction in his branch; for, as the testimonial of having attended a private lecturer is quite as valid as that of having attended a Professor, the student will always attend those teachers which he prefers, and thus frustrate any attempt of the Government to provide for a favorite at the expence of the interests of science. This, it may be observed, is also a security against any Professor continuing to lecture when he is superannuated. — Again, every Government seems to be aware that it best answers its own objects by appointing the very best Professors that can be obtained throughout the whole of Germany. For there is so great a competition between the different Universities, that any Government which filled the Professor's chairs with court favorites, would soon find the University deserted. In fact, there is a perpetual endeavour to obtain the most distinguished men from other Universities by the offer of higher emoluments etc.; — and this forms an inducement for a private lecturer in the smallest University to exert himself in order to obtain a call to a larger sphere of operation, just as the existence of private lecturers in all Universities forms a perpetual stimulus to the Professor to maintain the eminence he has already attained. — Add to this that the Matriculation-fee (in no University exceeding one pound sterling) entitles the Student to the use of *six* books at a time from the University Library, in his own rooms, and without further expence.

Hebrew is taught at the *Gymnasium* in the first two (sometimes first three) classes. The *Gymnasiast*, before he leaves the *Gymnasium*, undergoes an examination of maturity, in which he is expected to be able to construe any passage in the prosaical books of the old Testament. Then, after he has finished his studies at the University, he must undergo two (in the Hanoverian dominion, *three*) examinations in Hebrew before he is admitted to any clerical office. This of itself undoubtedly fosters the study of Hebrew more than any thing else. But this regulation on the part of the Governments is not to be regarded only as the cause that Hebrew is so much cultivated here; it is also, in part, the *effect* of the high degree of cultivation which every branch of education receives

here, which perfectly justifies the Government in requiring the theological student not to be the only laggard in the race. As the student, therefore, comes to the University with a sound preparation in Hebrew, and as he finds lectures on Arabic, Syriac, Sanscrit etc., and generally gratuitous, it is easily understood why, if he has any zeal in such studies, he avails himself of the opportunities of extending his studies, seeing that he comes prepared to advance farther, and finds these opportunities so liberally offered. — The shortest method of rendering the workings of this system intelligible to the English reader, is to give a selection from the Catalogue of lectures at the Universities of Berlin and Göttingen for this Winter Session, premising, that I have only selected those lectures which relate to Oriental *languages*, with the exclusion of all which are purely theological. The reader will observe in this list whether the lecturer is a Professor or a private teacher, and also to what faculty he belongs; and will understand the word *publice* to mean *gratuitously*. — And first for Berlin.

ORDINIS THEOLOGORUM.

E. G. HENGSTENBERG, Prof. ord.

Privatim Psalmos explicabit quinquies per hebdomadem h. IX-X.

J. J. BELLERMANN, Prof. extraord.

Privat. Narrationes e libro Jobi selectas interpretabitur diebus Merc. et Sat. h. XI-XII.

F. BENARY, Prof. extraord.

Publice exegeticas Vet. Test. exercitationes instituet atque nonnullas hebraicae antiquitatis partes tractabit d. Merc. h. VI-VII.

Privatim 1) Jesaiae vaticinia interpretabitur quinquies p. hebd. h. X-XI.

2) Grammaticam Arabicam simulque selecta e KOSEGARTENII Chrestomathia capita exponet quater p. hebd. h. IV-V.

F. UHLEMANN, Lic. Privatim docens.

Gratis Psalmos Messianos et dicta Prophetarum ad Messiam spectantia explicabit d. Mercur. et Sat. h. IX-X.

Privatissime Linguam Syriacam et Samaritanam docebit horis auditoribus opportunis.

J. C. VATKE, Lic. Privatim docens.

Privatim Genesin interpretabitur quinis p. hebd. diebus h. IX-X.

ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM.

F. BOPP, Prof. ord.

Publice Calidasi Nalodayam interpretabitur d. Merc. h. III-IV.

Privatim 1) Grammaticam linguae Gothicae et Germanicae comparatione cum Sanscritâ, Graecâ et Latinâ illustrandam docebit d. Lun. Merc., Ven. h. II-III.

2) Institutiones linguae Sanscritae tradet duce libro suo (*Kritische Grammt. der Sanscrita Sprache*) d. Mart., Jov., Sat. h. II-III.

J. J. L. GEORGE, Privatim docens.

Privatim Psalmos interpretabitur quater p. hebd. h. IX-X.

J. L. IDELER, Privatum docens.

Privatum 1) Herodoti capita ad historiam et antiquitates Aegyptiacas pertinentia illustrabit, premissâ isagoge de hieroglyphica Aegyptiorum scriptura d. Lun., Mart., Jov., Ven. h. IX-X. 2) Copticae linguae rudimenta Grammatica exponet selectosque Psalmos versionis Memphiticae interpretabitur quater p. hebdom. d. Lun., Mart., Jov., Ven. h. X-XI.

J. H. PETERMANN, Privatum docens.

Gratis 1) Librum Iudicum, ratione imprimis Grammatices habitâ, explicare perget d. Merc. et Sat. h. VIII-IX. 2) Grammaticam Armeniacam docebit iisdem diebus h. IX-X.

Privatum Institutiones ling. Hebraicae tradet quater p. hebdom. h. VIII-IX.

Privatissime ling. Armeniacam singulasque dialectos Semiticas docebit.

G. SCHOTT, Privatum docens.

Gratis 1) de indole linguarum quae dicuntur Tataricarum disseret semel p. hebdom. d. Merc. h. XII-I. 2) Linguae Sinicae elementa docebit ter p. hebdom. d. Lun., Jov., Sat. horâ eadem.

Privatum linguae Turcicae elementa docebit quater p. hebdom. d. Lun., Mart., Jov., Ven. h. I-II. vel alia auditoribus commoda.

In the University of Göttingen.

ORDINIS PHILOSOPHORUM.

GEO. HEN. AUG. EWALD, Prof. ord.

h. X. librum Jesaiae propheticum interpretabitur senis p. hebdom. diebus. Publice h. I. bis Hamâsam Abu-Temmami alique scripta Arabica difficiliora leget, bis linguam Persicam comparatam cum Sanscritâ docebit 1). Societatem exegeticam h. VI. die Ven. exercebit 2).

H. J. WÜSTENFELD, Privatum docens.

Privatum quinquies p. hebdom. h. X. Grammaticam Hebraicam docebit; gratis h. II. diebus Lun. et Jov. vaticinia Joelis, Michae, Nahumi et Obadiae interpretabitur, et hōra auditoribus commoda selecta Corani capita et Hamasae Carmina explicabit.

ORDINIS THEOLOGORUM.

R. E. KLENER, Privatum docens.

1. Hoseae vaticinia d. Lun. et Jov. h. XI. gratis interpretabitur Latino sermone usus. 2. Grammaticam ling. Hebraicae duce EWALDI Grammi. minori ed. II. quater p. hebdom. exponet.

1) Prof. EWALD has lectured gratuitously on Sanscrit, every Semester since 1826.

2) It is not to be supposed that public lectures are the only mode of instruction in a German University, for very many Professors hold societies of their pupils, in which they themselves exercise their powers under the Professors eye. Thus, the above Exegetical Society of Prof. EWALD meets at his house two hours on one evening in the week; the first hour is devoted to the Proverbs, and the students translate and explain in Latin; the other hour is given to the Apocalypse (these two happen to be the books chosen this Semester). Every member is also required to write a dissertation, in his turn, on some passage of the old or new Test. alternately. These dissertations are written in Lat. and their merits and demerits canvassed in a discussion, in which the Prof. acts the part of umpire.

It may be interesting, after this imperfect view of the machinery for public instruction in Oriental languages, to take a cursory survey of what has been done here for the last few years in Sanscrit, Arabic, and Hebrew. — Although Germany is entirely dependent on foreign countries for its access to original Sanscrit works, and although it has neither possessions nor commerce in India to encourage the study of that language, yet, no sooner did FRED. SCHLEGEL's work "on the Language and Philosophy of the Indians" appear, than it awoke a great desire to become acquainted with a language which had so much to recommend it from its novelty, from the untold riches of its literature, and from its affinities with the languages of Greece and Rome, and with all the Teutonic dialects. It is not easy now to appreciate the difficulties which they had to struggle against, who began this study when the ordinary aids of Grammar and Lexicon could hardly be said to exist, when they were no printed texts, and when even Manuscripts were only to be found in French or English public libraries. So great, however, was the enthusiasm of the two SCHLEGELS, OTHMAR FRANK, and BORR, and so liberal was the Prussian government especially in affording the means to advance their efforts, by the present of types and the establishment of Professorships, that Sanscrit is now cultivated here to an extent unknown in any other country of Europe. The want of Grammars has been supplied by FRANK, who also published a Chrestomathy, and by three Grammars by BORR, who is the first who has taken a philosophical view of the Sanscrit Grammar. With regard to texts, W. VON SCHLEGEL and LASSEN (both Professors at Bonn) have published a critical edition of the Hitopadesa, and SCHLEGEL has given us similar editions of the Bhagavadgita and of the Ramâyana, and publishes a journal (*Indische Bibliothek*) exclusively devoted to Indian literature. BORR, too, has published many episodes from the Mahâbhârata, for which he has compiled a Glossary which, with the Radices Sanscritae of ROSEN, is all in the way of Lexicons which has yet appeared here. It is, of course impossible to enumerate all the original texts which have been lately printed here, but enough have been mentioned to show, that, with such materials and the great number of Professors who lecture on Sanscrit, the study of that language is fairly established here as a branch of public University instruction. — There could not have been a more favourable juncture for the introduction of the study of Sanscrit into Germany, than that at which it was introduced. For it found philosophical views of language already ripe enough to use the newly discovered language as a means for the further development of the principles of flexion

and organization in all other members of the Indo-germanic family of languages; and so far are we from having reached the utmost which it may be expected the comparative physiology of language will derive from this source, that it may rather be affirmed that the extent of the influence of Sanscrit is yet unforeseen. The time is certainly not distant when no philologist will consider he has a complete or profound knowledge of Latin or Greek, until he has sought the sources of their structure in Sanscrit. Sanscrit has even thrown a powerful light on the structure of the Semitic languages, of which this Grammar contains many proofs. No one has done more to illustrate the comparative Grammar of the Indo-germanic family of languages than Prof. GRIMM of Göttingen (in his German Grammar) and Prof. BORR. The latter has written a number of works illustrating different parts of their structure and flexion, as his "Conjugation System." "The demonstrative pronouns" etc., — but his last work "A comparative Grammar of Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, Latin, Livonian, Slavonian, Gothic, and German" is the crown of all his former attempts. W. VON HUMBOLDT has also contributed much in this branch, and himself adorned the studies of which he was so munificent a patron. —

In speaking of Arabic literature, the great difficulty is in the selection of facts that deserve mention. Enough has been said above, to show to what extent it must be cultivated here; and even the number of Grammars and Chrestomathies within the last forty years, exceeds the small space that can be allotted to this subject. We are indebted to Prof. EWALD for a philosophical and critical Grammar, *Gram. critica Ling. Arabicæ cum brevi metrorum doctrinâ* 2 Vols 8vo, 1831. Prof. FREYTAG in Bonn is now engaged in editing an Arabic Lexicon in four Vols 4to, of which three have appeared. There has been a critical edition of the Coran by FLÜGEL, of Abulfeda's *Historia Anteislamica* by FLEISCHER, of the whole text of the Hamasa by FREYTAG, of the Arabian nights by Prof. HABICHT etc.

The improvements in the last twenty years in Hebrew philology have been later in beginning and slower in progress than those of classical philology; but they are at length in beautiful harmony with each other. The number of German Hebrew Grammars within this period is so great that I can only notice those two which have exercised any permanent influence on the public mind. — Prof. GESENIUS was the first who endeavoured to bring Hebrew philology in harmony with the improvements of his time. His *Lehrgebäude* (1817) was

the largest Heb. Gram. which had appeared before that time. Its distinguishing merits were the diligence with which he had collected, and the clearness with which he had represented the opinions of former Grammarians; it had also the advantage of showing some resemblances of the other Semitic dialects at the same time. He has also published eleven editions of a smaller Gram. and five of a Chrestomathy adapted to it. His Lexicographical labours consist of five editions of a German Hebrew Lexicon, one of the same in Latin, and a large *Thesaurus linguae Heb.* 4to, which is not yet completed. It may be concluded, from these works, and from his lectures as Professor at Halle, that he has contributed more than any man living to the dissemination of Hebrew learning.

But so gigantic a stride was made in the last ten years in the general principles of philosophical Grammar, that the best works before that time no longer satisfied the claims of the new æra. Philology had laid aside its swaddling clothes and began to philosophise on the facts which it was before contented to take upon trust. The elements of a further development of Hebrew Grammar were already ripening in silence; but the honour of effecting the reformation was reserved for Prof. EWALD. His labours, which would deserve mention in any sketch of the progress of sound philology, require a more particular notice here.

His "*Kritische Gramm. der hebräischen Sprache*" (written in the Authors 23rd year) whose very title announces the spirit in which the investigation of the language had been pursued, appeared in 1827. This large work, which was manifestly the production of an enterprising and independent thinker, which bore evident traces that he had made no compilation from former Grammarians, but had himself searched out the truth and the reasons of every fact before he stated it, and whose abundant references to the cognate dialects were so much sounder and more pertinent from the very principle of its whole system, has formed an epoch in the study of Hebrew. So important has been the influence which this work has exercised here, that I know of no commentary on any book of the old Test. nor Gram. nor Lexicon, which have appeared since 1827, which do not acknowledge their obligations to it. And even the ninth and tenth editions of GESSENIUS's Grammar (which have appeared since EWALD's large work) have received more important improvements than any of their predecessors. This was followed in 1828 by his *Hebr. Gramm. in vollständiger Kürze neu bearbeitet*, — and this extract from the preface to it may serve to explain some

of the Authors own views with regard to his system. "The three or four years which have elapsed since the composition of the larger work, could not pass without my examining the writings of the old Test. afresh, and becoming, from the general progress of my studies, more distinctly and certainly conscious of the internal grounds of the Heb. Lang. During this time, too, I have learnt Sanscrit, and discovered with joy the manifold use which this pure primitive language has even for the correct explanation of Heb. Thus, much in my conception of Heb. has been modified; my former views have been enlarged and confirmed, or more narrowly defined; my system has become still clearer in its chief and subordinate parts, more connected and therefore more accurate and sure in itself and for others, while it has become more certain to myself. My daily progress, and the composition of this smaller work, have convinced me, that the object which I had sought in the larger work, viz. truth and clearness, the internal reasons of the facts, and their confirmation and correct representation, was in almost all cases not sought in vain; for greater experience and strict examination have only confirmed and extended most, and precisely the most important, views of the larger work, or brought them still nearer to truth and distinctness. In the few instances, however, in which I have returned to an opinion which I formerly doubted, it has only happened because I have arrived, by repeated investigation, at the true reasons, so that I could now appropriate to myself as a fact, and correctly represent to others, that which other Grammarians had not understood or explained, but which was in itself right. It was indeed one of the chief objects of the larger work to awaken, by free and candid investigation, the spirit of enquiry in this branch of human science, and (at a time when prejudice had induced the belief that the system of the Heb. Gram. was already perfect, and that all farther enquiry was unnecessary) to begin the great work of that reformation which the Heb. Gram. needed so much, first, for its own sake as a science which must become conscious of its reasons and elevate itself above the dominion of mere empiricism, and secondly for the correctness and facilitation of instruction. The defects of the former Grammarians, the ancient prejudices and false views, the half-true or erroneous proofs of modern Grammarians for the ancient opinions which they did not understand, were, however, so numerous that it was not possible that the first Gram. which, in necessary opposition to the former uncritical Grammarians, sought the internal reasons of things and endeavoured to bring back the Heb. language to its spirit, should attain perfect correctness in every point. This chief object, and the real value of the larger work have also been acknowledged by impartial scholars; a new period and, if moderation guides the reform, a better period for the changes in Heb. Grammarians, Lexicons and the exegesis of the old Test. approaches, and it may be hoped that the endeavours which are inspired by a pure love of truth and science, will bear the best fruit. I myself may only have the merit of the first impulse to improvement, if even that may be called a merit, since the idea of an improvement in this science is less owing to me than to the claims of our time, and this idea has perhaps only been awakened somewhat sooner and more vividly in me. Even after the firmer form which I have been able to give the Hebr. Gram. in this new work, there nevertheless remains, as I partly confidently believe, and partly suspect, much for future enquirers or, perhaps, for myself to add or to define more strictly, not only in the Syntax, which follows logical laws and is, therefore, more easily thoroughly understood by a consistent thinker, but also in the doctrine of the sounds of the language. I have, however, a sure confidence, that free and impartial enquirers will approve the spirit of in-

vestigation which prevails here, and, in harmony with the highest principle of this work, will only further build up the structure here founded. A number of observations which appear here for the first time, will remain and be able to stand the severest impartial examination (which I do not dread, but earnestly desire) because they have not proceeded from me or my mind, but at the same time from the spirit of the language. — An enumeration of those points which, according to my conviction, are more correctly discovered or represented in this or the larger work, would be a useless task. The judicious reader will easily perceive that none of the views of former Grammarians have been retained, except those which have proved themselves true after a free and independent investigation, and that nothing which appears new has been added, except what was found, by the same investigation, to be founded in the spirit of the language. In order to obtain a vivid apprehension and representation of the language in its true form, I have always investigated it by means of itself, without knowing the opinions of former Grammarians or assuming their correctness, and therefore it was necessarily indifferent to me, as to the results of my investigations, whether any fact had been observed before or not; I sought nothing old nor new."

This was succeeded, in 1835, by the Grammar of which this is a translation. It is called a second edition of the one before, but it is, as a short preface states, thoroughly revised and extensively improved. The Author had written his Arabic Grammar in the interval between this and the preceding edition, and returned from that excursion into a kindred dialect, with an enlargement and confirmation of his views, which have exercised a beneficial influence on every part of this Grammar. The additions, too, are as numerous and important as the length of the interval, and his progress in a labour of love, would lead us to expect; the largest is the treatise on the accentuation. — It is perhaps incumbent on me to attempt a fuller characteristic of the work whose translation I have undertaken, and to point out some of those advantages which may render it acceptable to an enlightened scholar. First, with regard to its general qualities, it may be said to correspond in every respect to the picture above offered of a Grammar such as it is expected to be from the enlarged views of our time. It is founded on philosophical views of language in general, and always endeavours to give a similar explanation of the facts of the language of which it treats. Let it not, however, be supposed that it is merely a philosophical explanation of the facts of the language; the truth is, a philosophical method alone could *find* the phenomena. Profound discrimination, and an investigation of those laws of thought of which language is the reflexion, were necessary to separate real from apparent phenomena, and to discover an infinite number of new ones, which empiricism would confound, and which superficial views could not detect. It also contains an acute critique of the opinions of former Grammarians, but it did not suit the conciseness of

the work to mention their names, which are of little moment in the judgment of things. Hence it is that this Grammar contains more facts of the language by one half than any one accessible to the English reader. Another and great distinction is the beautiful order that reigns throughout every part of the work. The development of one part from another, the progress from the elemental sounds to the complicated proposition, the groupings of the phenomena of strong and weak formation and flexion, all spring from an order which in itself conduces to a right understanding of the nature of the materials which it has disposed. Another merit is the perpetual reference to the most important facts which comparative philology offers to illustrate the forms or genius of Hebrew. These illustrations (which are by no means intended to exhaust the subject, but rather only} to point out such resemblances as had escaped others) are not only borrowed from the sister dialects, but also from the Indo-germanic languages, and while the reader, alive to such comparisons, is led by similitude in dissimilitude to a more vivid sense of the genius of Semitismus, he runs no risk of finding a sarrago of impertinent learning to obstruct or mislead him. Moreover, I must mention the total absence of that pedantic jargon which has invented a number of unmeaning terms for phenomena which it could not explain, and tasked the memory when it could not enlighten the understanding. Almost all the terms used in this work are vernacular and intelligible to one who knows what they are intended to describe (where it is not so in the translation, the difference of the language will, I trust, form some apology). Among the particular merits of this Grammar may be reckoned the doctrine of sounds. It testifies, in itself, how much more vivid the Author's feeling of the language has been; we find rules drawn from the living spoken tongue, whose laws are founded on the organs of speech and the ear, instead of inanimate details of the arbitrary signs addressed to the eye. And surely every thing that tends to bring a language within the sphere of our living sympathies, conduces to a sense of its spirit. Besides, as language is the mirror which reflects all man's impressions of the external world and of the world of feeling within him, and as that reflexion is made by sounds, the peculiar sounds of every language form one of the characteristics of the national perception and feeling of that people to whom the language belongs. — In the doctrine of forms, I will only select the nominal formation. The appreciation of the sense which the mere form expresses, the gradations from the simplest to the most intense, the *nisus formativi* of different developments, are important improvements in this part of

Grammar. The numerous declensions of other writers give place to a system not only more easy, but infinitely more conducive to an understanding of the principle of flexion, because it is founded on the nature of the language. — Lastly, the spirit which pervades the whole work has produced such improvements in the Syntax, that no one can fail to discover the hand of a master there. Its logical precision where so much was vague before, its fulness where so much was meagre, its acute and philosophical discrimination, will be some surprise to those who thought that, in the Hebrew language, a Syntax was not altogether indispensable ¹).

Such is the original of this translation; and, as such, it appeared to be a desideratum in Hebrew philology in England. It is, however, also possible that the very merits of this work over its contemporaries, may render it less acceptable to those whose misconception of the real difficulties of Hebrew, or whose indolence, leads them to take no road to that language except an apparently short and easy one. It is indeed a disadvantage to the study of Hebrew, as a *language*, that we become acquainted with the choicest remains of its literature from our earliest childhood, and that, too, in a version which, from its being no longer the hackneyed idiom of daily life, has sufficient colour of originality to take away the desire to seek the native source, or, if we do resolve to study the original, to forestall the genuine pleasure of making the language a key to the sense. But this previous acquaintance with the sense, so far from relaxing our efforts, should form the very stimulus to penetrate the mysteries of the language, and to imbibe its genius, before we can have any confidence in our own judgment when we are inclined to depart from a received translation. Hence a thorough study of the language until we attain a feeling of its force, and an acquaintance with the cognate dialects, are indispensable to all who aspire to a solid knowledge of Hebrew. A zealous student should give no ear to the exaggerated reports of the ease with which the language may be attained, which some have circulated in order to encourage the supine to exertion. This delusion makes many come to this study prepared to find it easy or to make it so; and they attain, accordingly, no higher know-

-
- 1) I should here state the works which have appeared here recently in Hebrew philology, but their number renders it impossible. This year alone has produced this Gram. another by Prof. FREYTAG etc.; and as to *philological* commentaries on books of the old Test. this year has produced one on Genesis by Prof. v. BOHLEN, on Judges by STUDER; and *six* such commentaries on the Psalms, by Prof. EWALD, Prof. HITZIG, Prof. UMBREIT etc.

ledge of the language than to know what word in the original corresponds to every word in the Authorised version. Hence we have Grammars which offer to teach the language without points (a system long since utterly exploded here) which, to spare the indolent, rob the language of the very breath of its life, and not only give a soulless representation of it, but a false one; for there are a thousand analogies in the cognate dialects to show that the punctuation is physiologically correct. It is indeed unquestionably true that the simplicity of the Hebrew language does render a certain progress very easy, but it is equally true that any progress which a classical scholar is entitled to call a philological knowledge of the language, is only the result of considerable time and toil. The two facts that Hebrew is the language of such a totally different social state, and belongs to a fundamentally different family of languages, are alone sufficient to render it *a priori* probable that it is no easy task to become naturalized to the peculiarities which result from those two causes. These considerations, and the acknowledged importance of the documents transmitted to us through this language, and the vital interest we have in their correct interpretation, should render the study of Hebrew an indispensable duty with some: but I would also hope that the time is not far distant when those who derive intellectual pleasure in the study of a language *per se*, as a mode of thought, will, without disregarding the religious interest which should also weigh with them, be more frequently attracted to the study of a language whose remains are, in a philological and literary point of view, so worthy the attention of enlightened minds. If there is an infinite pleasure in enjoying the national poetry of any people in its original form, if there is an indefinable something, the characteristic of the national mind and external state, which only lives in its native tongue, this is doubly true of Hebrew. No language loses more by translation; for we can only translate it into a language of a different family, climate, and state of civilization. Hebrew is the language of man in his infancy, ere his reasoning powers have supplanted his feelings: simple in structure, childlike truthful in expression, the very language of the heart in the household affections, in the ardour of faith or the abyss of despair, or, if dignified, sublime in simple majesty, recalling in its commonest metaphors the tent, the desert, and the pastoral life of the patriarchal ages, — and can we translate such a language as this into that of times and peoples who have grown grey in philosophy and the world, and who are artificial or callous in those feelings which the Hebrew expressed with the honest fervour of youth? No, the Hebrew Muse, as aforetime,

hangs her harp on the willows, and refuses to sing her native songs in a strange land.

With regard to the translation, I have aimed at scrupulous faithfulness. This may have occasionally produced an uncouth sentence, but the reader is, I trust, a gainer in the end. The additions consist of a few extracts from the *kritische Grammatik* (of which that on the names of the letters is the largest) and in numerous contributions which the Author's unceasing industry had collected since the appearance of his edition; he has also added the treatise on the agreement between the accentuation and the syntax. My friend Dr. BERTHEAU has added a table of contents to the two indexes, but I must repeat the Author's hope that these aids may not seduce any one into the indolent habit of only consulting the book; part hangs so intimately with part, that such a disjointed study will not profit. The corrections consist of some modifications of opinion which subsequent investigation induced the Author to adopt; but chiefly in a new arrangement of one part of the syntax (from §. 472 to §. 539) which he was prevented from making in his own edition, because it was too late when he discovered its necessity. After so many obligations which the Author has laid the translator under, in addition to the already heavy ones of the pupil, I cannot omit this opportunity of expressing my high admiration of his talents, and my heartfelt sense of that kindness which has made them so easy of access to myself. — It is with considerable diffidence that I now commit this translation into the hands of the public, for I know how many attainments were necessary to do it justice; but I yet hope that its many imperfections will be pardoned for the sake of the cause it is intended to further, and that this may be at least one of those attempts in which the *vouloir* is enough. I have also to request particular indulgence for petty typographical errors, for the compositor was totally ignorant of English, and I was the sole corrector of the press: all misprints, however, which affect the sense, and which I have found, are noted in the errata, which the reader is requested to observe. Should I ever have an opportunity of amending the imperfections of this work by a second edition, it would be my first endeavour to show how diligently I had watched, during the interval, over its improvement, and to render it more worthy of being the chosen guide of the intelligent and zealous student. May it, meanwhile, be welcome, and contribute its aid to render England, what it was in the days of Pococke and Castell, the home of sound Oriental philology.

GÜTTINGEN, Dec. 3. 1835.

J. N.

LIST OF PROF. EWALD'S WORKS.

Pergratum est mihi quod tam diligenter libros — mei lectitas, ut omnes habere velis, quaerasque qui sint omnes. Fungar indicis partibus; atque etiam quo sint ordine scripti notum tibi faciam. Est enim haec quoque studiosis non injucunda cognitio.

PLIN. EPIST. III. 5.

1. *Die Composition der Genesis kritisch untersucht.* 8vo. Braunschweig 1823.
2. *De metris Carminum Arabicorum libri duo, cum appendice emendationum in varios poetas.* 8vo. Brunsvigae 1825.
3. *Das Hohelied Salomo's übersetzt mit Einleit., Anmerkungen u. s. w.* 8vo. Göttingen 1826.
4. *Kritische Grammatik der Hebräischen Sprache ausführlich bearbeitet.* 8vo. Leipzig 1827.
5. *Ueber einige ältere Sanskrit Metra.* 8vo. Gott. 1827.
6. *Liber Wakedi de Mesopotamiae expugnatae hist. e cod. Arab. editus et notis illustratus.* 4to. Gott. 1827.
7. *Gramm. der Heb. Sprache in vollst. Kürze.* 8vo. Leipz. 1828. — *Gramm. der Heb. Spr. des Alten Test.* 2te Auflage 1835.
8. *Commentarius in Apocalypsin.* 8vo. Gott. 1828.
9. *Grammatica critica linguae Arabicae, cum brevi metrorum doctrina.* 8vo. Lips. Vol. I. 1831. II. 1833.
10. *Abhandlungen zur biblischen und orientalischen Literatur.* 8vo. Gött. 1832.
11. *Die poetischen Bücher des alten Bundes, 2ter Band (die Psalmen).* 8vo. Gött. 1835.

(This will be followed by the book of Job and the Proverbs, forming the third and fourth volumes, and the first will consist of an introduction to Hebrew Poetry and to each of these books. I take this occasion of mentioning my long cherished intention of offering a translation of the book of Job, which would be founded on the original text, but conformably to Prof. EWALD's translation, and would contain all his annotations, with the addition of such notes as, by repeated references to the Grammar, would render it more suited to the wants of the English student. This might then be followed by the Proverbs, and Psalms, and introductory volume, according as circumstances should encourage my further progress.)

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

(The numbers refer to the §§.)

OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE IN GENERAL.

1. HISTORICAL SKETCH.

Its position in the Semitic family 1. 2. its name 3. 4. its dialects 5. difference of the diction of prose and poetry 6. changes of the language 7. 8.

2. OF ITS NATURE.

Peculiarity of the Semitic with regard to other families of language 9-16. the office of Heb. Grammar thereby prescribed 17. 18.

FIRST PART.

OF SOUNDS, LETTERS, AND SIGNS.

FIRST SECTION.

OF SOUNDS.

Their three degrees: syllable, word, proposition; the first dependent on the vowel, the second on the tone, the third on the sense and pause 19. Vowels and consonants, their distinctions; approximations between them 20. 21. The comparative number of vowels in Heb. 22. 23.

I. Of syllables and words.

I. Nature and compass of the syllable 24-32.

II. Of the tone in polysyllabic words 33-42.

1. Chief-tone 34. 35.

2. Foretone (foretone-vowel) 36-42.

II. Single elements of the syllable and word.

A. Vowels 43. 66.

Primitive, their changes:

1) by softening 45-49. 2) by obscuration 50. 3) by shortening 51.

Concurrence of two vowels in a word removed:

1) by contraction 53. 54. 2) by resolution into semivowels 55. 3) by elision 56.

Change of vowels by flexion:

1. Vowels divided into 1) short, 2) long by tone, 3) and long by stem 57-59. 2. Postfixes which influence the syllable and word 60-64. 3. Falling away of the vowel long by tone 65. Assumption of a short vowel with two vowelless cons. 66.

B. Consonants 67-110.

View of the cons. 67. 68. peculiarities and weaknesses of, 69.

I. The gutturals 70-86.

II. The liquids. 1. η 87-98. 2 The other liquids 99. 3. The sibilants 100.

III. The hardest cons. 101-103.

Commutation of the cons. 104-110.

C. Sounds of the whole word 111-128.

III. Changes of sound in a proposition. Pause 129-134.

SECOND SECTION.

OF THE LETTERS.

I. External history 135-141.

II. Internal history 142-156.

III. Origin of the signs for reading 157-160.

THIRD SECTION.

OF THE SIGNS.

I. Signs for the pronunciation of every letter and syllable 161-179.

I. Signs for the vocalization 161-169.

1. The vowels 161-164. 2. Sign for the absence of the vowel (Sh'va) 165-167. 3. The fleeting or Chatef vowels 168. 169.

II. Signs for the pronunciation of the consonants 170-179.

Point over ω 170. Dagesh forte, Dag. conjunctivum 171. Dag. dirimens 172. Dag. lene 173-175. Mappiq 176. Rafe 177.

II. Accentuation, or signs for the tone of words and propositions 180-200.

On the tone. Meteg the usual sign of it 180. I. Tone of a single word 181. II. Tone of a proposition 182-191. Poetical accentuation 192-196.

III. Influence of the accentuation on the pronunciation of words 197-199.

SECOND PART.

OF FORMS.

I. Roots.

Their grades: roots of feeling, of place, of idea 201. Further development of the roots to nouns, verbs, and particles 202.

II. Formation developed from the roots, and first from the roots of idea.

1. Formation of stems (or words) 203-206.

2. Formation of number and gender 207-210.

3. A second flexion produced by the union of two words 211-214.

III. Influence of the radical sounds on these formations 215-230.

1. Roots which are still very near the primitive roots: 1) the roots ק"ץ 217. 2) the roots ק"ץ and ק"ץ 218-221. 3) the roots with vowels at either side, ק"ץ 222. ק"ץ (ק"ץ) 223.

2. Roots with gutturals 224.

3. Isolated deviations 225.

Concurrence of many weak sounds in the same root 226-229. Roots which have more than three sounds 230.

FIRST SECTION.

VERBAL FORMATION.

1. VERBAL STEMS.

I. The simple stem (Qal) 231.

II. Reduplicated or intensive stems:

1. Piel, signification; 1) in verbal derivations. 2) in nominal derivations 232. 2. The other intensive stems, 1) Paalal. 2) Pealal. 233. 3) Rare intensive stems more common in ק"ץ and ק"ץ 234. 235. also in some roots with a medial guttural 236. On Poel 237.

III. Derived verbal stems with external augmentation:

1. Causative stem (Hifil) 238. Signification of. 1) in verbal, 2) in nominal derivations 239. 2. Reflexive stems, Nifal 240; frequently used in a passive signification 241. 3. Reflexive intensive stems, Hitpael 242. signification; begins to subordinate an object; goes over into the passive signification; form of in rare intensive stems 243.

View of the stems 244.

Relapse of the augmented stems to the simple ones:

1. of Hif. in roots with a medial vowel 245. 2. Other single instances. 3. Qal and Nif. equivalent in roots with double sounds 246.

Change of vowels within these stems to determine the distinction of the active, passive, and semipassive pronunciation 248.

1. In the simple stem; the semipass. pronunciation 249. 250. 2. The passive, use of 251; formation of 1) from Piel and Hif. = Pual and Hofal 252. 253. 2) from rare intensive stems 256. 3) from Hitpael 257.

Use of Pual and Hof., and more frequently of Nif., as passive of Qal 258. 259.

II. VERBAL FLEXION.

Distinction of tense and mode 260. 261.

1. Of the perfect; signification of 262. 2. of the imperf. signification of 263-265. New forms derived from it distinguished into Jussive, Imperative, and Cohortative 266.

Difference of the perf. and imperf. in form 267. 268.

1. in the simple stem 269-273. 2. in Piel and Hif. 274. 275. 3. in Nif. 276. 277. In the other stems 278-280.

II. in the signs of the persons:

1. in the perf. 281. 2. in the imperf. 282.

III. Consequences of the attachment of these signs of the persons to the verbal stems:

1. of the prefixes to the imperf. 283. 284. 2. of the postfixes of the perf. and of some persons of the imperf. 285-289.

New modes from these two verbal forms:

I. from the imperf.

1. The Jussive 290. 2. the imperat. 291. 292. 8. Cohortative 293. 294. View of these modes 295.

II. The two tenses with Vav consequitivum:

- Their signification 296. 1. The form of the imperf. with Vav conseq. 297. 2. that of the perf. with the same 298. 299.

Paradigms of the verbal flexion.

III. VERB WITH SUFFIXES.

Signification of the suffix 300. 1. Form of 301. 302. 2. How attached to the verbal persons 303-306. 3. Effects of their attachment on the anterior syllable of the verb 307-309. — Attachment of to the verbs הָיָה 310.

View of the verbal suffixes.

SECOND SECTION.

NOMINAL FORMATION.

I. NOMINAL STEMS.

Division of nouns 311. 312. View of the nominal formation 313-316.

I. Nouns of the simple stem:

1. First nominal formation 317. 318. The same with the tone vowel thrown back 319.
2. Second nominal formation 321-325. 1) Formation of adjectives 322. 324. 2) Formation of substantives from the imperf. Qal a) as mere infinitives, b) as substantives 325.
3. Third nominal formation 326-329. 1) of adjectives 326, some of which are always substantives 327. 2) of abstract substantives 328. their signification often expressed by the feminine formation, and very strongly, by the plural ending 329.

II. Reduplicated or intensive stems:

1. by reduplication of the middle rad. for the formation of adjectives 330, of abstracts 331. — Reduplication removed by the prece-

ding vowel becoming long; this formation found in later writers with an Aramaic character 331.

2. by repetition of the third radical, formation of adjectives and abstracts 332.
3. by repetition of the second and third rad. formation of adjectives and abstracts 333. 334. — Peculiar formation of these abstract forms 335.

III. Formations with external affixes:

Rare ones:

of adjectives with a prefixed *a* 336; of substantives with prefixed *ʾ* 337.

Common ones:

1. with prefixed *m*; its origin and signification 338; vocalization of 339. A similar formation with prefixed *t*, especially in weak roots 340.
2. with postfixed *ān* or *ōn*, sometimes *ām* or *ōm*; adjectives formed by this 341. abstracts 342.
3. by postfixed *ī* (in a harder pronunciation *ai*) to form adjectives 343. Abstracts formed by the feminines of this syllable 344.

Abstracts formed by the feminine ending from any stem with a personal signification 345.

Collectives formed by the feminine ending 346.

Diminutive formation 346, *b*.

Nominal forms from pluriliteral roots 347.

Proper names, compounded of two words 348.

PARTICIPLE AND INFINITIVE.

i. The participle:

1. signification 349. 2. construction 350. Form 351.

ii. The infinitive:

1. signification 352. 1) nominal infin. or infin. construct 353, its formation 354. 2) verbal infin. or infin. absolute 355, its form 356.

iii. The participle assumes a simple form 357.

II. NOMINAL FLEXION.

1. By number and gender.

i. Signification of number and gender.

A. Number:

1. The singular 358. 2. The plural, its ending 359; its signification 360. 361. 3. The dual 362.

B. Gender:

Idea and form of the gender to be distinguished 363. Neuter how expressed 364. 1. The ending of the fem. sing. 365. Substantives which are fem. in idea only, not in form 366; — whereas the feminine form is indispensable in others 367. 368. The fem. ending *é* instead of *á* 369. Toneless *a* in some words which border on the fem. and in others also 370. — 2. The ending of the fem. in the plural; relation of the ending of the pl. msc. to this ending; the former, as the more general ending, assumed by many feminine substantives 371-375. — 3. Gender of the dual 376.

II. Form of the nouns in the attachment of these endings for gender and number.

Character of these four endings; what nominal stems are shortened or changed before them 377, 378. 1) The simple nouns of the first formation 379-384. 2) Nouns with an accented ultimate, whose first syllable has only a foretone vowel 386, 387. 3) The stems which have an immoveable syllable at the beginning 388-392.

Vowel-endings of the nouns:

- a) The *i* of adjective derivation 393, 394. The feminine abstract ending *-it* 395. The *i* of the $\overline{\text{a}}\text{''}\overline{\text{b}}$ 396. b) The ending $\overline{\text{a}}\text{''}\overline{\text{c}}$ in nouns from the $\overline{\text{a}}\text{''}\overline{\text{b}}$ 397, 398. c) The fem. sg. *a* before the dual ending 399.

2. by the status constructus.

Signification and use of the stat. constr. 400-402. Pronunciation of the first word 403-405. Traces of a union vowel 406-408. Formation of the stat. constr. in particular:

1. Stat. constr. of the noun without ending of number and gender 409, 413.
2. Stat. constr. of the noun with those endings 414, 417. — Shortening of the *d* of the ending *du* 418. — Replication of the radical sometimes removed 419.

3. by the *a* of motion.

This an imperfect beginning of the formation of cases; how attached 420.

Paradigms of the nominal flexion.

III. NOUNS WITH SUFFIXES.

I. The form of the suffixes 421.

II. Their pronunciation accommodates itself to the ending of the nominal forms 422.

III. Their union with the noun 423.

1. with the noun without ending of number and gender 424-426.
2. with the ending of the fem. sg. 427.
3. with the vowel-ending *ae* of the stat. constr. of the dual and pl. 428, 429. — With the ending of the fem. pl. 430. — The noun sometimes not so much shortened before the suff. as before the stat. constr. 431, 432. — The last rad. sometimes doubled before suff. 432. Participle and infinitive sometimes taking the verbal suff. 433.

NUMERALS.

Their peculiarities 434. 1. Primitive (cardinal) 435-438. 2. Derived 439.

THIRD SECTION.

FORMATION OF PARTICLES.

I. Particles of feeling, interjections 440

II. Particles which indicate place 441-456.

The derivation of pronouns, of many conjunctions and adverbs, and even of some prepositions shown to arise from the latter class.

III. Particles which separate themselves from the verb and noun. Compound particles 458.

All particles divided into those that stand by themselves, and those which are attached; to the latter belong all prepositions and conjunctions, which are always, as to the idea, in the stat. constr., as is evident in some 459. 460.

PREFIXES.

What they are, and how attached 461-464.

PARTICLES WITH SUFFIXES.

What particles may take suffixes 465; what suffixes they may take, and how they are attached 466-469. Traces of a plural in prepositions 470.

Paradigms of particles with suffixes.

THIRD PART.

THE SYNTAX.

FIRST SECTION.

ON THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION.

How it is formed 471.

I. Relations of a word in a proposition:

There are three relations 472. 473.

i. Relation of independence and dependence 474.

ii. The casus obliquus 475.

A. Relation of the accusative, or of loose, free subordination 476.

1. When the verbal idea implies that the action affects a thing immediately:

1) the verbs of going 477. 2) the verbs of speaking. 3) the verbs of acting and treating 478. — These verbs subordinate to themselves two objects 479.

Different from this is a second object *a*) with the verbs of making; *b*) with the verbs of naming; *c*) with other verbal ideas for any kind of making 480. —

The accusative with verbs of motion 481.

2. When an idea is explained merely as to its purport and nature:

1) by substantives confining the purport of the verb to a particular part 482. 483.

2) the accusative describing the ultimate effect of the action 484.

3) the verbal idea completed by the statement of the *manner how* *a*) by a substantive 485. 486; *b*) by an adjective 487; *c*) by numerals 488. 489.

3. The noun is freely subordinated, as word of relation, to the whole proposition, 1) in statements of measure 490;

2) many substantives have thus become adverbs; 3) in the stat. constr. 491.

Use of the preposition of the accusative, ל , 492. 493.

B. Relation of the genitive, or of strict subordination (stat. constr.) 495.

1. Compass of the stat. constr. 496-508.

2. Consequences of the stat. constr.:

- 1) no adjective, pronoun, nor other word, can intrude between the defined and defining noun 509; the intervention of a preposition does not destroy the stat. constr. 510. 2) the first noun cannot have the article 511-513; there are a few exceptions 514; the first member sometimes returns to the stat. abs. 515. The article used with the second word with numerals 516. — 3) The mediate instead of the immediate construction 517.

Relation of the prepositions.

Their signification in general 518.

A. Simple prepositions:

1. for the idea of motion *from*, *out of* a thing, מִן 519. 2. for the idea of motion *to* a thing 1) אֶל , 2) לְ , 3) עַד 520. 3. The use of בְּ 521; בֵּין 522. מֵעַד 523.

The prepositions which express more definite local relation, 1) בְּ 524, 2) מִן 525, עַד and others 526. בֵּין 527.

B. Compound prepositions 528-531.

III. The relation of isolation and apposition 532.

1. Use of the article 533-536. 2. The place of adjectives and pronouns 537.

Relation of the subordinated verb 539:

The infinitive abs. is 1) placed loosely after the previously mentioned action 540. 2) subordinated to the finite verb of its own root 541. — Some infinitives have become perfect adverbs 542. 543.

The inf. constr. with לְ 544.

The inf. abs. can subordinate a noun remotely 545.

II. ENTIRE PROPOSITION.

i. Subject and predicate 546.

Adjective as predicate; abstract substantive as predicate 547. Gradual introduction of a copula 548-550. The definite subject often omitted, that is to say, the verb placed by itself: 1) when persons are spoken of 551. 2) to express the idea of the neuter 552. The whole may be explained by the individual in apposition 553.

ii. Position of the words in a proposition.

1. The definite order of the words 554. 555. 2. Proposition of state 556. 3. A word rendered prominent by emphasis or antithesis 557-559. or by repetition 560. From this is to be distinguished the repetition which is used 1) to express a high degree, 2) to express *doubleness*, 3) to express an advance from one to more 561. — The pronoun sometimes used to allude to a noun before it is mentioned 562. An apparently superfluous pronoun in the

dative 563, the suffix of the verb sometimes used instead 564. — Omission of a suffix as object 565. — Reflexive pronoun how expressed 566.

III. Concord of gender and number.

1. The predicate in the *masc. sg.* before the subject in the *pl.* 567.
2. The external form disregarded on account of the idea: 1) the *plural* subject construed with the *fem. sg.* of the predicate 568. 2) the form and gender of the *sg.* and *pl.* disregarded in certain cases 569. 3) In the *stat. constr.*, the predicate sometimes agrees with the second noun 570. 3. Isolated irregularities 571. — The third pers. *sg. masc.* of the passive construed with an accusative 572.

III. PARTICULAR QUALITIES OF THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION.

- i. Negative propositions 573-576.
- ii. Interrogative propositions 577-581.
- iii. Interjectional propositions 582-586.

SECOND SECTION.

OF ANNEXED PROPOSITIONS.

i. Relative propositions:

A. For the proposition with substantive power 588.

The relative word explained by the corresponding personal pronoun 589. The relative word construed, *a*) with a demonstrative adverb *b*) with the pronoun of the first and second person 590.

Position and reference of a relative proposition:

1. When it is like the apposition of an adjective, the relative word is omitted 591. 2. The relative word itself as a new substantive 592; it may also be omitted here, so that the relat. prop. is placed in *stat. constr.* 593. — The relative word in propositions which border on the correlative prop. 594. The relative word may be itself various 595. 596.

B. When the relative word is used like a relative conjunction 597.

- 1) Propositions of time 598. 2) of end and purpose 599. 3) of confirmation 600. — Proposition containing an indirect thought 602.

ii. Copulative propositions.

1. Many words united by the copula; the suffixes which refer to two words, repeated 603. Verb, or adjective as predicate, or pronoun, referring to many such subjects, connected by the copula. — Omission of the copula, 1) in explanatory diction, 2) in ascending diction 605.
2. Propositions connected by the copula: 1) to denote the antithesis 606.
3. Two kinds of copula: the ordinary, the stronger (*Vav consequitivum* or *relativum*) 610. 1) *Vav* consequ. perfecti and imperfecti

611-617. 2) Vav conseq. of the Jussive, Imperative, and Cohortative 618-621.

Other words used to express the copula 622.

III. Adversative propositions:

Expressed by particular particles 623.

THIRD SECTION.

CORRELATIVE PROPOSITIONS.

I. Conditional propositions 624.

Expressed by particles, 1) by אם 625, which is omitted in some cases 626. 2) by כי 627.

II. Correlative propositions:

1) by אם-אם . 2) by כִּי-כִּי , כִּי-כֵן , כִּי-אֲשֶׁר-כֵּן ; כֵּן also omitted in the first proposition 628. The correlative expressed by the mere repetition of a noun or pronoun 629. 3) by אם-אם . Disjunctive interrogatives formed by the repetition of אם ; by אם-אם , אם-אם 630.

Agreement of the accentuation with the Syntax 631-642.

1-

me

also

sed

N.

by

ERRATA.

Erratum in the preface page III, lin.5. insert *as* before *means*.

Page 6, line 17, read *subordine*. — P. 11, line 15 from below, read נְהַשֵּׁת for תְּשַׁמֵּת. — P. 14, line 2 from below, transpose the Hebrew words. — P. 19. l. 12, read גִּלְכִּי. — P. 24. l. 7 fr. b. read *palatal* instead of *ging*. — P. 50. l. 5 fr. b. read שׁ for ת. — P. 54. l. 11 fr. b. read §. 317. — P. 58. l. 11, read קִטָּן. — P. 61. l. 8. read *tiglé*. l. 20. read רְבִיא. — P. 68. l. 26, read יִצְרִי. — P. 76. l. 21 fr. b. read בְּיָתֶהּ. — P. 77. l. 11, for *loose*, the verb, read *lose*, and elsewhere. — P. 92. l. 27, read *be* for *in*. — P. 100. l. 15, dele *they*. — P. 112. l. 15. read ק for ו. — P. 114. l. 7, read *there*. — P. 120. l. 16. read לוֹ. — P. 127. l. 22. read שִׁמְאֵל. — P. 129. and often, read *conceived*, *received* for *concieved*, *recieved*. — P. 220. l. 7 fr. b. read פְּדֻה־בְּגָד. — P. 222. l. 2, read הַיִּשְׁאָרִים. — P. 224. l. 10 insert *less* before *closely*. — P. 231. l. 3. fr. b. read קְרָשִׁים. — P. 232. l. 2. fr. b. insert *be* before *rendered*. — P. 237. l. 16 read *so* for *to*. — P. 263. l. 3. fr. b. read *words* for *vowels*. — P. 271, l. 2 fr. b. read אֶהְבֶּךָ. — P. 274. l. 5 fr. b. read מִשְׁעַתָּה. — P. 283. l. 21 read *mere* for *more*. — P. 286. l. 20 read עָתָה. — P. 305. l. 11. fr. b. read *is* for *in*. — P. 320. l. 9. transpose the *and* after the comma. — P. 321. l. 9 fr. b. insert *the* before *passage*. — P. 335. l. 10 fr. b. read לְמַרְהֵק. — P. 357. l. 7 fr. b. read לְיָעַר.

OF THE HEBREW LANGUAGE IN GENERAL.

1. HISTORICAL SKETCH.

The Hebrew language is a branch of that widely extended family of languages of Southwestern Asia, which is now usually called the *Semitic*, because most of the nations of this tongue appear to have been descendants of Sem (Gen. 10). This family of languages extended from the Arabian peninsula, its chief seat in ancient and modern times, northwards over the countries between the Mediterranean, parts of Asia Minor, Armenia and Persia; and southwards into Habesh or Aethiopia.

Even in ancient times was this family of languages differently developed according to the situation and fate of the countries in which it prevailed. In the *North*, or in *Aramaea* (Syria, Mesopotamia, Babylonia), where the climate is for the most part severer, where the nations of Semitic tongue bordered on the most different nations and languages, and often had their language corrupted by foreign conquests, it was rougher and poorer in vowels, more corrupt and adulterated. But in the *South*, among the never conquered Arabs, it preserved greater purity and sweetness and a greater richness of formations and words; many of which excellencies are found, even in the extreme south, in the *Aethiopic* language, a very old daughter of the Arabic. In the *Middle*, between Aramaea and Arabia, in *Palestine*, where (besides the Phoenicians, of whose language we have only a few remains, and other petty nations, whose dialects have disappeared without a trace) the *Hebrews* principally dwelt, the language inclined originally, it is true, more to Aramaic, according to its primitive descent, (since the tradition of the tribe brings the Patriarchs from the North East, and last from the northern part of Mesopotamia) but being developed on the frontier of Arabia, it has much in common with Arabic, at the same time that it is distinguished by the peculiar progress of its developement, as well from Aramaic as from Ara-

2 §. 3. 4. Of the Hebrew language in general.

bie. Hebrew is distinguished above Aramaic (which became better known since 600 B. C.), as the cultivated language of many and great prophets and poets, by a rich abundance of formations and words, and is distinguished from the still more polished Arabic (which first appears in history about 400 A. C.) by antique simplicity and majesty. The Grammar of all the Semitic languages must always set out from Hebrew, because it presents a connected view of the most ancient form of Semitic, and contains many primitive formations which afterwards are either lost or altered.

- 3 The two names which the worshippers of Jehovah receive in the old Test. *Israelites* and *Hebrews* are distinguished by the first being the holy name, closely connected with their religion and the tradition of the race, while the latter is the usual name of the nation, and as such, is much more ancient and universal (Abraham himself being called a *Hebrew* Gen. 14, 13), and calls to mind no ancestor of glorious memory. Accordingly while Priest and prophet always address the people by the name of Israelites, other nations always call them Hebrews, and a Hebrew never calls himself an Israelite in speaking with foreigners; (Jon. 1, 9. Gen. 40, 15): on other occasions too, and especially by earlier writers, the nation is called *Hebrews* when not mentioned with reference to its religion (Ex. 21, 2. Gen. 43, 32. 1 Sam. 13, 3. 7. 14, 21). The name Hebrews עִבְרִי, according to the views entertained by the people itself, is derived from *Eber* עֵבֶר whom tradition makes an ancestor of Abraham, but as nothing further is known of him, he can hardly be considered as an historical personage, Gen. 10, 21. 24. 11, 16; perhaps it was originally applied to nearly all nations of Semitic tongue this side the Euphrates, which according to historical traces migrated from central Asia and last from Mesopotamia (עֵבֶר הַנְּהַר הַזֶּה the land on *that side* the river i. e. the Euphrates cf. ὁ πέρατις LXX Gen. 14, 13) to Palestine and Arabia; in this case, the appellation would spring from the ancient inhabitants of Canaan¹⁾. According to either view however, the name Hebrews embraced originally *all* the descendants of Abraham and was only afterwards peculiarly appropriated to the direct descendants of Abraham in Palestine, the Israelites Gen. 10, 21.

1) This was first suggested by J. D. MICHAELIS Spicil. geogr. Heb. ext. P. 2. p. 66.

- 4 The *language* can therefore be called *Hebrew* only after the usual name of the nation. This name happens however not to occur in the old Test., because in general there is little mention of language in it; in one place Is. 19, 18 it is

poetically called *language of Canaan*, where Canaan, as *land*, is opposed to Egypt.; the later name *Jewish language*, Is. 36, 11. 13 properly means only the dialect of the Hebrew language in the kingdom of Juda, though that dialect, after the conquest of Samaria, gained the entire ascendancy.

It is, in itself, very probable that the Hebrew language 5 had *dialects*, although in the scanty remains of Hebrew literature, which were almost all written in the kingdom of Juda, and in Jerusalem, this distinction is less obvious. In general the dialects in the north of Palestine must have inclined more to the character of Aramaic, and have been rougher, impurer and coarser than those in the South. Traces of northern dialect are contained e.g. in the Song of Deborah Judg. 5. Even the partial mixture of nations in Palestine gave rise to impurer dialects; thus after the exile the dialect of Ashdod is censured, with some others, as Philistian Neh. 13, 23. 24 and the Galilaean dialect is distinguished Math. 26, 73.

During the best period of the language, the written lan- 6 guage of Prose differed but little from the idiom of the people, only that their pronunciation appears to have been more peculiarly impure and more like Aramaic ¹⁾. Hebrew Prose is in essence perfectly simple and artless, but possesses vivid descriptive power, and occasionally, when the subject is inspiring, rises to even poetic sublimity. The so called *poetic diction* however is of a peculiar kind and developement. Its essence is luxuriant copiousness, inexhaustible variety, and pliability, so that it possesses a much greater abundance of words and formations than prose, among which are many which are peculiar to it and characteristic. It has partly preserved this abundance from antiquity by zealously retaining what died out of the language of daily life, and partly by recruiting itself, from time to time, from the rich and manifold popular dialects, by the adoption of new matter and forms; in both cases therefore, it approached to Aramaic, since the Hebrews, according to their origin and history, are much more nearly connected with the Aramaic than the Arabian nations. Much however in the bold language of Poetry, has been produced by the impulse of internal developement. *Prophetic diction* shows only an occasional greater or less approach to this external form of Poetic diction.

1) Therefore writers from the people, like Amos, approach nearest to the Aramaic form.

The Hebrew language in the four first books of the Pen- 7 tateuch, which contain records of unquestionable antiquity, partly by Moses, or from his time, appears already, a few

4 §. 8-10. Of the Hebrew language in general.

minutiae excepted, fully developed. From Moses until about the year 700 it underwent few changes: for as the structure of the Semitic languages is in general more simple, so also is it less changeable than that of languages of greater development, as Sanscrit. To which is to be added, that in that period the Hebrews did not experience those influences which materially affect a language: they did not advance much in civilization, were never long subjected to nations of foreign tongue, and lived almost entirely separated from all nations, especially from nations of foreign language. Their language therefore advanced little in development, but it also suffered little from corruption. There are however in those books of the Pentateuch, some certainly important differences, which afterwards disappear, and many differences of that kind have become less distinguishable by us, because the more modern punctuation has treated all words according to one standard, and that, the standard of the language at a late period.

8 From the dominion of the Assyrians, Chaldeans and Persians over Palestine, the Hebrew language gradually declined, and the *Aramaic*, the study of which became necessary to the chief persons of the kingdom from 720-600, by the conquest of the Assyrians (Is. 36, 11) and Chaldaeans, encroached more and more upon the Hebrew, and the more easily, on account of the close affinity of the two languages, until the latter became entirely corrupted or supplanted. It was not however until after 600 that this corruption was gradually introduced into the *written language*, and even the latest Prophets, especially those which wrote about 540-520 at the fall of the Chaldean empire, imitate the ancient language very successfully.

2. OF ITS NATURE.

9 To comprehend the nature of the Hebrew language, we must partly compare other languages with it, and partly pursue more closely the traces of earlier origin and alteration which are yet visible in its present form. Therefore it is not so much of the nature of the Hebrew language as compared with its sisters §. 2, but more generally of the nature of the Semitic family of languages in comparison with others, that we must here speak.

10 1. We learn from the investigation of the primitive elements of the Semitic language, that its beginnings, or roots, like those of all other languages, were short monosyllabic words. These roots then, now only to be discovered by examination and dissection, carry us back to the most ancient

times, when the families of language, which afterwards separated, still stood near to one source, and the Semitic language, as such, not yet existed. Hence arises the great connexion which these roots have with Indo-germanic roots ¹⁾, a connexion the less astonishing, as the territories of both these families afterwards also bordered on one another in Asia.

- 1) To give particular proof of this is the province of the Lexicon. The fact has been by no means first discovered in modern times; but all depends on the right application of it.

2. Remains of these roots have indeed been preserved in many particles, immoveable primitives, which have resisted the general progressive change of the form of the language, but the living and principal part of the language, the verb and the noun, has advanced far above this childhood; the fundamental and accessory ideas of a sentence are no longer single radical words merely externally put together, but the accessory ideas are arranged round a fundamental one with the unity and compactness of a single word, which may be variously modified to suit the idea; and hence *formation* has become the predominant principle of the Semitic language. While a fundamental idea thus becomes the immoveable centre, the accessory ideas, or variations, can be distinguished with so much the greater ease and brevity, and therefore, with so much the more perfection and accuracy. By formation, for instance, is the distinction between noun and verb, adjective and substantive, gender and number in the noun, and tenses in the verb, briefly and distinctly defined, and as far as ever the accessory ideas may be separated, so far is formation possible. But on the other hand, as soon as ever an accessory idea is expressed by a separable word, there is no formation: at the same time it is to be kept in mind, that the approximation between formation and juxtaposition may be very various in particular cases. Cf. on origin and formation of words §. 201-214. 11

In this formation, the Semitic language has, it is true, more simplicity and freshness, and much that is finer and more regular, than the Indo-germanic family; as the consistent distinctions of gender, as well in the pronoun of the second person, as in the verb: but in general, it has not reached the high degree of perfection which distinguishes the latter. The form is not so versatile nor so willing to follow the idea, so that much still appears rather isolated and only externally connected. Other finer distinctions of idea have not yet entered into the consciousness of the language strongly and vividly enough to impress themselves on the form. Thus a form for the idea of the neuter is wanting, and the dis- 12

6 §. 13. 14. Of the Hebrew language in general.

inction of tenses, is not so fully developed as in our languages.

- 13 3. A higher and perfectly new stage in the development of language, which presupposes the formation just described, is *composition*, by which words in themselves independent and separable, are so joined together as a new whole, that the last word only makes the end of the proposition, either by subordination, when the word completing or defining is put before the word to be defined, and both become thereby closely connected, as *ἀντανεπλήροῦν*, *ζοδοδάκτυλος*, *ἀνθρωπισσευσία*, or by juxtaposition of similar ideas in successive order, as the latin *suovetaurilia*; the first is the more natural and the more important. To this power of composition, a chief ornament of the Sanscrit family of language, the Semitic however (some insignificant beginnings excepted ¹) has not advanced. It is not the principle of Semitic majestically to combine and subordinate ideas, it is rather its law, more simply, to place words near each other and to explain each in the natural order.

1) Concerning subordination v. Gram. Arab. Vol. II. p. 23. f. 156, 179, 201 not. concerning juxtaposition v. below Heb. syntax of propositions coupled by *γ* and §. 495.

- 14 On the other hand, Semitic is infinitely more developed, in another direction, than Sanscrit; that is to say, for the formation of the living chief element of the language, the verb and noun, the originally short root has been extended with great regularity to three firm sounds, and occasionally even to four (§. 230). As the short primitive roots are thus increased by new sounds, and the sounds (not only those originally belonging to the root, but even more easily the newly added ones) are capable of endless variety, the few primitive roots split more and more, and there arises in this manner a very large number of actually living roots. A similar progress of developement is also found, it is true, in Sanscrit, in as much as the short roots become progressively longer and more definite, but by no means does the same regularity prevail in it as in Semitic, which attains thereby two chief results. First, by the number of roots the meanings also become more clear and definite, which in some measure compensates for the want of composition §. 13; and if Sanscrit by means of composition renders the idea, in a more intellectual way, infinitely various, Semitic seeks to attain the same end by that rather material formation of new roots, thus *הָרַךְ* is *ire* *רָדַד* *redire*, from the primitive *קָץ* spring *קָצַץ*, *קָצַה*, *to cut*, *קָצַר*, *to cut off*, *to shorten*, *קָצַב*, or *הָצַב* *to hew out*.

Moreover, the roots which arise in this manner must have a decided tendency to become *polysyllabic*, and to a *more vocalic pronunciation*. For in the Sanscrit roots, because they continue shorter, and according to the principles of the language must be monosyllabic, the same vowel remains, more simply, as centre and supporter, to which consonants are attached in such number and order only as the unity of a syllable will permit, as *cad*, *scrib*, *scalp* etc. Groups of compatible consonants may be formed, but the vowel keeps them together as in *string*, *πτεν*. But this unity is entirely lost in Semitic, because the roots extend themselves to the fixed compass of three or four sounds, and these too in every desirable order, regardless whether they belong to one syllable i. e. may be held together by one vowel, or not, as e. g. *katb*, *nafl*, *nsal* can hardly be reduced within the limits of one syllable. The first consequence of this then is, that Semitic roots, as to pronunciation, have a tendency to fall into many syllables, and only a few short words have remained uninfluenced by this tendency. Secondly greater fluency, softness and pliability of the vowels within the roots, since the language is incapable of holding together such intolerable masses of consonants by a single vowel, and the position of the vowel is more dependent on the consonants. And finally the formation has so availed itself of this pliable polysyllabic internal vocalisation, that the vowels change within the roots (which are regularly of three or four firm sounds) so as to distinguish the meaning of forms, with great ease and regularity; which *internal* formation by means of mere change of vowels is the chief peculiarity and distinguishing advantage of Semitic, by which it effects much by small means ¹⁾. It is impossible therefore to speak of radical vowels in Hebrew, since only in a few old roots, which have not been extended, has a peculiar radical vowel been retained and even that is very yielding and changeable.

- 1) In Sanscrit, Greek. and Lat. nothing of this sort exists, since their radical vowel can only change according to the nature of the sounds with which it becomes connected. In German, where the roots are all longer, the change in *gebären*, *geboren*, *gebar*, *Geburt*, appears more like, but even here there is no perfect resemblance.

As the form then in Semitic, although in some respects farther and more firmly developed, has yet in general not reached the highest developement which is possible, and of which the Sanscrit languages are an example, accordingly the whole *proposition* shows rather a simple succession than a grand combination and subordination. Like the whole genius

8 §. 17. 18. Of the Hebrew language in general.

of the Semitic nations, like their poetry and religion, their language also, as opposed to the Indo-germanic, possesses rather keen sensibility of heart and spirit, than rest and extended scope of thought and fancy, more lyrical and poetical than epic and oratorical elements. Semitic, and especially Hebrew, has not become so much a pure spiritual expression of thought as Sanscrit, and does not so easily adapt itself to the minutest precision of idea. It stands one degree nearer to the simplicity of nature and antiquity, but possesses on the other hand the warmest feeling, the most enchanting and child-like truthfulness, with the most delightful naturalness and clearness.

- 17 From this it is clear how it is the business of Hebrew grammar every where to point out this central position of Hebrew between the most unformed (e. g. Chinese) and the most perfectly developed language (e. g. the Indo-germanic). The more simple element in it is to be taken in its simplicity and that primitive and natural artlessness of language, the ground which Sanscrit has left far behind, can be recognised in it more easily than in any other language. But where Hebrew does not perhaps express the thought so definitely as to *form*, there we must observe how the connexion at least of the sentence removes all obscurity for one who seeks its meaning in himself and who combines all that is only represented in broad outlines, and judiciously applies it. This language then is perfectly intelligible in itself, only it must not be judged and misinterpreted according to the externals of other languages.
-

- 18 Since the form is not developed in the greatest perfection very much depends on the position of words in a sentence, so that the *Syntax* forms a very important part of the whole. The *theory of forms* has only properly to explain their origin and force, but presupposes a knowledge of the *sounds* of the language, and of the means by which they are expressed i. e. of the *characters*; which by a peculiar fortune are of two kinds in Hebrew, antient letters and modern superadded punctuation.
-

FIRST PART.

OF SOUNDS, LETTERS, AND SIGNS *).

FIRST SECTION.

O F S O U N D S.

There exist in Hebrew, as a polysyllabic language (§. 15), essentially 19 three gradations of sounds: the *syllable* as the first and most simple sound, as mere sound indeed, independent and separable, but intrinsically only a member of a word; then the *word*, generally polysyllabic, and in that case, holding together and uniting all its syllables from one syllable, by the tone, externally indeed a whole, but intrinsically closely connected with the proposition; and finally the *proposition*, or a limited expression of thought, generally consisting of many words, keeping all its single words together by the sense of the speaker, and by the rise and fall of the sentence thence arising, from which follows the pause at the end of the proposition. The movements of all sounds are within this circle, and the three ruling powers, or centres, which animate and keep every thing together in its circle, are the *vowel* for the syllable, the *tone* for the word, and the *sense* and the *pause* for the proposition.

In the syllable, vowel and consonant form an inseparable whole, but 20 the vowel is the centre, the power which alone moves and unites. A vowel is a sound in itself distinct, either uttered pure (*a*) or compressed by the organs above and below (*i*, *u*), but still resounding uninterrupted from the open mouth: while the vowel is a pure breathing diversely made vocal, at the same time it is necessarily put in motion, sustained, compressed, and bounded by the, in themselves, mute sounds of the organs of speech, as lungs, throat, tongue, and mouth (i. e. by the consonants); and since these sounds are much more manifold than the vowels, the number of possible syllables is very great. Thus the vowels are intrinsically indeed the animating elements of the language, but externally, in comparison with the shorter but firmer consonants, its finer, feebler, more pliable part, and hence in the formation of words the nicer, more intellectual distinctions of meaning are produced by them §. 15.

Although vowels and consonants are essentially different, 21 yet there are many gradual approximations between them, since *i*, *u* which are formed by a contraction of the organs, are more substantial and firmer than the pure *a* (*e*) and the consonants are partly softer, more liquid, partly firmer and harder in various gradations, v. §. 67 ff.

According to §. 15 it is a characteristic of Semitic that it 22 is rich in vowels, and does not tolerate great accumulation of consonants, and especially never begins a syllable with two, or more, closely joined consonants, as so often happens in our languages, as *πρός*, *κτείνω*. This principle is most

*) Cf. HUPFELD: *von der Natur und den Arten der Sprachlaute*, in *Jahn's Jahrb. der Philol. und Päd.* 1829. B. 1. S. 451-472.

deeply interwoven with the formations of roots and words, and is one of the fundamental peculiarities of this family of languages.

- 23 Hebrew however is not the most vocalic of the Semitic languages, it is especially no longer capable of sustaining a short vowel in a simple syllable, as in the Arabic *kātālū*, the Greek *ἐγένετο* etc. A short vowel can only remain in such a syllable when the tone sustains and animates it with new power, if not (a few cases only, arising from particular causes excepted §. 58. 70 ff.) it must fall away. Hebrew however is by no means utterly deprived of a beautiful abundance of vowels: the tone especially powerfully sustains the richer sound of vowels in its neighbourhood, as well after it (as פָּהֲרָה §. 287, קָהָשׁ §. 317), as before it §. 36; and the vocalization is stinted to what is merely necessary, only in syllables which are very far removed from this influence of the tone §. 65. As the light and rapid vocalization has thus disappeared, those vowels which have remained have become so much the heavier and harder, so that if a vowel originally short remains from any cause in a simple syllable, it regularly becomes long to sustain itself §. 27.

I. OF SYLLABLES AND WORDS.

- 24 I. The nature and compass of syllables may be defined according to the established laws hence deduced. For as the Hebrew language according to a fundamental rule (§. 23) tolerates no short vowel in a simple syllable, therefore to form a syllable there must be a firm vowel which is either supported by itself (by its length), or by its position, and from this, the compass and nature of syllables may be best defined:

- 25 1. A simple consonant must necessarily always *precede* this vowel, from the lightest breathing, which may be represented after the Grecian manner by the Spiritus lenis, as אָמַר *ômar*, וָמִין *umin*, אֶתְּבוֹב *ektob*, יֵשׁעֵל *jish-âl*, to the firmer and most firm consonants, as הָרַח *har*, לֹחַ *lô*, מִכְתָּב *mik-tâb*. But a double or compound sound can *never* go before, according to §. 22, since the language cannot combine two consonants before the vowel, as in our words *clam*, *κρίνω*, *creep*, *great*.

- 26 Every consonant however thus introducing the vowel of the syllable, may be preceded by *one single other consonant*, which without coalescing with the following consonant so as to form one compound consonant, and without even necessarily belonging to the syllable after it, is only ex-

ternally attached to it, or in utterance rapidly carried over to it; such an *appoggiatural* consonant must therefore necessarily be pronounced with a fragment of a vowel (§. 166), and would receive a full short vowel ¹⁾ if the language was richer in vowels; but this relic of a definite vowel is no longer a distinct vowel but the most fleeting sound, yet most like an *e* rapidly pronounced (cf. §. 45). Thus כְּסִיל *k'síl* or *kesíl* not *xíl*, לִישׁ *l'ish* or *le'ish*, נְהִי *n'hi*, פְּרִי *p'ri*, and in the middle of a word יִלְמְדוּ *jil-m'du*, קָטְלִים *qô-th'lim*. More than one consonant however cannot be joined on in this way to the following syllable, so that two consonants thus coming together must necessarily be pronounced with a firm vowel §. 66.

1) As in always the case in Arabic. Even in Hebrew there are some traces of it §. 36 ff. 58.

2. As to the *end* of the syllable

1) the syllable may end with the vowel, as בָּךְ *b'ká*, לִי *li*, 27 יָקֻמוּ *jáqúmu*; such an *open* or *simple* syllable has a *protracted*, long vowel according to rule; either a vowel originally long, or if short, protracted according to §. 23, because it is in a simple syllable. All exceptions to this rule depend on particular causes.

2) If the syllable ends with consonants, as בַּת *bat*, הִגְדַּלְתָּ 28 *higdalt*, the vowel in such a *shut* or *compound* syllable must necessarily be short, because it is compressed and firmly attached to the consonant after. It is only when the tone adds its influence at the end of a word, that the voice permits the vowel in a compound syllable to sound full without compression, as בָּם *bám*, קוֹל *qôl*, מַלְכָּם *mal-kám*, תַּקְנֵנָּה 29 *ta-qém-na*; yet even here there is a limitation cf. §. 48 תִּשְׁרָמָה.

According to its whole structure, and especially according to its comparatively great abundance of vowels, the Hebrew language tolerates only *one consonant at the end of a syllable in the middle* of a word; but the *final syllable* which is freer and more sonorous, may end in two different consonants, but only if the pronunciation of the last consonant of such a combination is easy, that is to say, if one of the eight mutes with its hard sound (§. 101) can be attached so as to be distinctly heard, especially after a more liquid sound, as אֶרֶד *árd*, נֶרֶד *nerd*, קֶשֶׁת *qoshth*, יֶשֶׁן *jashq*, יֶשֶׁב *jishb*, הִגְדַּלְתָּ *higdalt*, כַּתַּבְתָּ *katabt*. But where this combination does not exist, then a very short toneless vowel is inserted as *auxiliary* before the last consonant, namely the short *e*, the nearest in such cases §. 45, and even in other ca-

ses besides, this *auxiliary* vowel *) is often inserted, since the language has a tendency to an abundance of vowels from its earliest origin. כֶּסֶף, סֶפֶר.

30 The particular cases in which this auxiliary vowel is or is not used, can only be understood by a knowledge of the principles of formation. The following is a brief statement: 1) In the verbal person כְּתַבְתָּ *katabt* §. 281, which is hardly an abbreviation of *katábtí*, the hard pronunciation is *always* retained, because ת *t* attaches itself closely to any consonant. 2) In those verbal forms which are produced by apocopation the vocalisation takes place only occasionally, as יִרְבֵּי *jirb* and יִרְבֶּי *jireb*, v. §. 290. — 3) All nominal forms of the kind described §. 317. 365, and they are the most frequent examples of this kind, which are originally so and have not suffered abbreviation, have most regularly facilitated their pronunciation by this auxiliary *e*.

31 Those compound syllables whose final consonant is also the first consonant of the succeeding syllable, like קָלָל *qallu*, כָּלָל *kullam*, צִלָּל *šillo*, form a peculiar variety. For in this case, where the two consonants only produce the same sound prolonged, the vowel is not so compressed as before two different consonants which clash with each other. Such *syllables before a double consonant* or *medial syllables* have therefore many peculiarities, v. §. 47. 125.

32 Another variety of compound syllables consists of those whose final consonant, without abruptly ending the preceding syllable, passes over rather to the following one as יָלַדְתָּ *jal'de*, almost like *jall'de* (§. 172), בִּכְתַּבְתָּ *bik'tob*. Such a syllable may be called *loosely compound* or *half shut* as opposed to the usual *close shut* syllables. The cases however in which such syllables arise can be learnt only by a acquaintance with the rules of formation §. 173.

33 II. *One syllable only* in every polysyllabic word has the chief tone, which keeps together and unites the whole word. This *tonesyllable*, according to the whole character of Hebrew which is remarkably rich neither in formations nor syllables, is not very variable as to its position, but rests for the most part near the end of the word (§. 34). But as the stress of whole pronunciation is thus drawn back to the end, its powerful influence can be extended even to the preceding syllable, and produce there a kind of *foretone*. Thus the tone produces a fuller more sonorous vocalization, and especially many vowels are retained by it which would otherwise fall away. But from the third syllable from the tone on, those vowels only are retained which are indispensably necessary for the pronunciation, as also the whole richer

*) *Auxiliary* is only a substitute for the German *hinterlautend* i. e. *aftersounding*. Transl.

tonic vocalisation disappears and only the necessary vocalization remains, if the tone of a word from particular causes either falls away or is removed farther toward the end. From all these effects of the tone a peculiar tonic vocalization has arisen and we must distinguish *a*) between primitive vowels, and vowels either entirely, or at the same, time dependent on the tone; *b*) between short vowels capable and incapable of the tone, and *c*) between vowels long by tone and by stem §. 203.

1. The *chief tone* has its proper seat on the *last* syllable, it can only rest on the *penult* on the express conditions that the ultimate is *either* a simple syllable, as **כַּתְּבָתָּה** *katábta*, **גָּלִיתִי** *galíti*, **תִּקְ-תֹּב-נָה** *tik-tób-na*, or, if a compound syllable, that it has a short vowel and follows a simple syllable, as **קֹדֶשׁ** *qódesch*, **כְּתַבְתָּם** *k'tabátam*; no other cases are possible. But since the accentuation *) of the penult, on account of these great limitations, differs but little from the usual accentuation of the ultimate, there is properly speaking only *one* kind of tonic accentuation and it is almost utterly unimportant, as far as further consequences are concerned, whether the ultimate or penult. has the tone. For some cases however the *short*, acute tone, with merely a vowel at the end, as **כַּתְּבוּ** *ka-t'bu*, **יִלְדָּה** *jo-l'dá*, and the long, *protracted* tone, when either a consonant, or which is the same in effect, a syllable is sounded after the tone vowel, are to be distinguished, as **מְלָכִים** *m'lakím*, **כְּתַבְתִּי** *k'tabúni*.

How it is that the tone may rest sometimes on the ultimate and sometimes on the penult can only be understood from a knowledge of forms. The general rule is that the tone can only rest on the penult in two cases: 1) on account of the auxiliary vowel §. 29 s., as **קֹדֶשׁ**, **מִלֵּךְ**, **שְׁלֵטָה**; — 2) on account of an abbreviated postfixed syllable §. 60, **רָקִיעַ**, **כְּתַבְתָּ**; with a compound syllable only in the case **כְּתַבְתָּ** §. 305 from a special cause.

2. The *foretone*, which may precede the chief tone, consists of a long vowel which some consonant preceding the tone syllable, either assumes, in case it had no proper vowel of its own, or only supports. As pure fore-tone vowel, *a* the nearest and purest vowel, is almost always used, *e* seldom and only in certain cases. Such a fore-tone vowel however can only maintain its place under very favourable circumstances, and therefore a more accurate explanation of particulars is here necessary:

*) When *accented* and *accentuation* are here used, they are to be understood of the *tonic* not of the Masoretic accentuation. English has no equivalent for *Betonung*, *betont*. Transl.

- 37 1) If a consonant belonging to the stem stands quite alone before the tonesyllable without a primitive vowel of its own, it takes *d*, as **בָּתֵּב, נָקִיד, נָסֵב, קָלִיד, הָיִיד**. Indeed this fuller pronunciation extends itself to the prefixes (**בְּ, כְּ, לְ, נְ**) in cases that favour it. In **נָקֵל** *d* appears instead of *d* according to §. 270, in **נָקֵב** §. 325, and in a few other cases.
- 38 On the other hand, the foretone vowel is wanting, if an unusually long immutable vowel, introduced into the root for the formation of new stems, does not admit any but the shortest vowels in its neighbourhood on account of its power and protraction, as in the forms **נָקֵד, נָסֵד, נָקֵר** §. 328. That is to say, the tone sinks to the weakest vowel sound before those most emphatic vowels, to a short *i* or *e* (according to §. 213) which cannot possibly remain in Hebrew, according to §. 23 but is changed into a mere fragment of a vowel.
- 39 Before the longer postfixed syllables also §. 60, the *a* which was before in the ultimate remains, whether a single consonant goes before, as **נָקֵד, נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד, נָקֵד** (which are followed by **נָקֵד** §. 382 having assumed *d* as foretone) or a second consonant without a vowel, as **נָקֵד, נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד, נָקֵד**. On the other hand *e* only remains after *two* consonants, that is in cases where a firm vowel must be pronounced, as **נָקֵד, נָקֵד**; **נָקֵד, נָקֵד**, else it remains seldom, as **נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד** and in similar nouns plural §. 382. - On the other hand **נָקֵד** and always before suffixes **נָקֵד, נָקֵד** etc.
- 40 2) If two consonants without a vowel long by stem go before, their vowel generally remains after the first, uniting both in a compound syllable, as soon as ever a vowel keeps the two last radicals together, as **נָקֵד, נָקֵד**; yet before accented postfixed syllables which assume the last radical, the pronunciation of the two first radicals also, often inclines strongly to the end, so that *d* is inserted immediately before the tonesyllable. Thus *a*) most purely and regularly in the plural forms **נָקֵד, נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד** §. 382; *b*) in the substantive forms in *on* §. 341 although not regularly but rather more variable and impure, as **נָקֵד, נָקֵד**; for which **נָקֵד** is a shorter form, **נָקֵד** too, at least similar in having an halfshut first syllable cf. §. 173.
- 41 3) Further if an immoveable syllable (i. e. a compound syllable or one with a vowel long by stem) goes before the consonant preceding the tonesyllable, this produces of itself so strong a retention of the voice that it hurries on more rapidly afterwards. Such a consonant therefore has a foretone even less than the preceding cases, and there remains only *a*) in the verbal form **נָקֵד** *a* as foretone for the second radical, which in this case always stands alone §. 277. — *b*) in the noun the long *a* before a postfix syllable regularly, much seldomer the feebler *e* long by tone if it is somewhat protracted, as **נָקֵד, נָקֵד**, whereas **נָקֵד** **נָקֵד**. — *c*) Besides *a*, *e* remain before the terminations of the persons of verbs if the tone syllable is a *protracted* one (§. 34), so that the foretone is influenced by it; but even then generally only in pause, as **נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד**. Prov. 1, 28, **נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד** from **נָקֵד**.

The O-sound has not the same tendency to be foretone vowel as *a-e*. For the sound *o-u* is not so near nor so moveable and fleeting as *a-e*, and an *o* merely long by tone, remains only, according to the rule, in the actual tonesyllable, not before it as foretone; examples are rare according to §. 41, *c*: יִקְצֹרֶנָּה Ruth 2, 9.

II. SINGLE ELEMENTS OF THE SYLLABLE AND WORD.

A. VOWELS.

The nearest, most primitive vowels are A, I, U. Among these A is the purest and nearest sound, hence it is originally predominant in the language, and most frequently used. I and U, pronounced with a more distinct compression of the anterior organs, are of firmer, and, as it were, more substantial sound, and hence 1) they easily change, becoming firmer, into their still firmer semivowels J and V §. 88 ff.; and 2) being more like and nearer to each other they are easily attracted mutually and exchanged for one another, I being only the sharper, U the obscurer sound, but both being deeper than the high A, which is opposed to them both in common, §. 53. The diphthongs *ai*, *au*, the nearest and simplest of all diphthongs are produced by the high A being pronounced together with the deeper I and U.

These nearest sounds have however a very strong tendency to *softening* so that each sound may be changed into a feebler, more uncertain sound nearest related to it: A becomes broader and descends to E; I and U expand themselves and ascend to E, O. The diphthongs *ai*, *au* melt into the softer sounds *ae* and *ô*, which again, as a possible case, may be farther changed into the simple *i*, *û*. Since then E thus stands between A and I, the vowels *a-e-i* in this respect, stand much nearer to each other, and are commuted, while U O are much farther from them. Especially the *short* vowels A E I are nearly related to each other, in contradistinction to U O. The important consequences of this v. §. 45 ff. — On the other hand the *obscuration* of the clear high A into the nearly as open, but deeper, O is possible, as *vice versâ* the latter can easily change into the former by dialect. Finally *shortening* and *flattening* of the longer and sharper vowels appears to be only very gradually coming into use.

All these possible variations of the vocalization occur 44 even in Hebrew very frequently, yet many remains of the purer primitive pronunciation have been preserved, which uncertainty has produced great multiplicity and variety of the vowel sounds. To this is to be added the protraction of the vowels by the influence of the tone, by which vowels originally short are prolonged more or less immutably as is described §. 33 ff. The tone however produces sometimes in another manner a gradual flattening of the sharper sounds §. 45. 51. 222.

I. *Softening* takes place under the following different 45 circumstances :

1. The A-Sound remains pretty generally and pure but is nevertheless often changed into E-I: into E in the tone only

in the two following cases, 1) the short *a* in final syllables, as מִלְּךָ is changed before the auxiliary *e* into the same *e* with the tonic accent מִלְּךָ֑ §. 127. 2) The long *a* at the end of words is, in some words and terminations, reduced to *é*, as מֶה *mé* often for *má* (*what?*) and other rarer instances §. 369. — The decay of the A-sound in Hebrew before the tone appears in this respect very frequent, that the nearest short vowel for the formation of compound syllables is not the strong A but I (for E according to §. 47). as indeed the most fleeting vowel sound in general approaches nearest to the feeblest *e*, *i* §. 26. 29.

- 46 2. The short *ĩ* and *ũ* of compound syllables is very apt to be changed into *ě*, *õ* in the following manner: 1) *ĩ* and *ũ* cannot remain in the tonesyllable, or after it, but are then regularly changed into the broader, flatter *ě*, *õ*. After the tonesyllable then we always find *e*, *o* ¹⁾; but as enfeebled vowels incapable of being lengthened by the tone, they cannot, according to the rule, remain in the tonesyllable; in it therefore *õ* is always changed into *ô* as כֹּל *kól*, יִכְתֹּב *jiktób*; but *ě* is either changed into the stronger *ā*, or *ê* at once, according to distinctions which are particularly shown in the formation of words ²⁾.

- 1) For the only case in which *ž*, *ž* are obliged to remain v. §. 297.
- 2) The distinctions are briefly these: in nominal stems we find *ā*, and only when they are abridged *a*; in verbal stems *a*, except where *e* is an important distinction of the form of tense or stem §. 274. For the pause v. §. 133. *ě* appears in tone syllables too but very rarely, viz. *a*) retained in short words only as exceptions מִי־יֵצֵא §. 319, מִי־יֵצֵא for *emit* §. 385. — *b*) somewhat oftener in longer words in which the voice has more stay at the beginning, as יִצְרָאֵל §. 347, not so often in words like יִצְרָאֵל §. 274. — *c*) before suffixes as יִצְרָאֵלִי , יִצְרָאֵלִי , where the original *i* is hardly changed into *ě* on account of the tone. Yet the case is different if a long vowel is flattened into *ě* in the tone, as יִצְרָאֵלִי §. 428.

Only in a few forms arising from sudden apocopation has *i* remained, although in them not constantly §. 290. — The *ĩ* has the more easily remained in the particles וְ , וְ , וְ because they only occur as first syllables of longer words.

- 47 2) *ĩ*, *ũ* may indeed remain before the tone syllable, but these two sounds are differently affected, since *ĩ* is much thinner and sharper, and *ũ* is rounder and more easily prolonged, and therefore the former can more easily support itself in such cases than the latter: *a*) *ĩ* is retained in all syllables before the tone, whether the I-sound is primitive there, or has only arisen by means of an E reduced from an A. E never appears here except before suffixes, as remains of the E in the tone, partly in close compound syllables of nominal

forms when an E inclined to lengthen itself is retained, in distinction of forms in I §. 426, partly in loose compound syllables §. 308, else very rarely §. 338. 425. — b) *û* on the other hand has become much rarer here than *ô*, so that forms as קרָבָן Neh. 10, 35 pass for exceptions. Only where *û* and *ô* are characteristic of the form, does the primitive sound frequently return in *û* in such syllables before suffixes §. 427, 3. — c) But before reduplicated consonants (§. 31) the sharp sounds *i* and *u* have always remained so firm that here *i* always appears, even in words which have *e*, as בָּתוּר, בָּרוּלָה from בָּת, בָּרוּל, and O is then changed into U as רִכְכָּנוּ for רִכְכָּנוּ §. 116. Short *o* is rare here, *e* still rarer, and for the particular instances in *o*, a special cause may for the most part be found.

The case is different with long *î* and *û*. For *î* is the 48 sharpest sound, and therefore proportionably longer, more permanent in Hebrew, than *ê* only long by tone, so that the mutable *ê* may be changed into the immutable *î* §. 253. No less immutable is *û* in comparison to *ô* long by tone; yet as *ô* is clearer than *û*, it sometimes, before new postfix syllables with the tone, descends to *û*, just as *î* *vice versa* to *ê* from the same reason: מְהוּקָה: מְהוּקָה, מְהוּקָה: מְהוּקָה. Besides on the broad and obscure *ô*, cf. §. 57, 2.

Hence *ê*, *ô* are, generally speaking, the nearest long vowels of this class in Hebrew, even before the tone, cf. §. 97, 120. And *î*, *û* are so protracted and sharp, as compared with *ê*, *ô*, that they cannot remain in the tone before *two* consonants, but must be changed into *ê*, *ô*; hence 1) we find תִּקְמָה very regularly, compressed from תִּקְמָה¹); and 2) syllables like מְהוּקָה, מְהוּקָה are necessarily compressed into מְהוּקָה, מְהוּקָה²).

1) *î* is rarely retained §. 63.

2) Only in the rare form תִּקְמָה §. 340 has *û* remained as being radical and therefore firmer.

3. *Diphthongs* appear but rarely in the formation in 49 Hebrew, not at all in the oldest and simplest forms §. 327; most frequently they arise only from the contraction of simple vowels §. 53 ff. But however they arise, the tendency to softening resolves them in every case (a few vestiges only excepted which depend on particular causes §. 54. 254) in such a manner, that *ai* is changed into *ae* (= *ê*) *au* into *ô*. These *mixed sounds* *ê*, *ô* which thus arise are indeed immutably long, like the diphthongs themselves, but are liable to further changes from particular causes. Thus such an *ê* between two consonants is sometimes reduced in the forma-

tion to \hat{i} §. 425; and final *ae* is, in certain cases, very generally flattened into \acute{e} by the tone §. 222.

50 II. The *obscuration* of \hat{a} into \hat{o} shows itself in some universal traces even in the first period of the Hebrew language, as *kôteb* for *kâteb* §. 326. On the other hand, in the second period, the change of the long simple \hat{o} into \hat{a} intrudes itself gradually, from the influence of Chaldaic, v. §. 334.

51 III. Instances of *shortening* of the long vowel sounds, merely from the rapidity of utterance, are extremely rare and isolated in the firmer part of the language, as בֹּתִים *bottim* appears to be so shortened from *bôtim*, that that \hat{O} has still remained before the new reduplication §. 47, c. But in the singular instance of the particles, whose origin is doubtful not only shortening is more frequent, but even the greatest *flattening* of a vowel, by which all longer vowels change into \acute{e} , the weakest of all vowels, as אַתֶּם *attém*, אֶת *ét*, אֲדֵן *ádén* from *attúm*, *ót*, *ádén* Koh. 4, 3; אֶתְּךָ וְאֶתְּךָ (§. 45), where \acute{e} appears to have arisen from \hat{a} , at the same time to avoid the recurrence of \hat{a} , just as in the almost adverbial וְעַד וְעַד for עַד (*ever and ever*).

52 According to a general law (cf. §. 15), two vowels coming together cannot remain; but the manner in which this concurrence is removed differs, partly according to the nature of the sounds themselves, and partly according to peculiar causes belonging to various forms. The following ways are possible:

53 1. *Contraction* is possible in two ways: 1) where sounds concur which are either of the same kind, or so alike that one attracts and assimilates the other, and thus both coalesce. Only *simple* and *pure* sounds can do so, $a + a = \hat{a}$, $i + i = \hat{i}$, $u + u = \hat{u}$; \acute{e} and \acute{o} are equivalent to the more primitive \hat{i} and \hat{u} answering to them. According to §. 43 \hat{i} and \hat{u} are alike, one of which can attract the other according as it is, or appears in any case, the more important sound, e. g. $\acute{u} + \hat{i} = \hat{u}$; $u + \hat{i} = \hat{i}$. The first is a general law without distinction of the concurrence of long or short vowels, as תִּנָּאק *tînaq* from *tiinaq*, נָאקִי *naqí* from *naqti*, רִינָא *rîna* from *ruum* or *ruom*; the second less general, since it takes place, it is true, in short vowels, in the middle of a word always, as חִנָּאק *hînaq* from *huinaq*, but not in the final syllable, where a long vowel more easily preserves its distinction, as אַסִּי *ásúí*.

54 2) $a + i$, $u = ae$ (\acute{e}), \acute{o} according to §. 49. This contraction of two different sounds into a new mixed sound is a universal law, whether the first or the second sound is pro-

perly long or short, as הֵינִיק *hénig* for *hainiq*, כְּתַבְתָּ *k'tabto* for *k'tabtá-ú*, etc. Yet the language has from particular causes resisted contraction in some cases, in which the diphthong does not appear to be pronounced as one sound, *ai*, *au*, but the sounds being harder are more separated, *ai*; *du*, hence also the *a* can sometimes be lengthened before *u* which is there sounded as a semivowel *av*¹⁾. Thus 1) in forms in which a primitively double *i* or *u* is found after *a*, or, which is the same in effect, where a new *i* is added to a primitive *ai*; in this case the mixed sound would be too weak, and the contracted double *i* or *u* remains more firmly, as מְלַכֵּי *m'lacai*, הֵי, מֵי, מְלִכָּה, שְׁמִים, קָו *qav* or קָו *qáv*; in like manner גֵּי *gév*, and the suffix יֵי *áv* from *aiu*, so that the *i* in the middle disappears indeed, at the contraction of the *a-u* on each side of it, but the *a* remains long as a trace of the diphthong. — 2) In forms in which a longer pronunciation is designedly retained to distinguish their meaning from that of shorter, as בֵּית, מֵי, §. 318. If a consonant follows after *i*, it must keep itself more apart, so that at the same time its semivowel becomes nearly audible according to §. 55, as *báit*, almost = *bájit*. Rarely besides, as סֵתֶר §. 319. גֵּי according to §. 318, and the ancient form שְׁרֵי §. 324. — If an immutable *ô* comes before *i*, there *ô i* remain without closely amalgamating, as הֵי *hói*, בְּלוֹי, גֵּי; such cases however are very rare.

- 1) It appears to be evident that final *i*, in words like שְׁוִי, בְּסִי, גֵּי, cannot be read as a semivowel. It is just as certain that such cases are not close diphthongs, for *ui* would not be even pronounceable. Nothing remains then but to sound the *i* with a short after-sound, which is confirmed by cases like בֵּית. The only instance in which the diphthong is not loose is in the foreign word הֹרֵן *Haurán*.

2. *Resolution into semivowels* is possible only with *i*, *u*: 55 *i* into *j*, *u* into *v* §. 88 ff.*). It is 1) necessary at the beginning of a word before any vowel, as *jalad* for *ialad*. — 2) and always permitted at the beginning of a syllable in the middle of a word, where *i*, *u* come between two syllables, as פָּרִי: פְּרִי; it is especially necessary before *â*, since *i*, *u* + *a* cannot be contracted, as שִׁבְיָה *shibjâ*, חֲדָוָה *chedvâ* from *sh'bi*, *châdu*; and after a long vowel of a different sound, as שְׁוִי, גֵּי, מֵי, in like manner שְׁוִיָּה *sh'vî* from *sh'vi*, *u* having united itself with *i* which becomes a semivowel according to §. 53. Where the same sounds concur,

*) I have preferred retaining the German J as representative of the semivowel in Hebrew words, which are spelt in english letters throughout the volume, as it did not appear so consistent to use Y, the only english representative of the sound of the semivowel. *Trans.*

contraction also is possible according to §. 53 and takes place, e. g. עֲבָרִים and עֲבָרִים from עֲבָרִי §. 393; the distinction in the use of these forms is shown in the theory of formation. But in all these cases the vowel is either *entirely* changed into the semivowel, as שְׂבָיָה, or it remains as a vowel at the same time, in its place, as עֲבָרָה, עֲבָרִים from עֲבָרִי; the latter is particularly the case with the more immoveable, heavier vowels. In other cases, where the form requires the resolution, an *a* sometimes is inserted as a heavy counterpoise before the vowel which is resolved, which formation is rather Aramaic, as עֲדָוָה *édavot* from עֲדָה §. 345 and the Verbal forms עֲגָלָה §. 285. — 3) At the end of words, *u* is resolved after vowels which remain firm, as פִּיר *fir* from פִּיר־*u* §. 422, קִיר, קִירִי according to §. 54.

- 56 3. *Elision* of one vowel by another, which on the whole is rare, is only possible in the middle, or at the end of a word, and affects no other sound except *a* and *e*, the most liquid vowels, which have no corresponding semivowels in which they may be resolved. Thus the first vowel, as more important and stronger, elides the one which begins the syllable which follows but which ends in a consonant, as כְּתָבִים *k'tábim* from k'tábû-âm §. 305; or 2) the second elides the weaker and less important end vowel of the preceding syllable, if it is not at the same time in itself immutable, as שְׂבִיבִי *shóbî* from shóbé-*i* §. 427.

It is only extremely seldom and late that neither of these possible elisions takes place, so that the two concurrent vowels remain separated merely by an aspirate (*spiritus lenis* §. 68), as אֶרְבָּאִים *arbî-im* §. 393.

CHANGE OF VOWELS BY FLEXION.

- 57 With regard to the many influences which the flexion of stems and words exercises upon syllables and vowels by means of *postfixes*, the distinction and kinds of tonevowels are to be particularly noticed. It is clear from what has been above stated, that three kinds of tone vowels may be distinguished: 1) *short* vowels, *a*, seldom *e* §. 46. From §. 23 f. it is plain that every short vowel is dependent on, and supported by a compound syllable only, and consequently must immediately disappear, if the compound syllable is broken up, by the carrying on of the second consonant to another syllable. But a short vowel, if supported by the tone, may remain even in a simple syllable §. 23.

2) Vowels *long by tone*, whose length depends on the tone only, and which, as soon as ever that influence disappears, become again like short vowels, and are shortened in a compound syllable, and in a simple one fall away entirely ¹⁾ Such vowels however gradually lengthen themselves more, and resist resolution, partly according to the power, kind, or position, of the particular vowels, and partly on account of the kind and meaning of forms and words. In general *a* has remained most pure, *e* too has often become stabler, *o* still more so, *i*, *u* are always immoveable.

- 1) It may however be occasionally observed, that in final syllables they more easily accommodate themselves to the former of these two cases; cf. בְּרֵךְ , but בְּרֵכִי §. 417; בְּרֵכֶיךָ , but בְּרֵכֶיךָ §. 293. 308.

It is especially to be kept in mind that the sound o-u is retained most firmly and immovably on account of its breadth and heaviness. Where a-e-i are resolved and changed into the shortest, most e-like vowel sound, there o endeavours to sustain itself. It is even sometimes sounded double, as קָרְבָּנֶךָ *qöröb'kem* §. 62, 2.

3) Vowels immutably long, or *long by stem*, which, as entirely independent of the tone and syllable, always remain firm and unchanged, and at the utmost only become shortened occasionally, where compelled by a new and particular necessity. They arise a) from the very protracted vowels which are long by tone, therefore always i, u; (v. before N. 2); with o, e, a there is sometimes a change with the older weaker vowels. — b) from a vowel coalescing with a radical vowel or aspirate, v. §. 88 ff. — c) from a long vowel inserted into the root for the purpose of formation, of which kind of forms Hebrew has a great number, as בֹּהֵב §. 326, בֹּהֵב §. 334.

The *postfixes* which influence the syllables and vowels of a word are externally of three kinds:

1) Those beginning with *vowels*, as the terminations $\hat{\text{א}}$, $\hat{\text{ו}}$ of nominal forms §. 341 ff., the $\hat{\text{א}}$ of the fem. sg., the $\hat{\text{ו}}$, $\hat{\text{י}}$ of plurals and many pronoun suffixes which begin with a vowel, either because they have become toneless, as the suffix אֲנִי *ani*, עֲנִי *eni* ¹⁾, or because a vowel which has been lost after the final consonant, has been thrown back before it; as in the suffix —ֶכָּ *ek* ²⁾ from כֵּל §. 305.

1) This is the first step to the greatest Aramaic apocopation *an*; the process is *ktal'ni*, *ktal'ani*, *ktalan*.

2) The i indeed sounds pure at the end, but as it is thrown back into a compound syllable, it must become short, therefore *e* according to §. 46, which is then changed by the tone into $\hat{\text{e}}$.

The vowel of a postfix, in case a compound syllable precedes it, which is most frequently the case, takes the last consonant of that syllable to itself, by which the syllable is broken up. If then the vowel of this syllable is only an *auxiliary e* §. 29 it always disappears before accented and unaccented postfixes, as קָרְבָּנֶךָ : קָרְבָּנֶךָ . If it is a *short accented vowel*, it can maintain its place before unaccented postfixes by means of the tone, as בְּרֵכֶיךָ : בְּרֵכֶיךָ ; בְּרֵכֶיךָ : בְּרֵכֶיךָ ; but before accented postfixes it must disappear, as בְּרֵכֶיךָ : בְּרֵכֶיךָ . If it is a vowel long by tone, it either remains before accented postfixes, or disappears according to the rules of the foretone §. 36 ff.; from special causes only can a short vowel remain in the foretone, and be lengthened in a simple syllable viz. in בְּרֵכֶיךָ , בְּרֵכֶיךָ , בְּרֵכֶיךָ §. 307, the cause of which

will be clear from §. 65. Before an unaccented postfix, the long vowel remains of course.

61 There is an impurer and rarer formation, in which a short vowel which ought to disappear after flexion, maintains itself in its place, by reduplication of the following consonant; this only occurs in a certain class of words, and may be accounted for partly by the force of the form, and partly by a combination of sounds which favour it, v. §. 316 ff.

62 2. Those beginning with a *loosely* attached consonant, viz. the suffixes קָדֶשׁ, כְּפָר and a few others §. 305 ff., all receiving the tone. These are not attached by a distinct vowel, nor are they consonants closely attached, but float between both these kinds, since they are joined by a mere fragment of a vowel ¹⁾, which may indeed occasionally be very much compressed, but never entirely destroyed.

1) It was without doubt primitively a vowel, a short *Y* according to §. 23, and as to its power, a ligament, a *connexion* §. 406.

The auxiliary *e*, then, always disappears, since the fragmentary affix-vowel takes the last consonant entirely to the following syllable, as קָדֶשׁ:קֶדֶשׁ, כְּפָר:כְּפָר, without any further difficulty; just as this affix-vowel must also always become an audible sound, after a vowel long by stem, as לְבוּשׁ:לְבוּשׁ *l'bit-sh'ka*. But before merely accented vowels, there is much uncertainty, on account of the doubtful nature of the affix-vowel, which easily yields to the sounds in its neighbourhood. For first, the last consonant can be entirely drawn over to the last syllable, in *loose* connexion, by the affix-vowel, so that the accented vowel before the tone being left in a simple syllable, either remains long, or becomes so; this *longer* pronunciation however, only takes place before the light termination קָדֶשׁ (not before the heavy ones, that end in consonants) and even before that, only regularly with *a*, seldom with *e*, and never with *o*; a kind of foretone therefore, according to §. 36, as דְּבָרָה, אֶהְיֶה, חֲבֵרָה from דָּבָר, אֶהְיֶה, חֲבֵרָה. Where the vowel cannot thus maintain itself as foretone, it may extricate itself in two possible ways: 1) the vowel remains in its place, but is there necessarily so shortened, that the following consonant floats between both syllables, without attaching itself closely to the following syllable, for some trace of the affix vowel must remain; thus of *a*, דְּבָרָה *d'bar'kem*, אֶהְיֶה; of *e* where short *e* generally remains from the *ê* long by tone, as רֶשֶׁת, נִתְּנָה, נִתְּנָה, yet according to §. 47 even *i* may be inserted, especially before the heavy suffix, as בְּתָרָה, נִתְּנָה; lastly of *o*, as נִתְּנָה from נִתְּנָה. Or 2) the vowel seeking

a firmer seat forward, advances to the preceding vowelless consonant, whereby the fragmentary affix vowel becomes then separate and perfectly distinct. This however is only easy, where a single consonant without a vowel goes before, and therefore very seldom with *a*, as הִפְרָכָב Lev. 26, 15 from הִפָּר, הִפְרָכָב §. 426, only frequent with *o*, which generally maintains itself more firmly, especially before the lighter הִפְרָכָב, *k'tob'ka* and הִפְרָכָב *kotb'ka* from הִפָּר, so that in this uncertainty, short *o* establishes itself perhaps in both places at the same time, as קָרְרָבָב *qor'ob'kem*. This is much more difficult and rare, if a compound syllable goes before, which must thereby be broken up, as הִפְרָכָב Ps. 94, 20 from הִפָּר.

3) Those that begin with a *closely* attached consonant, generally persons of verbs, as בְּתָבָה §. 281, and the nominal forms קָטְלָה for קָטְלָה §. 365 ff.

Where a consonant is thus closely attached to the compound syllable, its vowel becomes compressed and shortened, as well in accented as in unaccented syllables. Then the vowels are affected as follows; *â* is always shortened to *ä* in tone and out of tone; *i* and *u* are so shortened, that in the tone the accented *e* or *a*, and *ó* according to §. 46 are used for the corresponding short vowels; in unaccented syllables, the short vowels according to §. 47. Even the protracted *ô* must be shortened sometimes.

Although this forced shortening is rather frequent in Hebrew, yet there are many ancient traces of the primitive resistance of the vowels long by stem against this shortening §. 288. *î*, *û* and *ô* too resist it more than the pure *â*; and on the other hand, the mutes, like *ת*, are attached so as more to preserve their hardness, and therefore necessarily shorten the vowel more than the softer *י* ¹⁾.

1) Hence rarely תִּקְרִימָה, at the same time a singular form.

A similar forced shortening affects also certain forms, from the force of the meaning, even without such postfixes §. 289 ff.

A sound thus elided on account of the constraint of the pronunciation, returns again in the progress of flexion 1) in an unaccented compound syllable, as נִחַשְׁתָּהוּ : נִחַשְׁתָּהוּ §. 427. — 2) in a simple accented syllable, in which a vowel which has been shortened in a compound syllable, can again be prolonged and return to its primitive sound: תִּקְרִיבָה, תִּקְרִיבָה §. 293.

3. If the vowel merely long by tone becomes by means of postfixes the *third* syllable from the tone, it necessarily falls away, since it must then be reduced to its primitive shortness, and a short vowel cannot remain in a simple syllable, thus 1) the *â* of the foretone regularly, as אֶדְלָה : אֶדְלָה, אֶדְלָה; in some cases the sound is retained immutably long, from special causes, v. S. 285. 298. 386. 431.

440. In the verbal forms בָּתַּב the short vowel of the final syllable is lost before the very abbreviated vowel terminations of the persons of the verb, so that the *â* of the foretone remains: בָּתַּבְהוּ, בָּתַּבְהָ; while before the longer suffixes the vocalization, according to §. 40, is drawn to the middle of the word, that vowel therefore remains in its place, and the *â* of the foretone disappears: בָּתַּבְהוּם, בָּתַּבְהֶם. — 2) The vowels long by tone which remain before the tone, as אָזְכֵּר, אָזְכְּרִי and then אָזְכְּרָה: yet many of this kind, especially *ê*, and still more *ô*, have always lengthened themselves; particulars of which see in the theory of formation.

- 66 In cases where two consonants without a vowel would come together, either from the flexion, or from the accession of a vowelless prefix ב' *b'*, ק' *q'*, כ' *k'* before the vowelless consonant at the beginning of a word, then the first, according to §. 26, must take a short vowel. The nearest in such case is the weak sharp *i*, which appears universally with prefixes, as קִטְלָה, בִּשְׁמִי, unless the first consonant of the word from some cause requires a more distinct vowel (§. 70). But in the middle of a word, *i* occurs only where the sound i-e-a lies primitively in the full form of the word, as קָבַר, קָבְרִי shortened from סָבְרִים, סָבְרִים, since the stem is קָבַר, קָבֵר; yet *a* sometimes returns from a primitive *a*, as וָלָדִי and וָלָדִי, always וָלָדִי; but where *o* is in the stem, it always returns according to §. 58, at בָּתַּבְהוּ, בָּתַּבְרִי from בָּתַּב, בָּתַּבְרִים derived from בָּתַּב.

B. CONSONANTS.

- 67 The difference of the consonants, as well as their resemblance and approximation to each other, arises partly, from the different organs of their pronunciation, and partly from the different manner in which they are sustained, and compressed by the organs. According to both these influences, all consonants may be arranged as to their classes and gradations in the following table, in which the nearest corresponding vowels are noted at the side:

	vow-els.	aspirated	liquid consonants.				mute		
			liquid		sibilant				
gutt.	a	אָ אַ אֵ אֶ אִ	semi-vowels.	nasal.	רֶ רִ		גֶּ גִּ	כֶּ כִּ	קֶ קִ
ging.	i	חֵ חִ					גֵּ גִ	כֵּ כִ	קֵ קִ
ling.			j	n	לֶ לִ		דֶּ דִּ	תֶּ תִּ	טֶ טִ
dent.							זֶ זִ	סֶ סִ	שֶּ שִּ
							z s	β sh	d t th
la-bial.	u		וֶ וִ	מֶ מִ			בֶּ בִּ	פֶּ פִּ	
			v	m			בֵּ בִ	פֵּ פִ	

I. The *aspirated* consonants (gutturals), a class peculiar in its number 68 and definite gradations to the Semitic languages, propel a softer or harder breathing from the throat, according as the breath either comes pure out of the breast, or grates against the organs of the throat and calls them into action. If the breath flows quite pure, there arises the gentlest aspirate, which without a vowel is not audible, א answering at the beginning of a word to the spiritus lenis of the Greeks. If the breath is more sharply propelled against the side, the sound will be the pure but harder aspirate ה, answering at the beginning of a word to the Greek spiritus asper. If the aspiration grates still more against the epiglottis, there arise gh כ weaker and ch ק stronger: two very rough, raucous sounds which border on the firmer consonants g k q, but pronounced deeper in the throat than g and k, and grating against the epiglottis less than q, and therefore merely rough aspirates which utter the vowel from the throat.

Accordingly we would most naturally expect א and ה at the beginning of words. For the way in which א and sometimes ה arise in the middle and at the end of words, v. §. 220. 222.

These sounds have many weaknesses and peculiarities in their nature 69 by which they are distinguished from all others, and are indeed different from one another in degree, since the hardest sound ק is very far from א. All their weaknesses proceed from *three* causes:

1. The gutturals, as aspirates, approach nearest to the *vow-* 70 *els*, since they can only become distinctly audible with vowels. There is therefore no difficulty where full vowels are pronounced after them; but where according to the principles of formation a consonant should be pronounced without any, or without a firm, distinct vowel, in such cases vowel sounds readily intrude; and this weakness is greater where two gutturals stand near each other. Therefore 1) a guttural as appoggiatural consonant at the beginning of a syllable, can never be pronounced with the most fleeting vowel sound (§. 26) but assumes a distinct vowel sound.

As such, a *fleeting* but distinct sound is generally used, cf. גִּזְקִים *ghamāqim* with מִלְכִּים *m'lākīm* and §. 76; but before another guttural, this fleeting sound is often changed into a full short vowel ¹); and the vowel sound *e* and *o* (not *a*) makes itself sometimes so broad and strong after א, as the softest of these sounds, that it becomes a full long vowel ²).

- 1) Viz. in the three different cases mentioned §. 239. 455 in which special causes assist it: in all others the fleeting vowel sound remains.
- 2) Very seldom in the verb, as אֶסְכַּח Zach. 7, 14 for אֶסֶח; oftener in the noun, especially if a guttural comes before a guttural, as אֶהְיֶה for אֶהְיֶה; but most frequently in a peculiar class of nouns that have a tendency to it §. 328.

Before a guttural too, a vowel which would else fall away is often retained complete, especially *a* or *e* before א. Cf. some examples §. 387. 417.

71 2) A guttural which ends a syllable after the vowel is harder to pronounce, especially after any other vowel besides *a* §. 75 ff., than at the beginning of a syllable. Hence *in syllables before the tone*, which can therefore be easily opened and loosed in transition to the following syllable, a fleeting vowel is inserted after the guttural, but of course only as a weak *echo* of the proper vowel of the syllable, therefore always of the same sound, as מַחֲכָה|נֶה *macha^a|né*, יַחֲכֶה|רַד *jèche^e|rad*, יְדַגְחָה|נִיקָה *j'dagha^a|níka*, בְּאֶרֶת|רֹת *be^e|rôt*. However the firmer pronunciation without this vowel is also used, as יַחֲכֶה|סָר *jech^e|sár*, so that nice distinctions between these two possible pronunciations have been established upon certain principles which will be explained below §. 168.

72 Sometimes the proper vowel of the syllable is so much separated that it becomes quite isolated, and therefore *long* in a simple syllable (§. 48) and the guttural, being entirely separated, is carried over as appoggiatural consonant to the following syllable; which especially happens with a guttural before a guttural, and generally only with *e* and *o*, as הַעֲבֹרָה for הַעֲבֹרָה, הַעֲלֵה for הַעֲלֵה.

73 In case that an appoggiatural consonant follows a vowel echoing on account of the guttural §. 71, it must become a full vowel, because then two fragmentary vowels would come together, one of which, and generally the first according to §. 66, must become a full vowel; this vowel however which is caused by the guttural is always pronounced without emphasis, since the power of the pronunciation remains with the former original vowel; as יַחֲכֶה|כִּי *jéches^e|kí* for *jéches^e|ku*, הַעֲבֹרָה from הַעֲבֹרָה, רַשָּׁעִי from רַשָּׁעִי.

In the rare case that the appoggiatural consonant is also a guttural, this evasion is impossible; rather the two gutturals coming together, which are properly without a vowel, have then so much vowel power, that the first guttural takes the vowel of the syllable to itself alone, as §. 75 with *N* in שִׁאָה for שִׁאָה; there is a similar example with *N* in תַּאֲהָבִי for תַּאֲהָבִי, which cannot remain §. 285.

The case is similar if *N*, as the softest most vocalic guttural, as appoggiatural consonant attracts the preceding vowelless consonant so that the preceding compound syllable is broken up, and its vowel becomes a pure long one in a simple syllable. This however happens only with the heavy *o* inclined in itself to be lengthened, and in the form קִתְּבָה §. 62, 2, the first syllable of which is not closely shut. Thus קִתְּבָה Gen. 32, 20 for קִתְּבָה, from inf. קִתְּבָה.

74 3) But *at the end of the word*, where the syllable must end abruptly, such echoing and carrying over of the vowel of the syllable is impossible; here the guttural must attach itself hard and firmly to the accented vowel of the syllable, and its aspiration must be distinctly audible after long vowels (which besides are very frequent here) as well as after short ones;

as *jis-mách*, שִׁמַּח *sho-méagh* (cf. 78, γ). This takes place also in the *accented* penult, as *jadágh-nu*, יָדָאָה־נֹּוּ.

A final syllable with two consonants at the end (§. 29 f.), when the last consonant or the last but one is a guttural, requires a full short vowel for the guttural. There a guttural as last consonant easily attracts the vowel of the syllable entirely to itself, as *gátt* §. 409; not so often where the guttural is the last consonant but one, as *qátt*, קָטַח §. 319, but more frequently and regularly if the weak *h* is in this place, as *shátt*, שָׁחַח §. 318. — Apocopated verbal forms only, ending with a hard *h* can retain a guttural in the middle without a vowel: *shátt* §. 287, *shátt* §. 297.

2. But among all the vowels the A-sound is the nearest and easiest with gutturals, because, like them, it proceeds from the complete opening of the throat. Only the weakest sound among them, *h*, associates itself often with the weak and broad *e*, which seldom appears with other gutturals besides *h*, especially towards the end of the word, where we should besides expect broader sounds §. 46. The vowel sound however which is nearest and most accordant with the guttural, can only so far influence and dislodge hostile vowels, as the strength and importance of the hostile vowel partly, and partly its position permit; in which chiefly this general rule holds, that the I-E sound easily yields to the A, the favorite vowel of the guttural, but the U-O sound, on the other hand, maintains itself, according to §. 58, much more firm and immovable. But even where the sounds hostile to A are retained from particular causes, the A-sound intrudes itself as much as possible; the most frequent consequence of which is, that I and U, the most opposed to A, never appear as short and fleeting vowels, but in their stead E and O universally. After all this the following particulars are clear:

1) A guttural as appoggiatural consonant, because its vowel sound is least of all before hand determined, takes generally the fleeting *a* (§. 70), seldom, according to what is above said, *e*, and *o* only where that sound is essential to the formation and has been retained.

2) A guttural *concluding a syllable* takes *before* it *a*, *e*, *o* as *short* vowels, before the tone, not *i*, *u* ¹⁾; in this case, where the distinction of the vowel is for certain reasons more strictly maintained, *e* can seldom be changed into *a*; the *o* sound always maintains itself. Cf. concerning all this §. 168 for examples and more copious detail.

1) *i* remains very seldom and only before the hard *h*, separated, שִׁחַח according to §. 291. That is to say, here there is a very loose compound syllable before the guttural.

78 But at the end of the word, where the aspirate sounds most freely, it also most effectually preserves the clearer sound of its *A*; therefore every hostile vowel *a*) in an unaccented syllable, i. e. according to §. 46 a perfectly short vowel, is changed into *ä*, as נֶפֶשׁ *néßach* for *néßech*, יָנֹחַ *jánach* for *jánoch*; — *β*) in an accented syllable a vowel not long or not strongly sustained, is also displaced by *ä*, as פֶּגֶם *pégham* for *pégam*, יִשְׁלַח *jishlach* for *jishloch* ¹⁾; but — *γ*) a vowel which cannot be dislodged remains, but only with a fleeting *a* intruding itself before the guttural, as שׁוֹמֵג *shomégh*, שָׁמִיג *shamúagh*, concerning which see farther §. 168.

- 1) Only in syllables ending with two consonants, where the guttural in the middle is not so free, and with the hard ה, does the usual pronunciation with *e* remain, as לֶחֶם *léchem*, §. 318, and with *i* in יֶהֱיֶה according to §. 290; the *o* protracted from a short one remains with every guttural, as מֶלֶךְ *mélek*, מֶלֶךְ *mélek*,

79 3) Any long vowel remains of course *after* the guttural; but it exercises the same influence upon short or mutable vowels after it in a *closely shut syllable*, as upon a vowel before it, though not so regularly; hence

1) in unaccented syllables *e*, *o* rather stand for *i*, *u* ¹⁾ especially with נ, as נֶפֶשׁ *néßach*, נֶפֶשׁ *néßech*, but there is no further change again of *e*, *o* for *a*.

- 1) *i* remains only *a*) in loosely shut syllables §. 291; *b*) for the more definite distinction of tense §. 275; *c*) before reduplication according to §. 47, *c*, for which reason, since this is a new influence, נ can retain the *i* in cases in which *e* else prevails after it §. 283.

2) in final syllables *e*, *o* are sometimes, but not regularly, changed into *a*, as מֶלֶךְ *mélek* and מֶלֶךְ *mélek*, see farther §. 269 ff. In unaccented final syllables *e*, *o* may remain, as מֶלֶךְ *mélek*, מֶלֶךְ *mélek* *vajjáchos*, but also change into *a*, as מֶלֶךְ *mélek* and *e* is always changed into *a* in a syllable of three sounds (מֶלֶךְ), as soon as ever the *e* has been changed before the guttural into *a*, because the second vowel is generally only an echo of the first, according to §. 127, as מֶלֶךְ.

80 Since, according to all this, the guttural in a final syllable can exercise quite a different, influence to what it has in the syllable before the tone, therefore the pronunciation proper in the last case ceases when there is a sudden apocopation of the end, as מֶלֶךְ (from מֶלֶךְ) : מֶלֶךְ according to §. 290, *c*.

81 3. The gutturals are indeed consonants, but very weak ones, which give up all stronger pronunciation, and even easily suffer all their aspiration, and with it their peculiar

power and whole sound to disappear; all this may be seen in gradations from the weakest א to the strongest ה. This shows itself in two chief consequences:

1) They are utterly incapable of *reduplication* ¹⁾, even where the formation requires it; therefore the traces of reduplication gradually disappear, from certain causes which with its consequences will be more fully described below §. 120 ff.

1) Reduplication is indeed *possible* by force or undeviating regularity of the pronunciation (as in Arabic the medial guttural is doubled in the second stem), but has something very rough and hard in it; therefore even in Sanscrit and Greek the aspirate *h* and the aspiration can neither be doubled nor come together, cf. *Baxxos*, *Murduos* etc.

2) They lose their aspiration and cease to be heard entirely; this however affects only the pure and weak aspirates א and especially א, and has a very different influence according to their position in a word and syllable:

1. at the beginning of a word the aspirate remains most distinctly and strongly, because there is no impediment to its sound. But at the beginning of a syllable, in the middle of a word, there arises an hiatus after the preceding sound, i. e. a disagreeable effort to bring the pure weak aspirate out of the breast to begin the syllable. This hiatus indeed generally remains in Hebrew, as *יִשְׁאֵל* *jish-al* *שְׁאֵל* *shél*; but the effort to suppress the aspirate by bringing forward the following vowel and attaching it, after the aspirate is thrust out, to the preceding consonant, appears partly more regularly in frequent common cases, and partly occasionally in isolated instances. Thus

1) most easily after a mere appoggiatural consonant; especially as the beginning of a word, as is very easy with א, as *שְׁאֵלָה* *sh'élá* is easily changed into *שְׁאֵלָה* *shélá*, *הַשְׁאֵלָה* into *הַשְׁאֵלָה* ¹⁾; not so often with ה, as in *לַבֶּן* *labben* for *Phabben* from the ה of the article; in proper names, as *יִזְחָק* and *יִזְחָק* ²⁾.

1) But very seldom with an *external*, casual and easily separable prefix, as *נֶאֱשַׁר* for *נֶאֱשַׁר* Zach. 11, 5.

2) *בֶּל* for *בֶּל* Is. 46, 1 only occurs later, in a Chaldaic proper name according to Chaldaic pronunciation.

2) Not so easily after a compound syllable, which is then broken up by the vowel following pressing forward, as *קִרְאָת* *qir-át* becomes *קִרְאָת* *q'rat*, *נִבְאָת* *q'rat*, *נִבְאָת* *q'rat*. This only happens with א, and only in certain cases.

The hiatus is least difficult to pronounce and most easily avoided after a full vowel, as *שְׁאֵל*, in which case it always remains; however it

sometimes happens that a preceding strong *â* destroys a succeeding fleeting one, *â* + *a* = *â*, as וְאֵתְּךָ Ez. 28, 16 for וְאֵתְּךָ , which in this case is also particularly defended by §. 296; cf. וְהָרְבִּירִים 2 Chr. 22, 5 for וְהָרְבִּירִים 2 Kgs. 8, 28; וְהָרְבִּירִים Num. 11, 4 and still later and worse וְהָרְבִּירִים Neh. 3, 13 for וְהָרְבִּירִים v. 14.

83 Where both the vowels on each side the aspirate must remain, a harder, more separable sound, a semivowel, can gradually intrude in the place of the weakest aspirate, especially *j*; but this is rare in Hebrew, as in the proper name וְהָרְבִּירִים *Ctib* 1 Sam. 22. 18. 22, and וְהָרְבִּירִים 21, 8. 22, 9. Ps. 52, 2.

84 2. At the *end* of the syllable, the aspiration of the weaker gutturals א ה easily becomes too feeble to be distinctly audible after the vowel of the syllable; so that the vowel is uttered without the clear aspirate after it. But this is

1) very rare in syllables *before* the tone, because the guttural there, according to §. 71 can easily assume a fleeting vowel and be drawn over; only in a certain frequent concurrence has א here become mute, as נָאָה *nāva* for נָאָה *naa-va*, לְאָמֵר as adverb. The vowel of the syllable is then according to §. 23 regularly lengthened ¹⁾.

1) Yet the Masoretes have retained the short *a* with prefixes of the word אֱלֹהִים the Lord (God) and the same word in a profane sense, as וְאֵלֹהִים , לְאֵלֹהִים , בְּאֵלֹהִים etc. Grammatically we should here expect neither the omission of the Chatef-vowel, nor the א becoming mute, nor even a short vowel; we find too בְּאֵלֹהִים , לְאֵלֹהִים in *stat. constr.* according to the usual pronunciation, and indeed וְאֵלֹהִים , בְּאֵלֹהִים , לְאֵלֹהִים always. Apparently therefore, that has only proceeded from the holy name and was intended as a distinction of it.

85 2) But as the end of a word where the guttural, to be heard, must sound pure and clear, א has always lost its power, so that a preceding short and *accented* vowel becomes lengthened according to §. 23, as קָרָא *qarā*, קָרָא , where although the vowel going before is not *a*, the peculiarity of of the gutturals mentioned §. 78, *γ* does not have effect; and קָרָא *qarā* for *qarā*. Hence the form בְּקָרָא §. 318 in this case sounds בְּקָרָא , בְּקָרָא without changing (according to §. 78, *a*) the unaccented *e* into *a*; yet as a short vowel is according to §. 23 excessively rare in a simple syllable, forms in which the *e* has entirely fallen away easily arise, as בְּקָרָא §. 318 ¹⁾. On the other hand a syllable ending with א retains its vowel and the tone if the form is shortened, from the same cause, because the short vowel must be immediately lengthened on account of the weak א and the tone must remain in its place,

as יָרָא from יָרָא cf. with פָּבַר from פָּבַר §. 410 וַיִּבְלֶה, וַיִּבְלֶה §. 297.

- 1) All this shows that א becoming mute is a very late phenomenon in Hebrew, and that formerly א must have been pronounced as a guttural at the end also.

ה has seldomer thus given up its aspiration at the end, 86 most frequently in apocopated terminations, as in proper names whose last member is shortened from יְהוּדָה, יְהוּדָה, as מִצְרָיִם; also in the root, as בְּרִיתִי מִקְדָּשָׁא Gen. 19, 16.

II. The *liquid* consonants, which are formed by the 87 anterior organs, from the posterior palate to the edge of the lips, are firmer than the gutturals, but are only produced by a softer, laxer shutting of the organs. Their sound is therefore more distinct and audible than that of the gutturals, but not short and hard, but drawn out, melting, *liquid*, easily lost and resolved. There are however great distinctions between them, which may be reduced to three kinds:

1. The semivowels י j and ו v are closely connected with 88 the vowel sounds i and u, since they are properly nothing more than those vowel sounds hardened into consonants. The vowel sound i, u when compressed in such a manner that the upper and lower organs are, at least, laxly shut, becomes necessarily j, v; from the posterior palate, where i is formed, j also is produced, and v on the lips. Hence these semivowels, which are not so firm as our j (Y) v, stand always very near to the vowels i and u in origin, pronunciation, and reciprocal change: i, u become hardened at suitable occasions to j, v, and j, v are as easily resolved into i, u. In this respect they are, indeed, both alike: J however is somewhat harder and firmer than V in Hebrew, so that in many formations in which a consonant must necessarily always appear, V has been supplanted by J. (cf. §. 223 and else where).

The general rule is that these sounds which float between 89 vowel and consonant, only become hardened into consonants where the vowel sound can not maintain itself, but must according to its position become either entirely, or at the same time a consonant. This therefore depends intrinsically on the relation of the vowels and on their concurrence, as is explained §. 52 ff. Regard however must be always had at the same time to the laws of formation of the roots. On the other hand, softening has occasionally intruded into Hebrew, according to which the consonants also, contrary to the ori-

ginal necessity, have been changed in certain common cases into their vowels. According to all this therefore:

- 90 1) At the *beginning of syllables*, these sounds are most regularly maintained as consonants, because they must there be always pronounced immediately *before* a vowel sound, according to §. 25, and are consequently hardened by it into consonants. And this rule again holds:

a) of the *beginning of words* most necessarily, where יי can be pronounced with any vowel, even with the most fleeting fragmentary vowel §. 26, because even this preserves the trace of a vowel, as ילד *jalad*, יכתוב *jiktob*, יגלד *jullad*, יגלדין *jladim*, ילו *v'lo*, as this *v'* is only more fleeting than *va*. Yet there are some cases in which יי begin even here to be resolved into their simple vowel sound. Viz. 1) the copula י *v'* is regularly resolved in two cases into *u*, before another labial (ב, פ, ם, ף), to facilitate the pronunciation, as ובו *u'bo*, ומלך *u'melek*, and before every consonant without a firm vowel, in which case, according to §. 66, a firm vowel must be spoken after the first consonant, only that here *י* does not assume the discordant vowel *i* and become a consonant, but is at once resolved into its own vowel *u*, as וּמֶלֶךְ *u'melek*, וְהִי *u'hi*. —

2) *ji*- or *je*- are seldom resolved into *i* since the vowel sounds *i-i* are identical and easily flow into each other, as in the proper name יִשְׁחַי *'ishai*, according to later pronunciation, for יִשְׁחַי *jishai* 1 Chr. 2, (12.) 13. and in the particle אִשׁ *ish* for יֶשׁ *jesh*, which however does not occur before Mich. 6, 10 and 2 Sam. 14, 19 and only in close connexion with the preceding word, which easily produces a softer pronunciation. After a vowelless prefix, *ji* is sometimes more easily resolved into *i*, since the vowel can then attach itself more easily to the affixed consonant, this however only occurs where the pronunciation of the word is at the same time shortened (in stat. constr.), as וִיטְרוֹן *vitron* for *v'itron* Koh. 2, 13. Jer. 25, 36. Pr. 30, 17.

- 91 b) But, at the beginning of a syllable not at the beginning of a word, יי are so much the more easily and regularly resolved, as the vowel which then remains can attach itself closely to the preceding consonant; hence יי are also most regularly resolved where they stand *in the middle of a root between two firm consonants* (cf. farther on these roots §. 218 ff.). There are only three possible cases here: 1) where an *ũ* (or for it *õ* according to §. 46 f.), would come in contact with a *י*, or an *i* with a *י* there is a necessary resolution of *u + u* into *ũ*, *i + i* into *î*, according to §. 53, as רום *rúm* יקום *jaqúm*. — 2) where an *ũ* comes before *י*, a and *u* can be so united that *a* is first sounded, and thus from *a + u* *ó* arises, as נקום *naqóm* for נקום, נקום; with *י* then *ae* (*é*) would arise. — 3) but where the vowel after *יי* is immutable, either on account of its length or its importance,

there it remains with elision of the weak יר, but in such a manner that even a short vowel then becomes long, just as if two vowels had coalesced, as הִקְרִים, קָרַם, מָנַח, שָׁנָה are changed into הִקְרִים, קָם, מָח, שָׁנָה.

From this it is clear when יר at the beginning of a posterior syllable must become consonants: a) if a reduplicated consonant follows יר, because by this the vowel after יר is more firmly held, as הִתְנַגֵּד¹⁾.

- 1) Yet once, Ex. 2, 4 נִתְחַצֵּב stands as a shorter form (§. 297) for נִתְחַצֵּב, י being indeed elided in its place as consonant, but throwing back its sound into the preceding é and thus maintaining it. —

b) if יר themselves must be doubled according to the formation of roots, although this is rather avoided, and if it takes place, ר is easily changed into י, as קָנִים, יִנְגֵּל.

c) if there is an immutable long vowel before יר, as גֹּיִם *gôjîm*, נְתִיבָה *n'thîjâ*; in this case though, kindred vowels may unite before יר become consonants, according to §. 55, בְּצִיָּה.

A short *a* then does not maintain itself after יר as 2nd radical, but â after this second radical separates itself from the preceding יר, because *i + â*, *u + â* according to §. 55 cannot be contracted; such formation however is very rare in Hebrew, as מִדְרֶךְ, עֶרֶם §. 334. י is most necessarily maintained if no compound syllable goes before, since if a compound syllable does go before, it can also be elided, as מְדַרְגִּים : מְדַרְגִּים Prov. 10, 12 comp. with 18, 18. 19. 19, 13.

If a mere *aspirate* (guttural), or vowel in the root, follow, יר easily remain consonants, as they do at the beginning of a word, as צִוָּה, גִּנָּה, רָוָה, הִנָּה, or even go before, as נֶאֱמָרָה. This is just in the same way as *u*, *i* before â, or between two strong vowels in general, easily become semivowels. Such יר then form a firm consonant in the subsequent formation, which always remains the same, as בְּנִיָּה; בְּנִיָּה,

Thus also a guttural at the end of a syllable remains firm, if the following one begins with יר, contrary to §. 71, as מְהִיָּה, יִהְיֶה, בְּמִיָּה Is. 11, 15, instead of which we should else certainly find מְהִיָּה, בְּמִיָּה. Yet הִתְחַצֵּב with two gutturals.

2) יר after the vowel of their syllable (where there is no ground for their being pronounced as consonants) generally endeavour to sound as vowels and are only from special causes converted into consonants. To this then the rules on the concurrence of vowels §. 52 ff. especially apply, from which it is clear that:

a) *i* always coalesces with a preceding *u* into *û*, and *ı* with an *i* into *î*, without any possible exception. So that even a *ı* as appoggiatural consonant at the beginning of a word, if a prefix with *i* is put before it, necessarily coalesces with this *i*, as *בִּירִי* : *יִרִי*, *בִּירִי* : *יִרִי*, and even after the copula *וְ* contrary to §. 90 prevails here because this vowel sound already exists there, ready to attach itself to any possible consonant, as *וִירִי*, *וִירִי*.

b) *ı* before *ı* and *û* before *ı* endeavour mutually to attract each other in order to coalesce, according as the first or second sound is the more important, as the principles of formation teach us, as *הִינֶאֱק* *húnaq* from *húinaq*, where the *u* is the more important. An *i* merely shortened down out of a-e may return before *ı* to its primitive sound, as *נֹלֶאֱד* *nólád* for *nivlad* = *navlad*.

c) *a* before *ı* becomes *ô*, before *ı* *ê*, v. §. 54. If *ıı* are primitively diphthongal then they resist resolution (§. 96): a however before *ı* has been sometimes resolved into *e*, as in *שֵׁה*, *פֵּה* according to §. 222 for *sai*, *pai*.

It is also possible, though rare, for the semivowel to be elided for the distinctness of the form, as in the case *יֶלֶד* *jéled* for *יִלְד* where *ı* is elided after *i* which is in this place an important sound for the form, but the short *i* has not only become at once *long* in a simple syllable, therefore *ê* according to §. 48, but also in compensation immutably long.

96 *ıı* accordingly remain unresolved at the end of a syllable only in the following cases: 1) if *ıı* after *a* are originally diphthongs and consequently of stronger sound, as *קִיר*, *רִמִּי*, v. §. 54; cf. however §. 95, c. — 2) in the middle of a syllable of three sounds with *a* after the first consonant, in forms therefore like *בִּיֶּלֶד* §. 45; for in this case the short auxiliary vowel easily intrudes according to the firm nature of these forms, before the last consonant, whereby therefore *ıı* are made consonants, as *מִבֵּית* *mávet*, *בֵּית* *bájit*, in which the kindred *i* as being already represented by the *ı* is sounded instead of the auxiliary *e*; in many words however there is resolution, as *יֵלֶד*, *שֵׁק*. Where the auxiliary vowel has fallen away on account of *ı* as last consonant (§. 85) the rest of the vocalization generally remains, as *שֵׁק*, *גֵּה*; the generally softer *aı* however is sometimes even here resolved, *גֵּה* *gé*. The forms *קִיר* beside *קִיר*, *רִמִּי*, *שֵׁק* cf. §. 54 show that *a* in order to resist coalescence so much the more, has a tendency to be lengthened before *ı* when it becomes a consonant. — 3) in the final syllable after every *immutably long* and *discordant* vowel, as *בִּרְבִּיתִּי*, *גִּלְדִּי*; to which also belongs the suffix *אִי־וֹ* *du* from *ai-u*, as from the compression of the two exterior sounds of this group the *i* in the middle is absorbed in the *u* after it without the primitive diphthong coalescing entirely with the following vowel ¹⁾.

- 1) Besides this, *ı* remains as consonant after a discordant vowel in the ancient root *שָׁקַר*, *שָׁקַר* to *rest*, concerning which v. §. 222.

From all this it is clear that ר ר are easily elided, on occasions, by 97 sharper sounds in their neighbourhood, although it is rare. Where it happens, if the following vowel elides them, no trace of them remains, but if the elision proceeds from the syllable before, its vowel becomes long, and thus retains the trace of the vowel sound which has been elided, cf. above מְדַכְרִים and for the latter on the contrary גִּלְדֵּי, גִּלְדֵּי. — It is by a peculiar, rare kind of elision that ר disappears after a strong inserted א and before the vowel of a postfixed syllable, viz. in the plural forms מְבַאֲרוֹת, מְבַאֲרִים from מְבַרְרֵי, מְבַרְרֵי for מְבַרְרוֹת §. 382.

Concerning another of their weaknesses v. §. 114.

3) ר ר can by no means be sounded as semivowels when 98 they stand at the end of a trilitteral syllable; then they must necessarily be pronounced as vowels *i*, *u* because they have no support there. Indeed ר, which is much more frequent here, attracts the tone of the syllable so strongly to its *i*, that the vowel sound of the first consonant entirely disappears, as שְׁבִי (as to mere form = שְׁבִי, שְׁבִי, שְׁבִי) *shbí* פְּרִי, פְּרִי, and only the o-sound before, according to §. 58 does not easily suffer itself to be entirely expelled, as דְּמִי *dómí*; while ר as vowel remains toneless and leaves the vowel of the syllable before it, as יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה *jishtáchu*, בֹּהוּ *bóhu*, קָצוּ *qáshu*. On the other hand, as soon as ever a vowel becomes audible after such a ר, they become semivowels, according to §. 55, as פְּרִי, פְּרִי, יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה, יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה.

2. Among the usually so called *liquids* ל ל, the 99 open, or palato-nasal sound *l* is the weakest and most liquid, while the shut or labio-nasal מ *m* is much firmer and nearer the third class of consonants; at least so are they distinguished when with vowels: but either nasal, when closely attached to a *mute*, most naturally accommodates itself to its sound, and if necessary is changed.

The lingual ל *l* is the most liquid and soft after *n*. The rattling, rushing ר *r*, which is rolled out from the throat and posterior part of the tongue, must border on *l*, but be rougher and harder, especially in Hebrew; hence it participates of many peculiarities of the gutturals, viz. *r* loves 1) א according to §. 76 ff., so that it causes a discordant short vowel at the end of a word to be expelled by *a*, as וַיִּסֶּר *vaj-jásér*, וַיִּסֶּר *vajjásor*, וַיִּיר *vajjir* are changed into וַיִּסֶּר, וַיִּיר; and before the tone takes *e* or even *á* instead of *i*, as מְרַפֵּס; מְרַפֵּס. — 2) *r* like the gutturals, is incapable of sharp reduplication, concerning which see farther §. 124.

3. Finally, the firmest are the sibilants, which approach 100 near to the T-sounds, formed by a propulsion of the breath against the tip of the tongue, which hardly touches the teeth

and anterior palate. The simple sibilant has three gradations in Hebrew, which perfectly correspond to the T-sounds §. 101, the usual hissing sound צ *s* answering to the *t*; the softer sibilant ז *z*, pronounced with the lip of the tongue bent backwards, answering to *d*; and the strongest and sharpest ש *sh* like the german *heisse*, corresponding to the aspirated צ *th*. But the usual sibilant *s*, if the back of the tongue receives the air also, becomes the broad, obscure *sh*, which, like צ *s*, only corresponds to the nearest among the T-sounds, the *t*.

101 III. The firmest consonants are produced by a harder or softer *pressure* of one organ on another, by which the breath is for a short time entirely interrupted in order to be propelled stronger, more condensed from some point. Their sound is short, abrupt and hard, although in different degrees. They are therefore farthest removed from the vowels (hence called *mutae* ἄφωνα), form the firmest, most unchangeable basis of the sounds, and are least exposed to peculiarities and weaknesses. The chief distinction between them is produced by the three organs by which they are formed: K being palatal, T dental and P labial. But in every one of these chief sounds another softer or harder sound is again distinguished; the hard one is the shortest, most abrupt, the soft one is looser, more prolonged; thus א *g* soft, א *k* hard; ד *d* soft, ד *t* hard; ב *b* soft, ב *p* hard; these six are the *simple mutes*. We also find in either of the first two classes another more peculiar, hardest sound, produced by the strongest pressure and with an aspiration added and therefore broader and longer than those six, viz. ק *q*, among the palatal sounds, most like the rough aspirates ק *h*, and among the linguals, ט *t'* or *th* just as deeply formed and pronounced with a grating of the epiglottis, to which the strongest sibilant ש *sh* corresponds.

102 Such rough aspirated mutes are peculiar to many ancient languages: the corresponding sounds in Sanscrit are *kh*, *th*, *ph*. But in the progressive development of language, such sounds always become softer, hence also ק *h* in Hebrew were perhaps not always accurately distinguished in later times from *k*, *t*. The Romans retained *q* before the obscure *u*, but ק is represented by *x* in Greek and hence often ך by *χ*, as חַיְטוֹן , *tunica*. ט was unknown to the Romans: the Greeks have used their ϕ for it which undoubtedly is not very far from it ¹⁾; but the LXX for the most part express it by simple *x* which corresponds originally with ח .

1) It corresponds to the *dh*, or the aspirated *d* in Sanscrit.

103 Those six mutes ה *h*, ב *b*, כ *k*, ד *d*, ג *g*, ז *z* latterly acquired a softer, aspirated pronunciation; *b'* or *bh* (almost like *v*) *gh*, *dh*, *ch*, *f*, *th* (sipping as in English), while the ancient hard as-

pirates טק descend more and more to the simple hard k t. This only takes place according to the nicer distinction, if a full or a fleeting vowel precedes, which favours the softer aspirated pronunciation ¹⁾, as כַּתָּב *kathabh* כַּתְּבָה *kath'bhā*, on the contrary מִכְתָּב *mikhtabh*, cf. §. 173; however the LXX almost always put θ for ה, and often χ for כ without this distinction.

1) As in Sanscrit ta-daham for tat aham.

COMMUTATION OF CONSONANTS.

Since all consonants only differ in degree, a sound can easily be commuted for another bordering on it. Thus especially in Hebrew where there is so little firmness, a frequent and important commutation of consonants takes place, by which the same word often becomes very different, as צָפַן, טָפַן, כָּפַן *to conceal*; often too one intermediate member of the commutation is wanting, as זָבַח (דָּבַח) טָבַח. All commutation however of this kind arises from three sources:

1. *historically*, according to the historical progressive modification of the sounds, dependant on their nature and on the influence of the human organs on language. The general process of modification is, that the harder, rougher sounds become more and more exchanged for the softer, weaker ones, and indeed more or less in all classes of sounds; such changes began first in isolated words or particles, but then extended gradually farther. In any one language of the family however, a more or less general reaction may take place, by which the harder sounds again become predominant. In Hebrew, softening is indeed very frequent, especially in some classes, but on the whole rather beginning and scattered, and even uncertain and alternating, while in Aramaic and Arabic, every thing is more regular. Here and there too there are examples of reaction, as in Aramaic, and the language in the later periods, and in the poets, follows in most respects the usage of Aramaic. The following is a particular statement:

1) The T-sounds are easily changed into the S-sounds, since they are nearly connected, and in this change, the distinction of each individual T-sound is preserved in the S-sounds also, as ת into ס, or obscurer into ש, ד into ז, ט into צ. Some changes of this sort are of primitive antiquity in Hebrew and constant, as the pronoun זֶה *ze*, aramaic *dī*, related with the German *da*, Greek *to* (Latin *tu*, *hu*), in which the T-sound is undoubtedly primitive; others are only just arising, as פָּתַר (to loose, interpret) a later form like the Aramaic פִּשְׁר *Koh. 8, 1*. A strong reaction however, has again taken place in Aramaic and the T-sounds again predominate ¹⁾; this same reaction gradually invades Hebrew, partly irregularly, especially in the poets and late writers, as הָרַת = הָרַשׁ (χαράσσω = χαράττω) Ex. 32, 16, בָּרַת (fir) Cant. 1, 17 = בָּרוּשׁ; partly more frequently, as בָּטַר often, with the still more frequent בָּצַר (*tueri*), דָּבַח oftener than זָבַח (to be extinguished).

1) This is sufficiently proved by cases like דָּשַׁן for דָּשָׁן.

Moreover, T may by means of S be changed even into the mere aspirate *h*, as the pronoun *ta* — (*sa*, Sanscrit) — *ô* in some instances, as *vice versa* an aspirate may become hardened into *s*, *t* though not so often. The aspirate is seldom so hardened at the beginning of a word (§. 238); the change of a nonradical aspirate into *t* in grammatical flexion is more frequent and in certain cases necessary in the formation §. 365.

It is something similar when the hardest sibilant ט is changed into the harder ע, which occurs frequently in Aramaic, in Hebrew seldom, as עוק (to be narrow) Am. 2, 13. נָחַע (to strike out) Job 4, 10. רָעָה (to take delight in), רָעַע (to break in pieces), compared with צוק, נַחַץ, רָעָה, רָעַע (2).

- 2) Forms like בְּרָהַע (proper name) 1 Chro. 2, 34. chald. הַלַּע, חַמַּע, עַלַּע, which violate the rules of the formation of roots §. 226, prove that that ע is not primitive here.

- 107 The stronger sibilants change repeatedly into the softer ones, viz. ז into צ, as צַעַק (to cry), עֲלִיצָה (to exult), צָעַר (to be little) into זַעַק (very rare in the Pentateuch), עֲלִיזָה (very rare) and זַעַר and זַעַר into ש (ש), as צַחַק, עֲלִיצָה, and צַפֵּן, into שַׁחַק (not in the Pentateuch), עֲלִיצָה or שַׁפֵּן (rare and poetical), שַׁרְרִיז (coat of mail) and שַׁרְרִיז only Jer. 46, 4. 51, 3. בּוֹשֵׁשׁ (to act basely) Am. 5, 11 for בּוֹשֵׁשׁ; cf. §. 170 on ש.

The liquids ל ו ר are more irregular in their softening, so that ר as being harder and rougher not unfrequently, in the later periods of the language, is changed into ל, as אֶלְמִלִּיזָה (of doubtful etymology) Is. 13, 22, הַצְהִיר (to make bright) Ps. 104, 15, for אֶרְמִי; ל on the other hand sometimes into the softer ר, as הַשְׁפָּה and הַשְׁפָּה (cell), פִּסְתִּירִין Dan. 3, 5. 10, 15 (with ט only v. 7) for ψαλτήριον. ו is changed into the weaker ר, but seldom at the beginning of words and in the root, as נִרְטָה (to tremble) Ps. 99, 1 = מִרְדָּה, מִרְדָּה and מִשְׁטָה (to persecute), frequently as the end of formative syllables, v. §. 360, 2. On the contrary בָּחַר Is. 48, 10 = בָּחַן (to try) is a later and Aramaic change.

On the change of ר into ר v. §. 88. 93.

- 108 3) The harder gutturals are gradually softened, especially ע into א, as פְּתָאֵם (in a moment) from פְּתָע (a moment), הִתְאַב (to abominate) Am. 6, 8. גִּתָּל (to defile) Mal. 1, 7 for חֶטֶב, גִּתָּל.

- 109 2. Other commutations, which belong to the oldest period of the language, are most intimately connected with the formation and meaning of the roots. There is a manifold variation of the sounds observable in the most ancient period, as the root takes this or that modification, has the same sound as its basis, but changes it into many different shades and varieties; cf. above §. 14. It is seldom however that such permanent changes are without an important difference of meaning, as נָחַץ, נָחַץ, seldom נָחַץ to destroy, נָחַץ, נָחַץ, נָחַץ to blow, קָשָׁה and קָשָׁה (to be hard); there is usually a clear, definite distinction of meaning connected with it, and we may also remark that the derived, remote, more

limited sense has usually the softer sound, as סָגַר *to shut up* סָכַר rather *to stop up*; טָבַח *to slaughter* זָבַח *to sacrifice*; נָהַךְ *to pour*, נָסַךְ rather used of casting metal, or of libation; נָאָה *to be beautiful*, נָאָה *to be suitable*. Such commutations are the greatest and most unlimited.

3. Finally there are many purely casual changes produced by the near affinity of the sounds, partly within the language itself, especially in isolated foreign words, and partly according to the difference of dialects, which may perhaps concur again in one language.

The following are some special instances of this and the former kind: 1) the firmer palatal, lingual and labial sounds are sometimes changed for their softer, aspirated representatives, as תָּעַה (to wander) hebr. for תָּעַה aram. only Ez. 13, 10; פָּזַר (to scatter) hebr., פָּזַר aram. only in Daniel. These sounds however are very seldom changed into those of a different organ, as the pron. *atta* (thou) from the oldest time forms, as suffix, *ka* (§. 305), cf. *καίματος* and *τύματος*. — 2) Among the softer sounds r—l, n—l are most easily commuted; נָאָה and נָאָה are only commuted in the root. — 3) The guttural and palatal sounds עֲחַגְבִּקִּי, as יָשַׁר and פָּשַׁר (to be straight); עָטַר and פָּתַר (to surround). — 4) L seldom with the T-sounds as being linguals like L, as קָלָחַת (kettle) Mich. 3, 3 from קָדַח; פֹּדֵל (proper name) probably = פֹּדֵת, in the root עָלַף and עָלַף (to be dark), cf. also זָבַד and זָבַל Gen. 30, 20. — 5) The labials easily, especially at the beginning of a syllable, as דִּיבֹרֶן and דִּימֹרֶן (proper name) Is. 15, 2. 9. פָּלַט and מָלַט (to escape); but מָלַט always; גָּבַח, גָּבַח, גָּבַח (back).

C. SOUNDS OF A WHOLE WORD.

The nature of the sounds and the general euphony of the language are first shown in perfection when the sounds of a word are pronounced in connexion. There are therefore many general rules concerning this, which are yet to be collected.

1. *At the beginning of a word*, in the first sound and first syllable, the voice is most hurried and rapid. All kinds of affixes to the root are therefore most rapidly pronounced, and the *h* of affix syllables is most easily changed into the simplest aspirate §. 238 etc. Very weak sounds also, which are entirely unconnected are also gradually lost before the stronger syllable, although this is rare and only evident in the following cases: a) the א without a firm vowel in the pron. נָהַכְּ (we) seldom for נָהַכְּ. — b) seldom also ר and ך without firm vowel in isolated substantives, which can also be explained from §. 223. 225, as בֹּרַל (produce) for רִבְּוֹל, שִׁיָּא (elevation, greatness) Job 20, 6 for נְשִׁיָּא¹).

1) This so called *aphaeresis* is generally extended too far and admitted without ground.

On the other hand, the word is inclined to begin soft, with vowels, if the first consonant easily admits such softening. Thus the short *e* is sometimes assumed in Hebrew, if the first consonant is without a vowel

(§. 26), especially with *sibilants*, which are strongly disposed to it, seldom with liquids and mutes, but always only in isolated substantives, or adverbs, as אֶצְדָּה and אֶצְדָּה, צָרוֹץ, and more rarely אֶצְרוֹץ (arm), always in אֶצְבֶּט (finger) and אֶצְבֵּל (cluster); moreover always in אַרְבַּע (four), the guttural א seems to be the cause of *a* for *e*), and אֶתְמַל (yesterday) with תְּמַלְּלָהּ Job 8, 9. — This also takes place still more rarely, before a consonant disposed to it, with a firm vowel following, as אֶזְקִים and אֶזְקִים (chains) Jer. 40, 1.

113

2. When two different consonants clash immediately with each other at the end of a preceding close shut syllable, or in the final syllable with two final consonants §. 29, one sound is easily changed into the other more important one; and the softer, more attrited the language becomes, the more does this encrease. Accordingly, either the first sound may be changed into the second, or assimilate it, which is the most frequent case, or the second into the first.

1) According to the rule, only a soft weak consonant can be assimilated by the second; the second consonant therefore must be a firm sound, a mute, or a sibilant, and it is only seldom that the language goes farther in its aim at uniformity in the formation. Thus ה is most easily and frequently thus resolved, as הַשׁ *jiggash* for *jingash*, נַחַה *natatta* for *natanta*, תֵּת *tet* for *tent*; much seldomer ל, as יִקָּח *jiqqach* for *jilqach*; it is also possible for an aspirate, or semivowel, to be so lost, that is at the beginning of a word, where there is a tendency to hurry over such sounds; but it is very rare, as מִכְלָה (food) 1 Kgs. 5, 25, for מִזְבָּלָה, is the only example of מ; concerning י in the root, where other influences at the same time affect them, cf. §. 223 ff. ה as a firm consonant is, in an affix syllable only, sometimes assimilated with the radical sound §. 242.

That the language continued to go farther in such contractions in its later periods, is proved by the name of the town בְּלִיָּה Gen. 10, 10 compared with בְּיָה Ez. 27, ~~25~~ 23.

For some rare instances of *n* bounding off before *t* v. §. 175.

114

There is also a mode of facilitating the pronunciation in such cases of concurrent sounds, by which, just as the concurrence of a hard T-sound is avoided before an S-sound in the root (§. 226), in the same manner, in the formation, a T at the end of a syllable followed by an S changes places with it, because it is easier to pronounce ST than TS; and the T-sound must then always accommodate itself to the accompanying sibilant; therefore according to §. 100 f. הַשְׂמִיטָה, הַשְׂמִיטָה, הַשְׂמִיטָה, הַשְׂמִיטָה. Only in הַשְׂמִיטָה Jer. 40, 3 has the transposition been avoided, the rather, be-

cause otherwise there would be too great a concurrence of T-sounds.

2) The second, weaker sound is assimilated by the preceding firmer one, in the termination דְּהוּ *dt-hu*, in which the aspirate is in fact harder to pronounce, which is often changed into דְּטוּ *dttu*, and in דְּהָה *dt-ha*, which on account of the affinity of the vowel *a* is regularly changed into דְּטָה *dtta*, v. §. 305.

When the same consonants come together without a long vowel to separate them, they endeavour to unite in a single double sound; for the recurrence of the same consonants has something disagreeable in it, and never happens at the beginning of roots (§. 226) and is only possible, at the beginning of words, in external affix syllables, as דְּהִתְּבֵן ; but afterwards is always if possible avoided. It is however only possible for them to unite, when there is not an immutable long vowel either between ¹), or before the two sounds, which keeps them apart and hinders their union; it is still less possible for them to be united, if the first of these consonants is in itself double, since its vowel is then as firmly supported as if it was long, as הִלְל ; the contraction is also more difficult, if the postfixes are not closely attached ²). If the first of these sounds is without a distinct vowel, the union remains without further consequences, as נִרְדֵּד is simply changed into נִרְדֵּד §. 297; but if it has a distinct vowel, the vowel is first displaced by the union, but presses forward and returns again before the double sound, as רַבּוֹב *rabob* (the *a* of the first syllable is not essential §. 37) רֹב *rob* (for *robb* §. 118).

1) The preceding vowel, however, may be more easily shortened in this effort at contraction; thus in a word in which too many similar sounds come together in an extraordinary manner, וְיִכְרְצֵנִי Job 31, 15 for וְיִכְרְצֵנִי §. 47. A parallel instance is וְיִתְּבֵנִי Is. 64, 6 for וְיִתְּבֵנִי , where the obscure, heavy *u* has opposed the audible reduplication of the hard consonant. — But these are perhaps the only examples, and according to §. 296 f. וְ is not without influence on this shortening.

2) Hence always before suffixes, as וְיִכְרְצֵנִי without union.

A very kindred consonant, however, is only resolved into the following one, when they come in actual contact §. 113, and even then, very seldom with a radical letter, as זָהָה for זָהָה §. 435; oftener and almost regularly with *h* of the affix syllable הָה §. 243, as הִרְפָּה , הִרְפָּה for הִרְפָּה ; at the same time we find הִרְפָּה Jdgs. 19, 22.

118 On whatever cause the reduplication of a consonant may depend, still a peculiar and appropriate condition of the sounds themselves is necessary to render the reduplication audible. It is most audible between two distinct vowels, and firm consonants are more capable of distinct reduplication than weak or liquid ones, the unaspirated ones than the aspirated. Hence there are gradations according to which reduplication becomes gradually less audible and distinct:

1) Reduplication is not distinctly audible at the end of a word without a vowel; to which is to be added, that the final vowel, according to §. 33, must assume the longer tonic pronunciation, which removes all trace of audible reduplication, cf. מְסֻבָּה: מְסֻבִּים; גָּלִיל: גָּלִילִים; רָצוּהָ: רָצוּהָהּ.

119 2) If the consonant to be doubled begins the following syllable as *appoggiatural* consonant, and consequently *without a distinct vowel*, it is more difficult to hear the reduplication distinctly and it gradually disappears, without altering the pronunciation of the word in other respects¹⁾. This however does not affect all sounds equally: most easily the soft, liquid sounds which are so easily extended, especially לִירָה; with the firmer sounds it decreases by degrees. Reduplication is also more easily lost in words and formations of very frequent use, just as when the same consonant occurs twice following (§. 116). Thus הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה (*behold me*) (but not in הִנֵּה, הִנֵּה) (*praise ye*); with the ה of participles, as הַמְבַקֵּשׁ (*the seeker*); not so often with sibilants, as הַמְבַקֵּשׁ Is. 59, 10. יִשְׂאוּ (*they raise*), כִּסְאוֹ (*his throne*), הַמְבַקֵּשׁ for הַב Ex. 7, 29; often too with the aspirated ק, as בַּמֶּקֶל (*my staff*) מְבַקְשִׁים (*seekers*) Cant. 6, 1; very seldom with ט, as תַּטְעִי Is. 17, 10 in some edit.

1) So that the short vowel before, and the fragmentary vowel after, both remain. See some rare exceptions to the latter, in which the short vowel takes the following consonant entirely to its own syllable §. 122. The short vowel appears too to become long sometimes in a perfectly simple syllable, if the two examples יִהְיֶה֩ 1 Chr. 23, 6. תִּרְצֶה֩ Ps. 62, 4 are correct as to the reading; cf. the var. lect.

120 3) The gutturals אהה are absolutely incapable of audible reduplication §. 81. The influence if their reduplication, however, may be more or less sensible in two degrees: 1) the vowel going before may remain short and sharp, as it was, and be pronounced *on* the guttural without actually doubling it (this may be called *weak* reduplication); or 2) even this trace of audible reduplication may disappear, so that the vowel before becomes separated and long, in a simple syllable, so that ā, ī, ū according to §. 48 are changed into â, ê,

ô, e. g. מֵאֵן, מֵאֵן, מֵאֵן into מֵאֵן, מֵאֵן, מֵאֵן. The complete separation of the syllable, however, produced by the second method, does not take place if the guttural becomes the final consonant by apocopation; for then, as that consonant is in itself incapable of reduplication (§. 118), the prolongation of the vowel may also not take place, cf. תִּתְרַע from תִּתְרַעַה Prov. 22, 24, תַּעַר from תַּעַרַה Ps. 141, 8 compared with תִּתְרַר from תִּתְרַרַה Dt. 2, 9.

This distinction follows certain principles, in general, even though the transition from the first to the second mode be only gradual: 1) the *harder* gutturals receive most easily weak reduplication, ה regularly, ח frequently, ע not so often, א most rarely. To this must be added 2) that weak reduplication is only inclined to remain where reduplication is essential to a word §. 231. 328. etc., with external affixes it regularly, disappears entirely and without distinction of the guttural, as יַעֲזֹב §. 277, and only very rarely then does the short vowel before ה remain.

If, in an instance of weak reduplication, a short *a* ¹²¹ would be to be pronounced before a guttural with â, then é is always used for it, as הִתְחַבֵּה, הִתְחַבֵּה for הִתְחַבֵּה, הִתְחַבֵּה. The soft e appears to have been easier to the language than *a*, before so sharp a concurrence of a guttural end a long â, since the A-sound generally is inclined to change into E §. 45. The same change takes place before a guttural with a fleeting ô ¹⁾, as הִתְחַשֵּׁי; in this case too â descends to é, but it is to keep the following fleeting i more easily separate, since á— would be easily changed into áa—.

1) Chatef-Qames. v. §. 168.

The short vowel keeps itself, according to rule, separate from the ¹²² following vowel; yet some cases with the hard ה occur in which the short vowel has drawn over the following guttural entirely to its own syllable, so that הִתְחַבֵּה becomes הִתְחַבֵּה Gen. 30, 39. 41. Jdgs 5, 28, הִתְחַשֵּׁי becomes הִתְחַשֵּׁי. The same happens rarely in the cases mentioned in §. 119 *note*, in which the reduplication has entirely disappeared without trace; the only examples however of it are כִּסְאָה from the word כִּסֵּא (throne) of doubtful etymology, and in גִּידָה for גִּידָה §. 119.

The too frequent concurrence of gutturals is avoided (as in the root ¹²³ §. 226), in various ways; in הִתְחַלְתִּי (*have I caused to cease?* Jdgs. 9, 9. 11. 14) for הִתְחַלְתִּי the middle one is expelled, but הִתְחַלְתִּי has not remained which would be indistinct, but the second â has been changed into é הִתְחַלְתִּי *hé-cho*, to separate the interrogative more distinctly. Another instance הִתְחַלְתִּי is explained §. 443.

ר, which, according to §. 99, exceedingly rarely permits ¹²⁴ reduplication ¹⁾ removes at once all trace of reduplication and always lengthens the preceding vowel ²⁾, as בִּרְהָ, בִּרְהָ, בִּרְהָ for בִּרְהָ, בִּרְהָ, בִּרְהָ.

1) Viz. é remains sometimes in rare nominal forms, as בִּרְהָ *morra*,

שֹׁרֶק *schorrek* (thy navel) Prov. 3, 8. 14, 10 which has been once imitated in a verb כָּרַת Ez. 16, 4 for the sake of the assonance; besides there, only שָׂרַחַר Cant. 5, 2 according to §. 479, and another peculiar instance §. 129.

- 2) Only Gen. 14, 10 הָרָה according to §. 121 for הָרָה from הָרָה, which however may be explained by §. 420.

125 It is also possible for the reduplication of any consonant to become gradually difficult to the language, by the too great protraction and lengthening of the vowel before. This especially happens in awkward, unpolished languages, in which the light and sharp distinctness of the vowel disappears, as is always the case in Syriac. In Hebrew, this is still rare, especially in the earlier period, in which it only occurs in proper names and a few isolated substantives; in general too only with *i*, *u*, which as sharp and heavy vowels are more easily lengthened, as קִיבֹּשׁ for קִיבֹּשׁ (a weed), מוֹרְרִיגָה (threshing-sledge) 1 Chro. 21, 23 מוֹרְרִיגָה 2 Sam. 24, 22; וּקְשִׁיּוֹ Koh. 9, 12 according to §. 351, participle for וּקְשִׁיּוֹ. — It is also possible for a liquid, an *r*, on *l*, to intrude into the syllable thus becoming resolved, especially after *a* which is not so easily lengthened, but this is more rare and impure, as in the proper name דְּרַחֲמָשׁ according to late pronunciation 1 Chr. 18, 5. 6 for דְּרַחֲמָשׁ (Damascus) 2 Sam. 8, 6.

126 3. *At the end of a word*, where the influence of the tone shortens and flattens, a final *m* is easily changed into *n* §. 360; and a nasal sound is also easily entirely lost after the vowel, as מִגְדוֹ (name of a town) for מִגְדוֹ §. 341. Other examples of the kind see §. 222.

127 With regard to the vocalization of a word, the vowel of a syllable, in languages more rich in vowels, often accommodates itself to the more important one of a neighbouring syllable. But in Hebrew, because it is generally poorer in vowels, there are very few examples of this change. The form מוֹלֵךְ, in which the original *a* is, according to §. 45, regularly changed into *e* before the auxiliary *e*, offers a regular and frequent example of it, and the original monosyllabic nature of the word is much better preserved with the redoubled *e*, than it would be with different sounds; hence where the latter *e* is wanting the first also disappears, cf. בִּית §. 51, פֶּתַח §. 78 proves nothing against this) and *vice versa* the second *e* must be changed into *a* if the first is, פֶּתַח §. 79. Rarer instances are וַעֲקָרָה Jer. 22, 20, לִקְחָהּ Gen. 2, 23, where the fleeting *o* instead of a mere fragmentary vowel, merely depends on the heavy *u* in its neighbourhood, §. 169. Gram. Arab. I. p. 86.

128 With regard to the *transposition* of the sounds of a word, the case is the same as with the more frequent commutation §. 104 ff. It is for the most part derived from the earliest period of the language, without the language in its present form being conscious of it, as e. g. בָּרַד (hail) and בָּזָר (to scatter) are originally the same words. Further, the frequent occurrence of a vowel at the beginning or end of a root §. 216 ff. depends on a particular cause. Other transpositions may be explained on the ground of facilitating the pronunciation, as קָבַשׁ and קָשַׁב (lamb)

since the liquids stand more easily before the Mutes than *vice versâ*. The liquids in general, and especially *r*, most easily change their places.

III. CHANGES OF SOUND IN A PROPOSITION. PAUSE.

Two kinds of changes of sounds arise from the connexion 129 of words in a proposition. First, on account of the close *conjunction* ¹⁾ of two words, by which a *monosyllabic* word or at least a word with the accent on the first syllable (§. 34) becomes attached to another more independent word. This conjunction consists in the vowel which ends the word becoming shorter, by its shortness doubling the first consonant of the next word, and being so drawn over to it that they are pronounced together. Only *a* however, or the kindred *e* (§. 45) are most easily thus carried over; it is much rarer with the sharper and heavier vowels. There is a difference too according to the words: 1) the particle *מה* *what?* (but not *מי* *who?* though in other respects so like it) which, on account of its interrogative power, may be pronounced so rapidly and close on the following word, that its *a* becomes quite short, and the first consonant of the following word is doubled, as *מה-פְּשָׁעִי* Gen. 31, 36; hence too in the ancient writing *מה* was sometimes joined on to the following word, especially if it was a short one, as *בְּמִדָּה* Ex. 4, 2. Js. 3, 15. Ez. 8, 6. Mal. 1, 13. — 2) a monosyllabic word is easily attached to a preceding one, and usually in such a manner that the final vowel of the unaccented final syllable is not shortened before the reduplication, and the reduplication is therefore only weakly audible, as *עֲלִיתָ שָׁם* almost *'alitashshdm*, *הַשְׁלֵמְהָ-לָּךְ* Job. 5, 23. *וַרְאֵה-לָּךְ* 6, 5. 8, 11. *קִמְמֵי צֵאָה* ²⁾ *אַרְצָה פְּנִיךָ* (two imperatives, which are disposed to a rapid pronunciation) Gen. 19, 14. Ps. 94, 12. 118, 5. 18 (where *u*, *i*-*j* coalesce according to §. 53). The particle *נָא* (*quæso!*) is more closely attached, and its *j* is doubled even when the last syllable is accented, as *לֵךְ-נָא* Nu. 23, 13. 22, 17. Gen. 24, 42. and even with a complete shortening of *e* into *ë* *הִנֵּה-נָא* Gen. 19, 2. ³⁾ — With the liquids, which are most easily and frequently thus doubled, and especially with *ל*, reduplication occurs, although rarely, after accented syllables also, as Gen. 19, 2. 1 Sam. 8, 19 and before a polysyllabic word Ex. 6, 29. Lev. 4, 1. Cf. §. 198.

1) With *Maggef*, or the *accentus conjunctivi* §. 180 ff.

2) That Dagesh is not Dag. lene is clearly proved by *אַרְצָה פְּרָעָה* Gen. 47, 14. 1 Rgs. 1, 18.

3) The Masoretes go still farther in resolving a final *e*, *d* by reduplication of the following consonant, as *אַרְאֶה לָם* for *אַרְאֶם* (I look upon them) Js. 33, 7. *סֵאָה סֵאָה* for *סֵאָה* 27, 8: but in these instances from a wrong interpretation.

Much more important, however, are the changes of 130 sound produced by the *pause*, or division and close of the proposition. The pause in Hebrew does not influence the

voice only casually, as in more modern languages, but, as in many ancient languages, in which sound and form are more living ¹⁾, according to general principles, which effect important changes in the sounds of forms. The principal influences which the pause exerts are the two following: first, a strong retention of the sound, opposed to the hurrying on of the unfinished proposition, and hence, where the form permits it, a *retraction* of the sound and support of it on firmer ground; and secondly, greater protraction and delay of the expiring sound; both these however can only affect the moveable part of a word and, consequently, can only influence the pronuntiation of the vowels, and of consonants, which approach near to vowels. In cases where this impulse of the language is not hindered by the form from expressing its influence clearly, pausal forms are distinguished from the usual forms; for the power of the pause cannot be distinctly expressed in all cases, as e. g. a monosyllabic word with a long vowel, as קִיִּל, הוֹי, הָאֵל cannot be rendered longer by the pause. And since, on account of the manifold diversity and perpetually advancing development of forms, this influence is very differently exerted, the distinctions of the pausal forms are very nice and can only be thoroughly understood by a knowledge of forms; here therefore a few general rules only can be given:

1) cf. *Gram. Arab.* I, p. 78. 373 f.

131 1. *Retraction of the sound is only possible when the final syllable is either by origin, or by attrition, a weak, mutable one, not when it is firm and immoveable.* This retraction takes place usually in this most easy manner: a vowelless consonant before the final syllable §. 26) assumes the tone and a vowel at the same time, as גָּדְלוּ ga-dlu: גָּדְלוּ gadélu. Thus in the persons of verbs which end in vowels, the tone goes back to the primitive vowel before the last radical, which had fallen away in the flexion, as בָּתְבוּ (גָּדְל, בָּתְבוּ) גָּדְלוּ, בָּתְבוּ: גָּדְלוּ, בָּתְבוּ (imper. I. עֲמֹד) עֲמֹד: עֲמֹד Nah. 2, 9. עֲמֹד: עֲמֹד (שָׁמַע) שָׁמַע: שָׁמַע Job. 17, 11. The cause why this is not applicable to the termination of nouns in general nor even of participles, is because their terminations have not become so weak as those of the persons of verbs. — 2) Since the suffixes §. 30½ become gradually shorter, קָה is changed into קָה, in such a manner, that as a new vowel thus arises, the nearest short vowel is assumed in pause, as לְבוּשָׁה, לְבוּשָׁה: לְבוּשָׁה; moreover, the final a thus losing the tone is sometimes entirely thrown back, as הַשְּׁמִינִי Dt. 28, 24, which is regularly the case with the particles בָּה, לָה, עִמָּה, אִתָּה, אִתָּה (also אִתָּה Ex. 29, 35 which occurs between אִתָּה and אִתָּה). — 3) Syllables of three sounds, which for special causes have thrown the vowel on the second consonant, assume again an accented vowel instead of the first, and most

naturally short *é*; *o* only where the sound *o* is primitive, and *é* (§. 46) only rarely for a primitive *i*; thus שָׁכַח Ps. 21, 13 for שָׁכַח §. 319; of forms whose last sound is *ı* according to §. 98, in the noun, as מָרִי, עָרִי, גָּלִי, חָצִי 1 Kgs. 10, 7, מָרִי, עָרִי, גָּלִי, חָצִי, in the verb, as מָרִי, עָרִי, גָּלִי, חָצִי; Dt. 32, 18 from מָרִי, עָרִי, גָּלִי, חָצִי; the pronoun אָנֹכִי receives a long accented *a*, אָנֹכִי.

The tone is more rarely carried back to the preceding syllable 132 if it is in itself already a full one: a) in the case וְשָׁכַח Dt. 8, 10 for וְשָׁכַח according to §. 298, where the tone on the last syllable is weak. — b) in the particles אָנֹכִי, אָתָּה, עָתָּה, which are, out of pause, אָנֹכִי, אָתָּה, עָתָּה. — c) very seldom does this affect persons of verbs farther, as בָּלֹג-בָּלֹג, where the same word is repeated, but the second time, on account of the stronger opposition, in a new pausal form Ps. 37, 20. 137, 7. cf. Idgs. 5, 12.

The longer, more protracted vocalization of the tonesyllable 133 in pause, is only longer in comparison to the usual one. The following is a statement: 1) for *ä* in the usual tonesyllable there always stands *ä* in pause, בָּתָּב: בָּתָּב, וּרְשָׁן: וּרְשָׁן Gen. 2, 21. — 2) where *ë* = *z* originally belongs to the word, it is often changed in pause into *ä*, according to §. 46 while it may, out of pause, remaining in its original sound, be at once changed into *é*, since *ä* has a fuller sound than *e* merely lengthened to support the tone, as בָּז (booty) Js. 8, 1. יָהֵז (he has shortened) 18, 5, קָבַל (intransitive verbal stem) 60, 4, תִּרְמָסָה 13, 16, 18. 28, 3, הָשִׁב 42, 22 instead of which out of pause בָּז (not בָּז), קָבַל, הָשִׁב; this however only affects compound syllables (see the contrary קָבַל), and in the most frequent formations we always find *e* in pause, as בָּתָּב §. 253. On the other hand, *e* flattened from other sharper sounds always remains unaltered in pause, because it is already without the influence of the change of sounds, as בָּתָּב, אָתָּה, גָּלָה, בָּבֶל, לְעֵלֶם וְנָדָה §. 51; so also the other very isolated cases of *e* in the final syllable, as אָמַת, בְּרָזֶל, from which we are to distinguish the *e* arising in pause from a mere fragmentary vowel, as in שָׁכַח, שָׁךְ §. 132. *é* arising according to §. 45 from *a* may return in pause to the original *a*, as גָּלָה from גָּלָה; however *e* remains sometimes even here, as דָּרָה and דָּרָה, and always in certain words, as the adverbial קָדָם (eastward). On the other hand an original *ä* remains very seldom unchanged in pause, as in the adverb עָדָה (always). — 3) *ö* can remain in no tonesyllable according to §. 46, so that with *ö* as with *i*, *ü* the pause can make no difference.

In apocopated verbalforms which end in two unaccented consonants §. 289 ff., the pause may be distinguished in a peculiar manner by a vowel which is accented, but in other respects as short as possible, *a*, or *ö* where *o* is the original sound, returning to the last consonant but one, as חֹסֶף, וּנְגִמָּל, וּנְקָם for חֹסֶף, וּנְגִמָּל, וּנְקָם, וּנְקָם. This is very regularly observed.

- 134 The pausal pronounciation may be still more lengthened, if the consonant after the accented penult in *doubled*, which is only possible after the lighter vowels (not after *i*, *u* etc.); and the liquids again are most easily prolonged by reduplication. Instances however are rare, as יְהוָה Idgs. 5, 7. יְהוָה Ez. 27, 19. יְהוָה 21, 15 f. in which verbal forms the last radical is always doubled; only ו of the suffix וֹ is more regularly doubled when attached to verbs or particles i. e. when loosely attached, as וַיְהוָה Is. 38, 18. וַיְהוָה Gen. 3, 9. וַיְהוָה Job. 26, 4.

On more rare and irregular effects of the pause, as the form וַיְהוָה for וַיְהוָה §. 41 c, v. the theory of forms.

SECOND SECTION.

OF THE LETTERS.

1. EXTERNAL HISTORY.

- 135 According to all historical evidence, the Semitic alphabet, of which the Hebrew is an ancient branch, was not first used or made known by the Hebrews, nor probably by the Phoenicians (Luc. Phars. 3, 220), who have only the merit of having communicated this alphabet to the Greeks, and through them, to the other nations of Europe; but by the Aramaeans Plin. Nat. Hist. 7, 56. It must at any rate have been discovered by a Semitic people, because it is only perfectly adapted to the peculiarities of the Semitic languages, and the name, figure and use of every letter can only be explained from these languages.

The most ancient mode of writing was undoubtedly by pictures, which represented the object to the eye and. at the same time, recalled the name for it; and all alphabetical writing has proceeded from this. The inadequacy of such a mode must have been soon felt, since it could only represent objects cognizable to sight, could only imperfectly signify intellectual ideas, and was totally unable to express the *words* of a foreign language. The insufficiency of a picture-character was still more evident, when a language became developed and extended its monosyllabic roots by flexion and terminations for number, person, gender and case, and it was impossible to represent by signs the modifications of sound by which all those distinctions were expressed ¹⁾.

- 1) It is perfectly in accordance with what is here stated that the Chinese language, which has no alphabetical character, but only a picture-character more or less faithfully a representation of objects, has at the same time never advanced in its development, but continues still utterly devoid of all flexion.

From picture-character has the Semitic alphabet also proceeded, but in such a manner, that the definite image of an object and at the same time a word, which had the sound to be expressed for its first sound, was fixed upon for each of the 22 firm sounds (consonants) into which all the words of the language may be resolved: e. g. with the figure of a camel & its name also *gimel* would call to mind the sound g. Hence the signs of all the 22 sounds are originally signs of objects easily cognizable to the senses, and their *names* correspond to this origin. These names indeed have been very faithfully preserved by the Hebrews, but the signs have been for the most part very much altered and disguised, because in writing they retained the dead traces only from habit, without thinking of their meaning according to the intention of the first discoverers, and thus insensibly modified them.

Since the Hebrews received their alphabet from a Semitic people, it is perfectly adapted to the peculiarities of their language. It embraces just so many sounds as existed in the language of the early Semitic nations, as for instance, the gutturals, a class peculiar to them in their gradations; and though it wants signs for many sounds, which other languages have, yet it never has recourse to joining different letters to express a single sound (e. g. *ch*, *sh*), as other nations do, who have received from foreigners an alphabet not adapted to the sounds of their language.

A tradition of a fundamental alteration of the Hebrew alphabet has been preserved in the Talmud and Fathers, which must at any rate have some historical foundation. According to this tradition, the present character, which is found with unimportant variations in all Mss. of the old Test., and was even in the time of Jerome (in the fourth and fifth century) the same as we now have it, was brought by Ezra from the Assyrian, i. e. according to the later confusion of names, the chaldaic exile, and hence it is called *assyrian* character כְּתָב אֲשִׁירִי. The earlier, ancient Hebrew character, on the other hand, is called כְּתָב עִבְרִי *Hebrew* character. 136

There is much inaccuracy it is true in this tradition, especially as to Ezra's having introduced this alteration of the character, since the Samaritan Pentateuch, which was introduced into Samaria from Jerusalem about the end of the 5th Cent. B. C., and the new coins of the Hasmonaeans, which were struck in the 2nd Century, afford sufficient evidence that the ancient character was still in use as late as the last century B. C. But Ezra is considered by the later Jews, in general, as the author of all additions and external alterations, which the text of the old Test., according to obscure tradition, has undergone. If all the other historical traces

contained in that ancient tradition are put together, perhaps the following connected view might be gathered from it:

- 137 The Semitic character, from the time that we have any certain knowledge of it, was divided into two very different branches. The *western* branch, which has become especially celebrated in the *Phoenician* character, was also the character of the Hebrews until the last century B. C., was retained by the Phoenicians still later, and by the Samaritans even to the present time ¹). Its alphabetical characters are antique, but stiff and heavy, angular and uneven, without proportion and beauty. The *eastern* branch, on the other hand, in Babylon and the other countries on the Euphrates and Tigris (hence called by the later Jews, according to ancient custom, *assyrian*) became by frequent use much rounder, more regular, more ductile and beautiful, and was, even at an early period, gradually modified into *current* character. These distinguishing advantages procured it the supremacy in the course of time; it extended over all Syria and Arabia, and the Jews were so much the less able to resist its influence, because after the Babylonian exile, the northeastern or Aramaic language and literature made deeper and deeper inroads upon them. This powerful influence, perhaps in the last century B. C. and first A. C. must have abolished, or rather, only renewed and modified the ancient character. Soon after, however, in the encrease of Jewish superstition and worship of the letters, it became consecrated in all copies of the old Test. and immutable, as it has been preserved through all centuries, without essential alterations, until the present time ²).

1) Cf. Correspondance des Samaritains de Naplouse pub. par Silvestre de Sacy. Paris 1829.

2) Cf. KOPP *Bilder und Schriften der Vorzeit*. T. 2, and among the earlier authors the Buxtorfs etc.

The present character, arising from this source, has, according to its peculiar development, preserved a great regularity and grand simplicity in the form of the letters, and hence it is called, in distinction to other alphabetical characters, כְּתָב מְרֻבָּע *scriptura quadrata*. All letters therefore are equal in size except the three י ק ל, among which י appears to have been early so shortened, cf. Math. 5, 18. Moreover all letters have either a broad stroke above, as it were a foundation stroke, as ב, ד, ר, ה, ו, or at least firm points of support, as ט, א, ז, צ, ח. In others where the stroke would descend too far, it has been bent inwards, as נ, כ, פ; not so however with ק compared with the corresponding Q. From these changes some letters too, whose figures were originally more unlike, have become more similar, and

therefore more liable to be exchanged, especially ך and ך which are often exchanged, and ך and ך.

This character shows some tendency to the connexion of letters, and capabilities for it, since many strokes are contracted, and some bent up on the line; in some Mss. too we find beginnings of connexion. General usage, however, resisted this incipient tendency, even from early times, so much the more, as the sanctity and dignity of this character appeared to require the antique separation and distinctness of single letters; for even the connexions of letters, which are possible, are forbidden in the Talmud. If this character had been already a connected character at the time it became a holy one, it would undoubtedly have remained so, as the Kufic character in the Koran.

This character has only very few figures for *final letters*. 138 In the progressive development of a character becoming more and more ductile, current and connected, there are always found peculiar figures for final letters. This is especially the case in the more common Semitic modes of writing, in which the words are not separated, in the manuscripts, with sufficient regularity and distinctness; for the involuntary object and intention of final letters is, beyond all doubt, to distinguish the end of the word and sentence, by an external sign also. But as this tendency of the mode of writing also was only gradually unfolded, according as any letter offered a more or less convenient occasion for its exercise, the extent of its influence depends at the same time on the peculiarities and history of each alphabetical character. Only five letters have been influenced by it in Hebrew: ך, ך, ך, ך in which the stroke, which was bent upwards on the line, is prolonged straight downwards, thus representing the abruptness of the end, in distinction to their usual form; and ך which, being shut on all sides, marks the end of the word in a different manner ¹⁾.



- 1) Very rarely is a usual letter found at the end of a word, as Job 38, 1 (where, however, the particle ך is, in the idea of the writer, a part of the following word) and *vice versa* ך, not so unlike ך, in the middle Is. 9, 6 through mistake.


The alphabetical poems in the old Test. (Ps. 25. 34. 37. 139 111. 112. 119. 145. Prov. 31, 10-33. Lam. 1-4), in which the same arrangement is always found, with only unimportant variations, are sufficient proof that the 22 letters were early brought into a definite order. It is not clear, however, upon what principle this arrangement is founded; it certainly is not founded on a scientific one, as only the liquids ך ך ך come together; many of the others appear to have been arranged with respect to the meaning of their names, and at a time when these meanings were still understood, as ך and ך (*weapon* and *travelling scrip*), ך and ך (*hand* and *hollow hand*), ך and ך (*water* and *fish*), ך, ך, ך, ך and ך (*eye*,










mouth, ear, head and tooth) are certainly not undesignedly arranged; but the Hebrews have only adopted this arrangement from some other Semitic people, as they have the names. The following is a table of their names and order; the letters, when formed into words, being read, according to Semitic custom, *from the right hand to the left*:

1. א אֵלֶף 'alef	2. ב בֵּית bet	3. ג גִּמְלָה gimel	4. ד דֶּלֶת dalet	5. ה הָא he	6. ו וָו vav
7. ז זַיִן zain	8. ח חֵית chet	9. ט טֵית theth	10. י יֹוד jod	11. כ, כּ כָּף kaf	12. ל לָמֶד lamed
13. ם, מ מֵים mem	14. נ, נּ נוֹן nun	15. ס סָמֶךְ samek	16. ע עֵזַיִן ghain	17. פ, פּ פֶּא pe	18. צ, צּ צָדִי fade
19. ק קוֹף qof	20. ר רֵישׁ resh	21. ש, שׁ שֵׁן שִׁין shin sin	22. ת תָּו tav.		

The force of the letters has been more particularly treated cf. §. 67 ff. and 173; concerning *shin* and *sin* v. §. 170. To give a detailed explanation of the *names* of the letters is the business of Palaeography, inasmuch as the suitableness of many of the names is only to be recognised in the ancient figures; the following short explanation, however, may be still not unacceptable.




1. אֵלֶף. The name means *bull*, and the figure of a bull's head with two horns is still plainer in the Aethiopic alphabet.
2. בֵּית. The name means *house*; the figure should properly be turned thus , very like what it is in Chinese, and also in Aethiopic v. Kopp II. p. 93.
3. גִּמְלָה. Properly *camel*, and the long neck may be still recognised in the present figure.
4. דֶּלֶת. Since it properly means *door*, it should be of a long quadrangular form, and the Greek Δ still shows this figure abridged, as also the ancient Hebrew alphabet. ד which is only half of the figure, arose from the endeavour to write more rapidly.
5. הָא. It means something *deep*, a *hollow*, pit (cf. هَوَّاءَ, هَوَّيَ) and the Phœnician figure (almost ) most nearly answers to this,

from which  arose, and by changing its posture, the Greek H. The Hebrews omitted the stroke on the left and then wrote ה.

6. ה. The name means *hook*, to which the original, but rare, reverted figure J better corresponds. v. Kopp II. p. 92. 382.
7. ה. It means *weapon*, *armour*, perhaps *shield*, from which latter meaning its figure is derived, which was originally H, as it yet is in Aethiopic, from which the Greek Z arose. But just as the Greek Ζῆτα was shortened into ζ, the Semitic figure in Phoenician became almost a straight stroke with a hook as the top, from which then ז arose.
8. ה. Its name means something *encompassing*; we may either suppose a *wall*, or *fence*, or a *travelling scrip* (הַהֲרֵאָהּ         

54 §. 139. External history of the letters.

brew figure, in which however there should always be a crooked stroke at the top, was only so shortened at a very late period.

16. עֵיִן. The name means *eye*, and the figure should properly be , to which the Greek O and Phoenician figure approach very nearly.
17. פֶּה. The name undoubtedly means *mouth*, to which the Phoenician and Palmyrene figures in Kopp p. 199. 393 best correspond.
18. צִיד. The most probable meaning of the name is *screech owl* (צִיד, صَايَة chald.) but the figure has become hard to recognise, though its may be still traced from the Samaritan, ancient Heb. and Phoenician letter in Kopp p. 394, down to the present form. It is also not impossible for it to mean *net* from צִיד, צִידָה to *hunt*, *lay snares*.
19. קֶרֶן. PAULUS Memor. VI. p. 124 explains the name by  *eye of a needle*, but it would be more in accordance with Etymology and the oldest Phoenician figure (Kopp II. p. 395) to suppose  *circle* (קֶרֶן Ps. 19, 7) especially of an *ear*, to which the figure is not without resemblance.
20. רִישׁ. The Phoenician figure q, which was easily shortened into the Hebrew ר, perfectly suits the meaning *head*.
21. שֵׁן. The name *tooth* is clear; hardly any letter has so faithfully retained its ancient figure Kopp II. p. 397.
22. תֵּר. The Phoenician and Greek figure T suits the meaning *cross*, and the present Hebrew form only arose late.

The names, when considered together, prove that some other Semitic people, and not the Hebrews, invented them, and with them, the signs of the letters, for בֵּית, רִישׁ, נֶם and others, are perfectly Aramaic, and the Hebrews have only formed עֵיִן and עֵיִן according to their language. This people must have had a language still more unlike any of the now known Semitic languages, as the forms אֶלֶף, דָּלָה, and on the other hand אֶלֶף, שֵׁן, אֶלֶף, אֶלֶף prove. It is also just as evident that the names were discovered long before Moses, in the earliest period of the language, for all the names are still of the shortest, most simple form (§. 307) even though longer forms afterward arose for the same objects, as אֶלֶף, אֶלֶף Jdgs. 3, 31 for אֶלֶף, אֶלֶף. Moreover, רִישׁ is a formation foreign to the usual analogy of the Semitic languages, as they are found after the Pentateuch; and hence this name almost entirely disappears in Hebrew (except. Ex. 26, 32 ff.), and in the later dialects is utterly lost.

On a review of the names we find too that the objects from which they are borrowed are 1. animals, as ox, camel etc.; 2. members of the body, as hand, mouth etc.; 3. instruments, as hook, ox goad etc., all being from that class of objects which would be observed and receive names even in the simplest state of society.

From the endeavour at distinctness and regularity, it is a constant rule to finish the word at the end of the line, but at the same time to make all lines of the same length. If the last word did not entirely fill up the line, they dilated the letters. In the usual editions we find 5 of these litterae *dilatabiles* in which it is easy to lengthen the stroke: א, ה, ל, מ, נ; in Mss. still more. 2) Or the superfluous space was filled up by always the same unmeaning letter or other sign e. g. with ק in the editions of Bomberg; if the space was still greater, it was filled up by as many letters of the word, which was to begin the line following, as it would contain, but without points.

The later Jews, after the example of the Greeks and others, used their alphabet as numerals also: א—ט for 1—9; י—צ for 10—90; ק—ת for 100—400; the numbers 500—900 were expressed either by ה 400 in composition with other hundreds, as ש ה 700, or by the final letters כ, מ, נ, פ, צ; 1000 is א again; instead of י ה 15, which two letters can mean the divine name Jehova, and were therefore avoided out of reverence, ט 9+6 is used.

2. INTERNAL HISTORY.

The ancient mode of writing was intrinsically very concise and sparing, expressing only what was most indispensable, prominent and firm in the language.

Accordingly, it regarded the actual usage of {the living language, and only expressed what was actually spoken, not adhering to etymological minuteness, nor writing letters which could not be read (as the Syriac does, which at the same time has departed much farther from the original pronunciation). There are only a few instances in which a sound has been retained, in writing, out of regard to the ancient usage, after it had ceased to be audible or had been changed, as in the suffix יי—*av* according to §. 54, and in the forms יאכל for יאכל according to §. 50.

Moreover, it expressed a *double sound* which was not clearly and distinctly separated by an intervening vowel, but only prolonged and pronounced as if coalescing with each other (§. 113 ff.) by a single letter, leaving the rest to the living language, as מלל *millel*, דבר *dabber*, מִמְנו *mim-ménnu*; cf. farther §. 171. But as soon as ever the shortest vowel-sound, or fragmentary vowel, came between, the two sounds must be written separately, as אללי *ál'lai* רִנְנָה *rin'-nat* according to §. 32.

A fundamental peculiarity, however, of the ancient mode of writing was, that the alphabet consisted essentially of consonants only¹⁾. As, at the time of the discovery of the alphabet, the language was still very simple and poor in flex-

ion. such a mode of writing was not so very inadequate for its purpose. And although the language afterwards became more developed, still it was the more easy for their alphabetical writing to remain long stationary, without advancing above this imperfect rudimental method, since it is a characteristic peculiarity of the Semitic languages, that the *meaning* of the *roots* never depends on the *vowels*, nor on the change of vowels, (as in Sanscrit, Greek etc. ²) but always on three consonants, and the vowels change in *all* roots of three sounds in the *same* manner to express, according to laws as regular as they are clear and easy, the various *modifications* only, of which a word is capable *in a proposition* §. 15; e. g. its modification as *noun*, *verb*, *active*, *pass.*, *intrans.* etc. Accordingly, if an ancient Semite wrote only the chief sounds which are essential for the formation of a word, the fundamental idea was distinctly intelligible, and the reader had only to discover the peculiar modification of the meaning from the connexion of the sense of the words. And since the change of the vowels within the three radicals is very regular, e. g. קָטַל, קִטַּל, קֵטַל, any one acquainted with the language (and for the ignorant and foreigners they did not write) could at once supply the appropriate vocalization, without the least difficulty. To this is to be added, that in the oldest and most frequent forms of the language the vowels are, for the most part, very short (§. 203); that no syllable can *begin* with a vowel §. 25 those that appear to do so having at least an aspirate before it, and thus the language is not so weak and diluted with vowels, since the consonants are still the predominant elements, and two vowels can only come together under very great limitation §. 23 ff.

- 1) Among the Moderns who have maintained that an alphabet of consonants is impossible, and that א ו י were anciently only vowels cf. HERDER *Geist der hebr. Poesie*. Vol. I. p. 28 (or in the spirited translation of Prof. MARSH, "*HERDERS spirit. of Heb. Poetry*", Burlington U. S. 1833 Vol. I. p. 43 ff.) KOPP *Bilder und Schriften* II. p. 114; SEYFFARTH *über die ursprünglichen Laute der hebr. Buchstaben* p. 13 ff. This opinion, however, is refuted among others by the fact, that the letters א ו י are always treated as consonants *in the stems*, and consequently admit the most discordant vowels, as וַיִּבְרָא, וַיִּשְׁרָא, וַיִּשְׁרָא. On the very limited extent, however, to which א ו י were used as vowel letters etc. cf. §. 146 ff.
- 2) Of so much greater importance are the vowels in Greek, where the radical meaning of words often differs according to the mere change of vowels (e. g. δέω to bind, δέω to give, δέω to put on) that if they had been the inventors of the alphabet, it would have been impossible, however imperfect it was in other respects, for the vowels to have been omitted. Indeed they were soon obliged to use some of the letters in the place of vowels. although it is manifest that they did not receive them as such from the Phoeni-

cians, as \aleph α , η ε , ι i , υ o . They received \aleph as w first (Digamma) and η as h ; out of this latter they gradually formed the vowel η , and they left off expressing the digamma in writing, because every language, according to eternal laws, casts off its rough sounds more and more.

Much, however, was wanting for this principle to be 145 observed with all rigidity. For cases nevertheless occurred in which it was absolutely necessary, for distinctness, to express the vowel-sounds, e. g. in case, though it is a rare one, that two vowels come together, as $\aleph\eta$ *hói*, $\aleph\eta$ *galúí*, cf. §. 147. The mere progress of time too, produced an endeavour to render the mode of writing more complete; the consequence of which, as far as regards Hebrew, was, that they gradually became accustomed, since it was absolutely impossible to do without the vowels altogether, to write them in places where they seemed most indispensable. In this manner there was a commencement of writing the vowels, although so rarely and irregularly, that it is only a very distant approach to a regular, systematic vocalization.

No new letters, however, were discovered for this purpose 146 but already existing signs for consonants, with whose sound a vowel easily accorded, were used as representatives of the vowels. Viz. \aleph were most frequently used as vowel-letters, because their sound, when they are consonants, is little more than a hardening of the vowels \hat{u} , \hat{i} , and the softer pronunciation necessarily forms the pure vowel sound §. 87 ff. Hence \aleph are usually employed to express \hat{u} , \hat{i} ; seldom for the mixed sounds \hat{o} \hat{e} , concerning which v. §. 148. \aleph also may indeed be used to express \hat{a} , since the gutturals correspond most nearly to \hat{a} among the vowels (§. 76), and \aleph , as the weakest guttural, is at the same time least removed from the vowels. But the use of \aleph , even for the longest \hat{a} , is exceedingly rare ¹⁾, partly because this transition is not so easy as it is with \aleph , but still more, because \aleph , as the nearest vowel, appears least of all to require to be distinguished and signified in writing §. 43. To what extent, besides, \aleph , and rarely \aleph , might be written at the end of a word on account of a vowel, cf. §. 153 f.

1) As \aleph *qám* Hos. 10, 14. \aleph *rámôt* Prov. 24, 7 \aleph (poor) somewhat oftener. In these words \aleph supplies the place of the second radical. Without the root, \aleph is much seldomer written for \hat{a} , and in the later period, as \aleph *at* (plural ending) Ez. 31, 8. 47, 11. In \aleph (neck) β *au'ar* must be contracted into β *avvar*, so that \aleph has only remained because it is primitive.

There is an occasional later use of \aleph for \hat{e} in the middle of a word: \aleph *rásh*, because its sound leans strongly to \hat{e} §. 76; \hat{a} , in general, is gradually changed into \hat{e} .

147 The particular application of this method of writing the vowels depends on the following rules:

1. If the vowel, as is usually the case, immediately follows the consonant, and is so closely attached to it that the consonant cannot be pronounced without it, it is generally not written; the unity of consonant and its vowel in the written characters is so indivisible, that the firmer element alone is written. But when a new vowel follows a long or short vowel immediately, the former must necessarily be written, because it is attached to no consonant, and is in an entirely new relation, as *אלאי* *al'ai* הורן *'hauran* according to §. 54 ut., in the same way *בית* *bajit* always; after a long vowel, *לוי* *lōi*, *גוי* *gōi*, *דאי* *davdai*, *גלוי* *galūi*.

148 Among the usual vowels then, i. e. those that are dependent on the consonant, the short ones were not at all written¹⁾; but the long ones are so different on account of their length and weight, that they often appeared more important and to require to be expressed in writing. The degree of frequency, however, in writing them, or not, depended chiefly on the nature of the vowel sounds themselves. For, according to §. 146, the rule was not to write *â* at all; *î*, on the other hand, and *û*, were easily and rather frequently represented by *י*, and especially in cases where they have a very sharp sound, or are primitive, as in *נִירַשׁ* *nîrash*, *מִישׁוֹר* *mîshor*, from *יִרַשׁ*, *יִשׁוֹר*. And just as *י* was written for the diphthong *ai*, and *ו* for *au*, according to §. 147, so also *ו* *י* were very regularly used to represent the mixed sounds *ê*, *ô*, which arise, accord. to §. 49, from the diphthongs, as *בֵּיתָהּ* *bêt'ka*, *מֹתָם* *môtam*, *קוֹל* *qól*. This, however, does not hold of *ê*, *ô*, not arising in this way²⁾, and *י* is only rarely written for *ê*, while for the obscurer *ô*, which is more prone to be lengthened, *ו* is the more regularly written, the more lengthened the *ô* is in a word; as it usually is written with *ו* in the stems *גָּדוֹל* *gadôl* §. 322, *גִּבּוֹר* *gibbor* §. 328, and in the interjection *הוֹי* *höi*, and is wanting in the stems *יִכְתֹּב* *jiktób* *קָתוֹן* *qatón* §. 268, 249. The ancient mode of writing adheres very regularly to this different relation of the protraction of the long vowels, but the later mode less closely, in that it uses the vowel-letters in general more frequently.

1) See some exceptions in the final syllables §. 149. 153 — The obscure *u* appears, only before medial syllables to have been so lengthened, that afterwards it could be written by *ו*, as *כַּרְמִישׁ* Jer. 31, 34. The case is different with *הַמִּיתִי* for *hamit'ti* where the primitively long radical vowel resists complete shortening, even after the contraction, as §. 288.

- 2) as תיעתה *té'asé* Ex. 25, 31. In שליר *shalév* Job 21, 23 cf. Jer. 49, 31 it is more excusable, because *é* stands before the very weak *ר*, which remains there as consonant, cf. קר for קר §. 96.

Moreover, since the tone of a word has a leaning to the 149
end of the word §. 33 f., and the vowels are the more lengthened by the tone, the nearer they stand to the end, it became a rule to write the vowels most frequently in the final and the tone-syllable, and to diminish the frequency the farther the vowel was from them, as כתב *kótéb*, כתבים *kó-t'bím*, שים *sún*, כתוב *katúb*, כביר *kabbír*, תגלינה *tigléná*, in which the penult has a short, but accented and radical vowel §. 222. Hence this vowel which was so expressed was very often left out, when new accented syllables were added, as כתבים *k'túbím* (כתובים only later), גדול גדלי *gadól: g'dólé*, שועל שועלים *schuálím*, in which manner even the mixed sounds arising from diphthongs may be omitted in writing, although, on account of the greater indistinctness in certain forms, more rarely, as יינהם Ez. 33, 25 from יוני §. 148 יליכהו יוליק *jólíkúhu* Ex. 2, 9. 10. 34, 18. And because the recollection of the ancient infrequent usage of *י* as vowelletters was still retained, it became a custom to avoid writing two *ו* or *י*, the second of which was in a compound syllable, in two successive syllables, as צדיק: צדיקים or צדיקם *ṣaddîqím*, מוקמה: מוקים or מוקמה *m'qómót* (although according to the most ancient method it would only be מוקמה Gen. 1, 14. 15); צויה: צויהם *ṣivvítím*.

It is also clear from all this, to what extent the mode 150
of writing was irregular and uncertain, and in what cases the use of *י* could be extended in the later periods. In the most ancient writing, they are most rarely used; in those of the middle period a certain aversion to their too frequent use is observable; while in those of the latest, the endeavour after distinctness in writing transgresses even these limits more and more. The more sparing mode of writing is especially retained longer in certain words, which have remained unaltered from the more ancient periods, as נאם (*oracle*), and the proper name דוד *David*, instead of which we find in the latest books only (and in Amos, Hosea, and the song of Solomon, on account of the popular dialect) דודי.

2. A vowel at the end of the final syllable, which, con- 151
trary to the general rule of a consonant ending the word, sounds free and uncompressed, is of a peculiar kind; the final vowel too is often one which has been originally an independant, important word, but is converted into a suffix. For this reason, the ancient mode of writing regularly ex-

pressed it in many cases, whether it was accented or not, and in *monosyllabic* words it must necessarily be written. In particulars however there are many peculiarities here.

- 152 1) Final *u* and *i* are always expressed by יו, since their use is so near; as כתבו *ka-t'bú*, לי *lí*, ידי *jadí*, ימני *j'mant*, and in an unaccented syllable כתבתי *katabti* ¹⁾ מִמֶּנּוּ *mimménnu*. On the other hand, as soon as ever a sound is added, this vowel may disappear, since the rules §. 148 f. take effect, as צויתך: צויתך *šivvittka*.

1) Very rarely is כתבת written, which is probably not to be read full but shortened *katabt*. v. §. 281.

- 153 2) To express the other final vowels ה is used, a mere aspirate, showing that the word ends in a vowel-sound without the proper vowel itself being more distinctly signified; only it can never be *u* or *i*, because יו are the nearest signs for them §. 152. This is a very ancient, concise method which is characteristic of Hebrew. ה can accordingly be so written a) for â, which however is never expressed in the middle of a word, but is necessarily written at the end, where it belongs to the root, as גלה *galá* §. 222; or where â alone distinguishes the meaning of the termination, as in מלכה *malká* §. 360, אבהה *ekt'bd* §. 293. 433; and could only be omitted where â does not alone determine the meaning of a termination, as כתבת is written more frequently than כתבהה *katabta*, and מלכך for מלככה *malk'ká*. In אתה *attá* (thou msc. sg.), where â is not radical, but also not suffix, ה is more frequently written than omitted. In the later period only, and very rarely, is א used in the same manner, the more customary it became to write א in the middle also for â, as חגגה *choggá* Js. 19, 17 cf. §. 360, 1. — b) ה is written for *e* and *o*, as well for é in itself long, as for é only long by tone, as איה *ajjé* (where?), כלנה *Calné*, זה *zé*, מיה *mé* §. 45, תגלה *tiglé* §. 222; פרעה *Paqaró*, שלמה *Šl'ómó*. יו can indeed be also written for *e*, *o* according to §. 148: and where the mixed sound *ae* has arisen from *ai*, and is very clearly and distinctly sounded, י was regularly written at the end, as מלכי *malké* §. 414, עלי *álé* (preposition); but for the simple é, and the flattened é, whether flattened from â or from *ae*, ה was always regularly written. For ô, on the other hand, ה is used rather as the ancient mode of writing merely, which has been longer preserved in certain words, without any difference whether *o* has arisen from *a-u*, or not; in general י was more frequently written for every ô: thus always פרעה, שלמה (ô being shortened from the adjectival termination *ôn* §. 341); but שלה and שלו irregularly, נכה and נכו, always כה *có* (adv. *thus*); but in the usual suf-

fix ô (from a-u) ה- is only anciently written, but usually, ה-
 §. 305; always מגדר *M'giddô* beside *M'giddôn*. Still more
 rarely was א i. e. *d* in the later period written also for ô:
 פה *fô*, in Ezech. often פו, and פא Job 38, 11.

All these modes of writing with ה cease, if the vowel
 is no longer at the end of the word, and then the common
 rules §. 148 f. come into force, as תגלנה or תגלנה *tigléna*
 from תגלה *tiglé*, מקנהם *mignéhu* from מקנה *migné*.

3) An א could also be written after יו at the end, stand- 154
 ing for the long protracted sounds û, î, if the final syllable
 was at the same time strongly accented; this א marked that
 the word ended in a strong vowel, just as if a strong aspi-
 rate was uttered after the vowel, (as *h* in german is written
 after a vowel, as a sign of its being lengthened, as in *Ehre*).
 This mode of writing, however, has remained more rare in
 Hebrew, as נקיא Joel 4, 19. Jon. 1, 14 compared with the
 more usual נקי *naqî*, הלכוא *ha-l'û* once §. 281. This is
 also sometimes extended to ו written for ô, as עדו and עדו
 Zach. 1, 1. 7. רבוא *ribbô* §. 346, אפו and אפו *efô* (adverb).

3. If the vowel itself is sounded at the beginning of 155
 the word, its presence is so much the more consistently ex-
 pressed by the softest aspirate א §. 68, as א is there a sub-
 stitute for any other possible harder consonant, to which the
 vowel attaches itself. Unless this א as aspirate was written,
 the vowel must be represented alone, by itself, since it has
 no firm consonant to attach itself to at the beginning of the
 word; but by thus writing א as introductory of the vowel
 and indicative of its presence, the mode of writing preserves
 its consistency with itself. Whether the vowel itself must be
 written, or not, depends entirely on the preceding rules, as
 אמר *amar* or עמר *emôr*, possibly also עמר, for which, how-
 ever, עמר may be more distinctly written; עזרו *ezrôagh*
 §. 112, עש *'esh*, ע *'ô* §. 148, ער *'ôr*. When therefore a
 semivowel at the beginning of a word has been resolved into
 its vowel §. 90, it can be more distinctly expressed by א, as
 עשי *'Ishai* 1 Chro. 2, 12 for עשי *Jishai* v. 15, and with a
 short vowel עש *'zsh* Mich. 6, 10 for עש *jesh*. Only the very
 frequent préfix û (*and*) is always, more simply, written
 with ו, where it is softened from the consonant ו, as עבית
ûbét §. 90.

According to all this, whenever the same letter would 156
 occur in the same syllable, as consonant and vowel, in the
 ancient sparing use of the vowel letters, they regularly wrote
 the consonant only, even though they would have written

the vowel in any other case. Later writers indeed gradually give this practice up, in accordance with the general progress of the mode of writing. Hence 1) we find examples like לִיִּי *l'ijjîm*, נִקִּיִּי *n'qijjîm*, גִּיִּי *gôjîm*, sometimes even at the end בִּלִּי *b'lojé* Jer. 38, 11; double י remains often, but only in the forms יִרָא *jirá*, §. 271, where *î* is very sharply sounded; although we also often find יִרָא *jirâ*, יִרְאָה *jt-r'â*, יִרָשׁ *jirash*, but not הִרָא, הִרָשׁ for הִירָא, הִירָשׁ. — 2) for אֲמַר *'ômar*, which we should expect according to §. 142, we always find אִמַּר (1st. person sg.).

3. ORIGIN OF THE SIGNS FOR READING.

157 According to this then, this ancient mode of writing is still very defective and imperfect, contenting itself with expressing only the firmest and most necessary elements of words. An advance to greater clearness and perfection is, indeed, observable according to §. 145 ff., but its effects are so insignificant, that the characteristic peculiarity of this mode of writing remains unimpaired. For the ancient Semitic mode of writing is, according to its nature and origin, only the first step from a picture-character to a regular alphabetical character, and still retains the freshest traces of its early infancy. And since the peculiar nature of the Semitic languages renders the imperfection of this mode of writing very tolerable, (§. 144) that primitive mode, which has been inherited from early civilization as something sacred, has remained in all Semitic nations and languages essentially unaltered ¹⁾; just as the development of the language itself has rather stood still at a certain stage §. 12 ²⁾. To decipher the writing then must have always cost more trouble and attention, and only few possessed the requisite skill for it (Js. 29, 11. 12), although as long as the language lived, no reader of any reflection could be in doubt as to the sense of what was written.

1) For such isolated exceptions as the mode of writing used by the Aethiopians, Sabians and European Jews, in which each innovation must be historically traced, cannot be used as evidence against this truth.

2) It is perhaps not a casual coincidence that the most perfect language, the Sanscrit, has also the most perfect and concise mode of writing.

158 Even during the gradual decay of the ancient Hebrew language, the mode of writing remained for a long time without essential additions; for the memory of the sense and pronunciation of the text of the old Testament was preserved in the very flourishing Jewish Seminaries of that time, as far as it was possible for it to be preserved by the mere strength

and uninterrupted succession of tradition ¹⁾; for the faithfulness of tradition does not extend to the uncorrupted preservation of particulars. But the deficiencies of such an imperfect mode of writing for a language already dead, which were even in themselves very sensibly felt in the progress of time, were still doubly so, when after the composition of the Talmud the learned seminaries in Asia fell to the ground, and the Jews were more and more scattered abroad and dispersed. Many causes thus conspired to further the endeavour of supplying the deficiencies of the ancient mode of writing in such a manner, that the reading and understanding of the sacred text might be rendered perfectly easy and certain, and be established immutably for ever. This complement of the ancient mode of writing could not be a further development of the alphabet, because the basis of the ancient mode of writing was already considered sacred and inviolable, and the firmer, more essential elements of words were already represented by it; but the nicer, more minute shades of the pronunciation, which was all to be yet supplied, was superadded as a external complement by means of little signs, fine points and strokes, as a commentary for the interpretation of the ancient text; hence too, these additions to the text, or *signs for the reading*, agree most intimately with the marginal observations, or *Masora*. So great a reverence for the ancient literal text, as it was handed down by tradition, was preserved among the Jews, that the Grammarians, who made the new additions to the text, left the written text still unchanged, even in cases where they believed it necessary to follow a different reading and interpretation. Hence arose the distinction between the ancient text, the *written* or *K'tib* which they conscientiously preserved inviolable, and the text which was to be *read* or *Q'rt*, for which the punctuation was accommodated, and which not unfrequently departs from the other. And though the Masoretes appointed for public reading the text which they had established and rendered intelligible, the *Q'rt*, yet they did not venture to introduce the signs for the reading themselves, into any but private manuscripts of the old Testament; while the public manuscripts, or rolls of the Synagogue, were obliged, as in every thing else, so also in the omission of the points, to preserve the ancient form.

1) v. die *Abhandlung über Geschichte der Vocalization* von HUPFELD, in den *theologischen Studien und Kritiken* 1830 S. 552 ff.

When once attention was turned to this endeavour at 159 perfecting the ancient mode of writing, a boundless field was opened for the minute observation and distinction of what

was defective; for it is, in fact, an endless task perfectly to comprehend, and distinguish by signs, the sounds of a language in all their most delicate shades and relations. The greater the former imperfection of the mode of writing was, the more comprehensive and unlimited was the attempt to supply every thing, with the utmost minuteness and precision; to which is to be added, that the object of all this minuteness, was the preservation of what was most holy; and even in the execution of this attempt in the minutest and most insignificant particulars, the deep reverence of the later Jews for the very letters of the sacred books is displayed. Accordingly, this so called system of punctuation was farther and more minutely developed, and applied with more regularity and strictness by the Hebrew punctuators, than by the Syrians, and Arabians, in whose sacred books, and especially in the Syrian Bibles, a very similar system is found. Not only the accurate pronunciation of every letter, every syllable, and every word by itself, but even the inexhaustible variety in the pronunciation of every word in a sentence, according to the sense and connexion of the passage, have they endeavoured to determine by fixed signs and rules, so that the voice of the reader, following these directions closely, can no longer anywhere err, either in what is greatest or what is least. All manuscripts, however, do not perfectly agree in these points; for first, the very task is an infinite one, and many new developments of this system are still possible, as is evidently shown by a comparison of different manuscripts. Secondly, precisely in the more minute observation, and most delicate distinction, a variety of views and methods are unfolded in this very complicated province, and not even the greatest severity of the Masoretes could prevent the copyists from adopting them. Finally, the system, as it is developed, with its immense number of little signs, has something so heavy and awkward in it, and is, moreover, so loosely connected with the writing itself, or the letters, that the scribes often sought to lighten their task, and either usually, or occasionally, omitted many of the least necessary signs.

This system in its present state of development is found in all known manuscripts, which have signs. None of those that are known, however, are older than the 11th century. But it may be assumed as certain that this system has been preceded by more simple ones; as is partly proved by the figure of the signs themselves, partly by some, even now, distinct historical traces. The rudiments and first attempts may be dated in early times, and three epochs of the signs for reading may be now distinguished. The most simple distinction for the vocalization is a stroke over words of uncommon meaning, merely to attract the attention of the reader to something unusual, e. g. דָּבַר i. e. that *dēber* (pestilence)

is to be read and understood, in distinction to the usual דָּבַר, as noun *dabár* (word), or as verb *dibbér* (to speak). Such strokes may have been occasionally used in some Hebrew manuscripts at an early period, just as they are now found in the Samaritan copy. The second stage consists in a point differently placed to distinguish the sounds in a general way; a point *above*, therefore, for the high and strong vowel sounds, like *a*, *o*; one *below* for the lower and weaker ones, like *i*, *e*; a point in the middle of a letter to denote its hard, heavy pronunciation, in distinction to its light and simple one (§. 171 ff.). Immediately from this stage then, because it is a beginning of signifying the sounds in a right way, has the *third* gradually arisen, in which every thing is developed, as far, and with as much minuteness, as is possible; and from that simple point, a number of more determinate signs has been produced. The development of the accentuation is similar. The second stage, the use of that simple point in various positions (which is distinctly found in Syriac Mss. even of the 6th century), and also the rudiments of accentuation, are possessed by the Syrians, Hebrews, and properly speaking, by the Arabs also, in common; these must all flow from a common source, and it is impossible to doubt but that that source is to be sought in the early seminaries of the Aramaic christian Grammarians ¹). Its further development, however, to the third stage, is peculiar to each people, Syrians, Hebrews, Arabians; but with this distinction, that the Hebrew system has remained truer to its origin than the Arabic. An accurate history however, of the study of Grammar among the Syrians, of the manner in which it came from them to the Hebrews and Arabians, and of the consequences which it produced, is yet to be expected from future researches.

- 1) cf. die *Abhandl. über das Syrische Punctuationssystem, nach syrischen Handschriften*, in EWALD's *Abhandlungen zur biblischen und orientalischen Litteratur*. T. I. (Göttingen 1832) S. 53-129.

From this it is easy to determine the value of the 160 punctuation. It is a very useful aid and guide to the meaning for later times, whose minuteness cannot be sufficiently prized. It is true it is only the representation of a tradition, but that tradition is the best and oldest which we know. We must set out from it, but not therefore omit to appreciate the traces of the nature and life of the ancient language, which are at variance with the punctuation, which are often still preserved in the K'táb. For critical acumen is not the province of the punctuation, which treats all books of the old Testament as if they belonged to precisely the same period of the language, subjects them all to the same standard and constraint, and does not enquire whether Moses had exactly the same pronunciation as Ezra. The origin and value of the Greek accents is similar.

THIRD SECTION.

OF THE SIGNS.

1. SIGNS FOR THE CORRECT PRONUNCIATION OF EVERY LETTER AND SYLLABLE.

161 I. *Signs for the vocalization.* 1. The *vowels* themselves. The following is a view of them according to their signs and names with reference to their peculiar relation in Hebrew:

	A-E-I.		O-U.
	1. A.	2. E-I.	3. O-U.
Pure long	$\overline{\text{א}}$ <i>Qámeß.</i>	$\overline{\text{ע}}$ <i>ßére.</i>	$\overline{\text{ו}}$ <i>Chólem.</i>
Pure short	$\overline{\text{א}}$ <i>Pátach.</i>	$\overline{\text{ע}}$ <i>Ségol.</i>	$\overline{\text{ו}}$ <i>Qameß chatháf.</i>
Medial vowels.		$\overline{\text{י}}$ <i>Chíreq.</i>	$\overline{\text{ו}}$ <i>Schúreq or Qibbuß.</i>

The progressive steps, by which the signs arose, are probably the following: 1) the most simple and ancient is a point *above*, to signify the high sound, and a point *below* to signify the deep sound. 2) These were afterwards, when they began to distinguish each of the five vowels, so limited, that $\overline{\text{א}}$ continued to be used for *ó* $\overline{\text{א}}$ for *i*, which is in accordance with the nature of these sounds §. 43. $\overline{\text{א}}$ must have been early appropriated to *a*, because they endeavoured as much as possible to write the signs *under* the letters, which was a more convenient method. Moreover, they distinguished the sound *e* from *i* $\overline{\text{א}}$ by adding a point, thus $\overline{\text{ע}}$. The obscurer *u* was expressed by bringing down the *ó*-point to the middle of the letter; and thus a point is always placed in the middle of $\overline{\text{ו}}$, whenever that letter was used in the ancient mode of writing, which was very often, to express *u*; where it was not, the more distinct sign $\overline{\text{ו}}$ was written under the letter, whether the vowel there was long or short; so that both are often mutually exchanged, as being perfectly the same, according as $\overline{\text{ו}}$ was written in the ancient mode, or not, as $\overline{\text{ו}}$ and $\overline{\text{ו}}$ Gen. 3, 24. 1 Kgs. 6, 23, $\overline{\text{ו}}$ and $\overline{\text{ו}}$ Gen. 24, 5. 39 $\overline{\text{ו}}$ and $\overline{\text{ו}}$ Ps. 102, 5 $\overline{\text{ו}}$ and $\overline{\text{ו}}$ Jdgs. 1, 30. 4, 10. — 3) Last came the distinction of the sounds as to length or shortness. Only not in *i* and *u*, because their length or shortness is more limited, and may be, partly from the connexion of the word, and partly from the ancient mode of writing, most easily inferred; but from $\overline{\text{ע}}$ they distinguished $\overline{\text{ע}}$ so that the former remained for *é*, and the latter was used for sharp *é*; $\overline{\text{ע}}$ was lengthened by another stroke to $\overline{\text{ע}}$ for the distinction between *ā* and *á*; and short *o* is now represented by the same sign below $\overline{\text{ע}}$.

162 This last, however, is the most singular: for *á* and *ō* cannot have been originally written with the same sign. Probably this has arisen from a later confusion of two signs, which were only alike originally (c. g.

ֿ and ֿ) promoted and established by the later Jews confounding the sounds *a* and *o* themselves very much. The incorrect reading of *ā* as *o* may be traced back to very early times, and extended over large tracts (even over the east, cf. ABULFEDA'S orthography in his *Historia antislamica*), and even the fact of the name Qames being common to the signs for *a* and *o* is a sufficient proof of this; but it is impossible that the punctuation, which, in other cases, distinguishes long and short vowels so minutely, can have originally set out with this utter confusion of *ā* and *ō*, and such total forgetfulness of all forms. Great indistinctness and perplexity has actually come into the otherwise clear system by the confusion of the signs for *ā* and *ō*; for if we attempt to distinguish *ā* and *ō* in pronunciation, as we ought, the sign ֿ is of no service, nor are even a reference to the rules for the syllable and tone, nor a consideration of the other signs in the neighbourhood, sufficient to decide the question with certainty, but in the end it must be determined by a consciousness of the etymology alone, and an intimate knowledge of the language; the object of the sign therefore, which is to be intelligible to the eye, is frustrated. We will give a statement of particulars as regards the signs for reading, though we must in so doing anticipate a knowledge of the accents etc.

1. With regard to the *final syllable*, the *accent*, in accordance with the rules for the syllable and tone, shows that ֿ in a syllable with the tone-accent must be *ā* (§. 46), in a compound unaccented one *ō*, as דָּבָר *dabēr*, יָשׁוּב *jāshob*; so also ֿ before Dagesh forte is always *ō* in an unaccented syllable (§. 47), as כֹּסֶס *kossu*, but if the penult receives the accent, *ā*, as לָמָּה *lām-mā*.

According to §. 198 the vowel before Maqqef in a compound final syllable is usually short, as כֹּל-אָדָם *kol-adam*, תִּסְפֹּר-לָךְ. If there is an immutably long *ā* in the final syllable, it usually receives Méteg accord. to §. 198, as שְׁתִּי-לִי *shāt-li* Gen. 4, 25; but as Méteg is not always written in such cases, §. 198, we must read ֿ as *ā*, where the form and the meaning require it, even without Méteg viz. in בָּרַחְתָּ Ps. 16, 5 according to §. 401, קָרַבְתָּ Ps. 55, 19, 22, סָבַךְ Ps. 74, 5 (if we are not to read סָבַךְ Gen. 22, 13) accord. to §. 334. There are also, on the other hand, a few cases in which ֿ in a final syllable with a conjunctive accent (because it is very like Maqqef) is to be read *ō*, as סִטְטָ לְבָנֶךָ Jdgs. 19, 5 (8). Ps. 35, 10. Prov. 19, 7.

2. For syllables which have not the tone and do not stand immediately before Maqqef the following rules hold: 1) unless Sh'va follows, ֿ is always *ā* in a simple syllable; except *a*) in very few words in which an *o* which ought to be shortened into Sh'va remains (§. 58) viz. in קֹבֶל-אֵם *Qóbol-am* 2 Kgs. 15, 10. קֹדָשִׁים *kódāshim* שְׂרָשִׁים §. 382. *b*) before Maqqef in קֹבֶל-לִי *kóbal-li* אֶרְהֶ-לִי Num. 22, 11, 17; 6, 23, 7 because it is derived from קֹב *kób* with very loosely attached וְ §. 293. — 2) If a Sh'va follows ֿ it may be S. mob. or S. quiescens, or S. medium; but only with the first, where there arises a pure simple syllable, can ֿ be read *ā*. *a*) wherever ֿ stands in a simple syllable, Méteg must always be placed before the Sh'va mobile accord to §. 181 and this always distinguishes ֿ as *ā*, as בָּחֲבֹךְ, אֶרְעֹתִי 1 Chro. 2, 58. *b*) if ֿ stands in a *close* compound syllable, which, however, strictly speaking can only be the case in the middle of a word before Dagesh

lene, it must be \ddot{o} ; and since the vowel there never has Meteg accord. to §. 181 $\overline{\text{ט}}$ may by this too be known to be \ddot{o} , as שָׁרְבָן . c) if $\overline{\text{ט}}$ stands in a loose compound syllable it must also necessarily be \ddot{o} ; but since accord. to §. 181 Méteg also can be written in such syllables, we can only conclude from the meaning and form whether Sh'va is S. mobile and $\overline{\text{ט}}$ consequently \bar{a} , or S. medium and $\overline{\text{ט}}$ therefore \ddot{o} . Méteg is however often not written in the editt. and the cases which occur are: before suffixes מְנַדָּה *amod'ka* accord. to §. 310, Obad. 11. 1 Sam. 24, 11; before $\overline{\text{ה}}$ $\overline{\text{ט}}$ §. 293, as שְׁמֵרָה *shom'rā* Ps. 86, 2. 16, 1; in קֶרְבֵּן , קֶרְבָּן *kor'ban* according to §. 341; before a consonant not admitting Dag. lene, as דֹּבְרוֹ *dob'ro* Mich. 2, 12. Num. 24, 7; and especially in the penult. before Maqqef §. 198 Ps. 30, 4 (where another influence acts at the same time) and Ps. 38, 21 where the accent. conjunct. is not right. — 3) Since Meteg is written before every Chatef-vowel accord. to §. 181, $\overline{\text{ט}}$ may be a) \bar{o} , if the O-sound belongs to the first consonant according to the form, as מִנְאֵסִי *mín'así*, and therefore before Sh'va mob. מִנְאֵסֶה *mín'as'e* Am. 2, 4. Js. 30, 12; and if the O-sound is transferred from the Chatef-vowel to the preceding properly vowelless consonant, as רִתְּצִי , בִּצְצִי §. 462. b) but \bar{a} -o if the first consonant with $\overline{\text{ט}}$ stands perfectly unconnected with the succeeding one, in a simple syllable, and the consonant with the Chatef-vowel belongs to the syllable after; this can only happen from the article being put before, as בְּצִי *bā'oni* §. 464 nt.

- 163 The names for the 8 (9) signs are for the most part borrowed from the nature of the sounds in pronunciation which they are intended to represent, and so far resemble the names of the Syriac and Arabic vowels very much: 1) פתח \ddot{a} opening of the mouth; 2) קרי \acute{e} fracture, הֶרֶק *i rent*, from the fine, as it were, broken, trembling pronunciation; 3) קבוץ *u gathering* and קמץ \ddot{o} (\bar{a}) contraction from the contraction of the mouth in u, o; the appellation Qameß for \bar{a} and \ddot{o} arose from those who read o for a incorrectly; to distinguish the short sound \ddot{o} it was afterwards called קמץ חזק *Qámeß acceleratum* (§. 168). Moreover חולם \acute{o} abundance, strength, from the full, rich sound of \acute{o} , and שורק *u hissing*; 4) one of the last signs only is called from its form: סגול \acute{e} cluster. The names Pátach, Ssére, Chireq, Qámeß, Shùreq, Ségol have been altered from פתח, קרי, הֶרֶק, קמץ, שורק, סגול that they might have in the very first letter the vowel-sound which they are intended to represent.

- 164 After they began to attach these signs for the vowels to the text, they often came in contact with the ancient vowel-letters §. 147 ff. e. g. כתוב, כתיב, and although a double vocalization often thus came together, yet they both remained unchanged beside each other; the ancient one, because they could not omit the ancient vowel-letter §. 158, the new, because it far exceeds the old one in perfection. When ו or י for instance thus concur with a sign for a vowel, as in כתוב, it is called *scriptio plena*; when the sign for the vowel stands alone, as in כתב, *scriptio defectiva*; which names however easily lead to the misconception that י for instance is necessary with Chireq, and that the ancients must have

written י to express *i* §. 144 ff. The Grammarians have called י *Chireq longum*, and ם *Chireq parvum*; names which are rather superfluous and easily lead to misconception.

All *inferior* signs for the vowels are placed before, or in the middle of the consonants to which they belong; but *above*, Cholem, to avoid its being mistaken for the accent R'bia, is written after its consonant; yet for distinction sake a little before ו where ו was written as vowelletter for o, as צוֹנוֹת *avonot*. In the same manner the inferior vowel-sign is written *before* its vowelletter, as else it be might be incorrectly read as a consonant, as לִי, לִין.

2. The sign ׀ called *Sh'vá* ¹⁾ is the direct opposite to 165 the signs for the vowels and expresses the absence of a full i. e. distinct vowel. Hence for accuracy sake, it stands in general under every consonant not followed by a vowel; but from the laws and nature of the syllable §. 24 ff. it is clear that this is only possible in the following instances:

- 1) It is often indeed written שָׁנָא, which must then stand for שָׁנָה (as *Pátach* for *Pétach* §. 163); but the meaning *nothingness*, *vacancy* is not very appropriate. The other orthography שָׁנָא that is *rest* (softened for שָׁנָה as שַׁבָּת = sabbath) expressing the contrary to the motion i. e. the vocalizing of the sound, appears to be the more correct one.

1) *Sh'vá* is placed under that consonant which, attaching itself to the *preceding* vowel, closes the syllable, and according to §. 29 there can be only *one* such consonant in the middle of a word, as נִמְשָׁהוּ; but letters which from any particular cause are not sounded after that vowel, do not receive this sign, as קָרָאָה, תִּינָן, §. 54. A vowelless consonant *at the end of a word* too does not receive *Sh'vá*, as אַם, קִמְתָּהּ because according to the principles of the formation of stems all words almost end in a consonant without a vowel, so that the last consonant may be almost assumed to be vowelless. If therefore the rare case occurs that the word ends in *two* vowelless consonants (§. 29 f.) they *both* receive *Sh'vá* for the very rarity, as יַפְתָּהּ *yeshet*, to which also properly speaking cases like חָטָא §. 85 belong, where א has no sign because it has also no sound. In the verbalperson בְּתַבְּתָהּ, which regularly ends so accord. to §. 30, 1 *Sh'vá* remains under the ת even in cases in which the preceding weak sound has been resolved into a vowel, as הָרִיָּהּ, בָּאָהּ 2Sam. 14, 2. 1 Kgs. 17, 13 (it is wanting, however, in other places) or where it is contracted, as בָּהֶּהּ, אָהּ cf. §. 175.

Sh'vá is written with ׀, even when it is the only vowelless consonant at the end of a word, from a mere calligraphical reason. Because they preferred writing the vowels, which are usually placed below, in the

middle of the long ך , they wrote Sh'vâ also in its middle as a similar calligraphical improvement: ךְ like ךְ .

166 2) Sh'vâ is likewise written under that appoggiatural consonant which, according to §. 26, may go before any syllable, although the pronunciation is obliged to attach it to the following syllable with the most hurried vowel-sound, or the shortest *e*. The Grammarians have therefore called Sh'vâ in this situation Sh'vâ *mobile* i. e. pronounceable, audible, and the Sh'vâ of the first kind §. 165 Sh'vâ *quiescens* (because it *rests* i. e. is without all vowel-sound); this may be more properly called Sh'vâ *closing a syllable*, for Sh. quiescens, and Sh'vâ *beginning a syllable*, for Sh'vâ mobile. From the rules of the syllable §. 55-62 it is already evident where we are to find Sh'vâ mobile, viz. besides at the beginning of a word, after every complete syllable in the word itself: therefore after a simple syllable with a long vowel, as כֹּחַבִּים *kô-t'vim*; after a compound syllable, as מַמְלֵכֹת *mam-l'kot*, and therefore after reduplication, or Dageshforte §. 171, as כִּתְבֻּב *kit-t'bu*.

167 3) In certain cases a consonant which is without a vowel, and which is therefore to receive Sh'vâ, belongs neither to the preceding nor to the succeeding syllable entirely, but, being as the end of a *half shut* syllable, floats in the middle between both; such a Sh'vâ may be very appropriately called *floating Sh'vâ*, or Sh'vâ *medium*, as in יָדֵי (not *jā-b'de* nor *jāl-de*, but as it were *jāl'de*) יָדֵי ; cf. §. 32. 173.

168 3. The great intermediate gap, however, between a full vowel and its direct opposite is filled up, in some places where it appears necessary, by the *fleeting* or *Chatef-vowels*, as transitions from the pronunciation which is without vowels, or has only obscure ones, to the distinct vocalic pronunciation. In such cases we are properly always to expect an absence of the vowels according to the analogy of forms; peculiar circumstances however introduce instead a vowel-sound which is indeed distinct, but absolutely fleeting and rapid; hence the punctuators leave Sh'vâ indeed always in its place, but place the distinct short vowel after it. Only *a*, *e*, *o* however are found as fleeting vowels, proceeding from the three pure short א , ע , ו §. 161; for *i* and *u* are too sharp. These compound signs have received corresponding compound names — *Chatéf-Pátach*, — *Chatéf-Ségol*, — *Chatéf-Qd-mess*. These fleeting vowels are used

1) most necessarily and frequently with *gutturals*:

Viz. according to a correct feeling of the punctuators, the more frequently for simple Sh'vâ the more Sh'vâ itself without the guttural would be inclined to be obscurely audible. Therefore a Chatefvowel must always be used for the Sh'vâ beginning the syllable §. 70; so also for Sh'vâ

medium §. 167 always, on account of the loose connexion of the syllable, as שְׁחַדָּה, אֶחָד, צֶעַק = פְּחָדוֹ, פְּחָדִי; at the end of a *close* compound syllable, on the other hand, the *harder* pronunciation i. e. with simple Sh'vâ, may remain, and does so very often, but is also changed under favourable circumstances before the tone (§. 71. 74) into the softer pronunciation not unfrequently. These circumstances are the following: a weak guttural, and consequently most of all א, prefers the softer pronunciation; it is also more frequent *before* a liquid especially ל, ר, נ; cf. מִתְּנָה, יִתְּנֶה, יִתְּנֶנּוּ Hos. 9, 2. 2 Sam. 21, 6 compared with יִתְּנֶנּוּ; the vocalization is also easily resolved if the vowel according to §. 198 acquires a new retention by the emphasis or Méteg before Maqqef, as יִתְּשְׁבְּלִי from יִתְּשֵׁב 2 Sam. 19, 20. Ps. 40, 18. To all this, however is to be added that the fleeting echo-vowel is very easily shortened again, if the following vowel is shortened by flexion and the form favours a more rapid pronunciation according to its force, as מִתְּשַׁבֵּה from מִתְּשַׁבֵּה, יִשְׁעֶשְׁעוּ from יִשְׁעֶשְׁעוּ §. 73 this rapidity is not according to the force of the form, although it can still take place, as יִתְּקַן from יִתְּקַן.

The fleeting *a*, however, which intrudes after a discordant vowel, before the guttural at the end of a word §. 78 *γ*, is in most Mss. and in our editions not expressed by — but by full Pátach itself and bears the particular name פְּתַח גְּנוּבָה *Pátach furtivum*, as שְׂמִינִי, שְׂמִינִי.

2) They are much more rarely and irregularly found 169 with non-gutturals, since the Mss. and even the editions stretch many possibilities to a wider use. The only general cause which favours fleeting vowels here, is the easy exchange of a Sh'vâ to be read with a mere fragmentary vowel for a silent Sh'vâ in the middle of a syllable. There is no doubt or danger of mistake whatever with Sh'vâ at the beginning of a word, as וְלֹו, פָּרִי, פָּרִי, or *after* a compound syllable, as יִתְּשַׁבֵּה where Sh'vâ may be known to be Sh'vâ mobile by the necessity of the pronunciation. But in other cases, where there is this danger, the audibility of Sh'vâ is on the other hand rather increased as much as possible, i. e. it is spoken as a Chatef-vowel, especially where this lengthening is at the sametime favoured by other circumstances of the sounds. Hence too the nearest and easiest only of those three fleeting vowels, *a*, is most prevalently used; *e* is never found; and only seldom does an *o* intrude itself on account of a powerful U-O-sound in the neighbourhood §. 127. The particular instances are: *a*) to show very strongly that the syllable is only a very loosely shut one, especially on account of the obscure, heavy *u* which likes to be separate, as רָטַב Job. 33, 25, וְזָהָב Gen. 2, 12. 1 Kgs. 14, 21. Ez. 26, 21. וְצִעֲקִי Jer. 22, 20; moreover after the sharp *i*, as אֶמְרֹת Ps. 12, 7. Gen. 30, 38. שְׂפָלִי with Dagesh dirimens at the same time §. 172. Zach. 4, 12; more rarely after *a*, as הִבְרָכָה (from the interrogative הֲ and בְּרָכָה) Gen. 27, 38. in a close compound syllable only where it is broken up by Maqqef and Méteg, as יִתְּשַׁבֵּה Gen. 21, 6 (it is to be observed that a guttural follows there). — *b*) if the consonant has lost its reduplication, according to §. 119, where therefore both syllables may be more easily internixed, as יִתְּשַׁבֵּה Jdgs. 16, 16, לִקְחָה Gen. 2, 23. — *c*) seldom after a long vowel, as

תַּחֲלֹץ Ez. 4, 10. especially with the semiguttural ר, as יִרְכָּבֶנּוּ Gen. 27, 27-31. The influence of all these instances is stronger if the same consonant occurs twice following, to keep the two sounds farther apart, as שִׁבְעָמָה Ez. 35, 7. Zach. 11, 3. פִּלְלֵי 1 Sam. 2, 25. 3, 13. גִּלְלֵי Gen. 29, 3. 8.

Wherever else *o* is found for a possible Sh'vâ, that sound, according to §. 58, has on account of its weight at least remained of this length without being resolved into Sh'vâ, as קָקָרִי = קָרָרִי 1 Sam. 28, 8, וְרָדַף Ez. 35, 6. פְּתוּחֹת §. 389.

- 170 II. *Signs for the pronunciation of the consonants.* Under these is included the point over ש Shin and ש Sin. According to all traces ש was originally the broad, obscure sound *sh*, not the clear thin *s*. But as many nations and tribes always avoid that obscure sibilant and resolve it into *s* (as the Ephraimites Jdgs. 12, 6), ש *sh* appears to have been gradually softened in $\frac{1}{5}$ of the words in Hebrew, without the ancient orthography being altered. ש however is often written as *s* for ש, especially in the later period, as שָׁר Ez. 4, 5 for שָׁר; more rarely *vice versa* ש as *s* for ש, as שְׁכֵלֹת Koh. 1, 17 for שְׁכֵלֹת; if they wished however in the ancient period to distinguish clearly the sound *s* from *sh*, they were obliged to write ש, as שְׁכֵלֹת, שְׁכֵלֹת Jdgs. 12, 6. The punctuators then distinguished the ש to be read *s* by a point on the left, as ש *s*, in opposition to ש *sh*. — If this point comes together with a point which ought to be written in the very same place to express Chólem (without ו, §. 164) then, instead of there two points concurring together on the same leg, one only is written; hence 1) ש, is to be read *so* if it begins a syllable and has no other vowel-sign nor Sh'vâ, as שֹׁנֶה *sone*; 2) ש must be read *osh*, if the preceding letter has no other vowel-sign nor Sh'vâ, as מֹשֶׁל *mô-shel*.

- 171 The most frequent and important sign for the pronunciation of the consonants is a *point in the middle* of a consonant, producing its heavier or harder pronunciation. This mode of pronunciation however may be very variously modified according to the nature of the syllables and sounds, and three chief varieties may be observed; in the first two the point is called דָּגֶשׁ *Dagësh* i. e. *contundens*, clashing, therefore harder, heavier pronunciation.

1. The most general and important kind is, when a consonant is sounded double after a short vowel, that is to say, not successively repeated, but only prolonged and therefore pronounced harder; and hence in the ancient mode of writing only written once §. 143; this point is therefore called *Dagësh forte*. As this pronunciation can only, according to §. 119, be perfectly distinct and strong between two vowel-sounds, it follows further that *Dagësh forte* has its most proper place in the middle of a word, as שָׁבֻי *sabbu*, יִקְלֵי *ji-*

gallu; in final letters without a vowel it cannot be written, according to §. 118. It can only be written in the first consonant of a word on account of the connexion of the sense, according to §. 129, and has there a much weaker power; this peculiar kind may be distinguished as *Dagesh euphonicum*, or better *conjunctivum*. The gutturals according to §. 120 never receive Dagesh.

Modern Grammarians distinguish two kinds of Dagesh forte, a Dagesh *characteristicum* i. e. essentially belonging to the stem, as in גבור, בָּהֶב, בָּהֶב, and a Dagesh *compensativum* i. e. representing a sound which is contracted or resolved, as סָבַב from כָּבַב, נָהַת for נָהֵת §. 113; these names however, are rather superfluous and at the same time inappropriate. The distinction of *Dagesh dirimens* on the other hand, is important: when the final consonant of a syllable in the middle of a word is not attached closely to the following syllable, but floats between both with a short vowel-sound (§. 32), the voice doubles it after the preceding short vowel almost spontaneously; and hence a Dagesh forte is sometimes placed in this consonant to point out this separation of the consonant with Sh'vâ from the following syllable, and to distinguish the Sh'vâ (as Sh'vâ medium accord. to §. 167) from Sh'vâ mute. This use of Dagesh dirimens is not quite regularly observed; it is however properly found a) most frequently, where the consonant with Sh'vâ, although attached to a preceding (just arising) short vowel, and therefore floating over to the preceding (just arising) syllable also, still suffers an original Sh'vâ mobile to be very distinctly heard. The principles of formation show where and how such very loose compound syllables arise; the principal cases are a) with the interrogative הָ, which is most loosely attached, as הַבְּתָה (not to be read *hak-tonet* הֶבְתָּ, but *hak-k'tonet*, because it is derived from *k'tonet*) Gen. 37, 32. 18. 21. Am. 5, 25. β) in the *construct state* where Sh'vâ as being shortened from a full vowel always remains as Sh'vâ mobile (or at any rate as S. medium¹) and the preceding vowel is only assumed from the necessity of the pronunciation, as עֲבָרִי Dent. 32, 32; קִשְׁתוֹת, הֶלְקִי Js. 5, 28. 57, 6. Gen. 49, 10. Am. 5, 21. γ) so also עֲנֹתוֹתִי *Anatotensis* Jer. 29, 27 from עֲנֹתוֹת. — b) A vowelless consonant in the middle of a word does not attach itself so closely to a liquid as to a firm consonant²; hence to point out this looser connexion the same Dagesh may be written; it is most frequent before ר, as אֶבְרָה Hos. 3, 2. more rarely before other liquids in an *unaccented syllable*, as בְּחֻקֵּיהֶם Jdgs. 20, 32. Ps. 58, 9; for in such an accented syllable the pronunciation is firmer, while in an unaccented one it is resolved (cf. בְּחֻקֵּיהֶם with בְּחֻקֵּיהֶם §. 71. 74). — Moreover, ר itself sometimes receives this lighter reduplication 1 Sam. 1, 6. 10, 24. just as it does Dag. conjunct. also Prov. 15, 1.

- 1) Viz. Sh'vâ most easily remains as Sh'vâ mobile where a rather long vowel like ē is shortened, according to §. 416.
- 2) This is very clear from §. 29; just as it is easy to pronounce בָּהֶב and impossible to pronounce בָּהֶב, so בָּהֶב, is easier (since ה attaches itself very easily to the preceding vowelless consonant) than בָּהֶב, in which this attachment is not so close.

173 2. The six mutes ב ג ד כ פ ת have, according to §. 103, a very strong tendency to a softer, that is, an aspirated, vocalic pronunciation, by which *b, k, p, t* especially are gradually changed into *ν, ch, f, th*, and *th* still further, is pronounced lisping, as in other languages *θ, th*. In Hebrew, according to the distinctions which the punctuators have established, this tendency is only commencing and has its limits; but as the aspirated pronunciation of these letters appeared in the later period to be the prevailing rule, the punctuation has therefore considered the cases in which the original, or harder pronunciation remains, as a *hardening* rather, and has therefore marked them with Dagesh, which is distinguished by the name *Dagesh lene*.

This influence of Dag. lene by which פ ב etc. are pronounced un-aspirated at the beginning of a word, but the instant another consonant or a word ending in a vowel goes before (פרעה *paroh*, but לפרעה, לַפְרֹה *l'faroh, lifne faroh*) become hardened, is only in accordance with the pronunciation of the period when the points were established; it cannot be maintained that it was the pronunciation of the time of Moses or David. On the other hand, we have traces from the sixth Century B. C. that פ *p* must have been sounded *f* in certain words, independently of the distinction produced by Dag. lene. These words cannot now be pointed out; but it was probably sounded *f* in פָּרָה, as that word occurs twice in two alphabetical Psalms (Ps. 25, 22. 34, 23) at the end of the alphabet. In both פ is omitted, because, except the conjunction, hardly a single word begins with that letter; but פ occurs the first time in its right place as *p*, and the second time at the end, to supply the place of פ, as *f*: the distance between *f* and *ν* is not very great. In Arabic, פ is always sounded as *f*, while in Syriac it follows the regulations of the Masoretic punctuation in Hebrew.

The prevailing rule is that the softer pronunciation can only take place from its nearest cause, that is *after a vowel*, the soft aspirated sound of which influences the mute following it. Consequently

1) in a single word, Dagesh lene can only occur after a *close compound syllable* where the following consonant is in immediate contact with the one before, as קָחָהּ, קָחָהּ, and in the final syllable קָחָהּ, אָחָהּ according to §. 29. Where any vowel, however, even the shortest fragmentary vowel, comes between, the pronunciation is at once softened: therefore a) after a distinct vowel itself, whether it be the longest, or most fleeting, as בּ and בּ in יָבֵהּ, פּ in יָבֵהּ etc. — b) after the appoggiatural consonant (with Sh'vā mobile §. 166), as יָבֵהּ, the בּ in יָבֵהּ — c) after the floating Sh'vā, or S. medium, where there is a slight sound of a fragmentary vowel, with the half shut syllable, cf. §. 32. 167. The absence of Dagesh lene here is of great importance even for the distinction of forms; the following is a general summary of the cases: a) close compound syllables are always produced in the formation of stems; they are only sometimes wanting before the last nominal terminations, as אָבִיךָ, אָבִיךָ accord.

to §. 40, עָרַב (Arabian) from עָרַב accord. to §. 343. In נִרְבָּה (*fem.* compared with the longer נִרְבָּה) and שָׁרְבִית or שָׁרְבֵת Est. 4, 11. 5, 2. 8, 4 Dagesh lene appears to be wanting, because the guttural ר was *burred* in reading and pronounced with a fragmentary vowel. — β) half shut syllables always arise at the resolution of a vowel by flexion, where the consonant properly without a vowel assumes one before the consonant whose vowel is resolved, on account of the necessity of the pronunciation (§. 66), as הָרַד from הָרַד, מָלַךְ from מָלַךְ cf. 291, 415 f.; or with very loosely attached and separable prae- and postfix syllables, as with the suffix הָרַדְךָ §. 62, with the preposition בְּרַחֵב. In cases like כָּהֵן from כָּהֵן §. 62 the preceding syllable is indeed more closely attached by force, but the softer pronunciation still remains, because the stem-vowel *o* has hardly disappeared entirely from the consonant before; in the same manner הוֹסֵף Pfor. 30, 6 from הוֹסֵף. — γ) with gutturals the peculiar case גָּעַז from גָּעַז according to §. 73.

2) The same influence is also extended to the first sound 174 of a *word*, in such a manner, that the soft pronunciation takes effect whenever the first of two words closely connected in sense and pronunciation ends in a simple vowel, as וְיִהְיֶה Gen. 1, 7. In all other cases the hard pronunciation remains; at the beginning of every single word and of a sentence therefore; moreover, when the preceding word ends in a consonant: to which class of compound syllables those too which end in a full diphthong are for the most part attributed (v. on the contrary Js. 34, 11, Ez. 23, 42. Ps. 68, 18); lastly, after a word ending in simple vowel, but separated and disjoined by the sense (and consequently by a *disjunctive* accent §. 184 ff.)

3) It is remarkable that a double sound is not capable of 175 being softened, because the softer, or aspirated, pronunciation according to its nature, only easily affects a single sound, but with a doubled one is difficult and disagreeable (cf. in general on the proper aspirates §. 81). Dagesh forte in the middle of a word, §. 171 therefore, becomes at the same time Dagesh lene, as רַבִּים *rabbim*, כַּפִּיר *sappir* (although the Ancients wrote *σάππειρος*). But since a double sound is only sounded single at the end of a word §. 118, the hard pronunciation is also resolved there, as כַּף, כַּף *kaf*, כֹּף. In the forms אָתָּה (*thou fem. sg.*), נָתַתָּ (*thou gavest fem. sg.*) Dagesh with Sh'vâ §. 165 remain unaltered, because they have only just so arisen from אָתָּה *natant* that the soft *n* becomes mute and bounds off before the hard *t* in the final syllable. This singular effect only occurs besides in the dual שְׁתֵּי *fem.*, from שְׁתֵּי *two* for שְׁתֵּי, where Dagesh remains in the same manner, cf. §. 435. It is to be read *'shtájim*, almost *eshtajim*.

Moreover, the effort to avoid too great an accumulation of aspirates causes the mute, which ought to be softened at the beginning of a word, to remain hard, if it stands without a firm vowel (with Sh'vâ mobile)

76 §. 176-178. Signs for the pron. of the cons.

before the same, or a very similar, mute, as ^לבָּבֶל, ^לבָּבֶל; this further extension of the principle, however, is not regularly observed in the Mss. and editions, cf. Gen. 39, 12. Jos. 8, 24. 10. 20. 15, 18. There is a still more unusual application of this rule to two words closely connected together, as כִּי-גָאֵה גָאֵה Ex. 15, 1.

- 176 3. If ה at the end of a word, where it generally is not sounded as a consonant (§. 153), is to be pronounced hard, that is, as a consonant, it is there written with the same point, which is also properly of the same force, but in this peculiar application is called מַפְּיֵיק מַפְּיֵיק i. e. *producens movens* litteram, causing the letter, therefore, to be actually heard as a *consonant*, as בָּהּ ^הבָּהּ, גָּבֹהּ ^הגָּבֹהּ, גָּבֹהֶה ^הגָּבֹהֶה. If this ה however, has a vowel of its own after it, at the end of a word, like אֱלֵהָ ^האֱלֵהָ. Mappiq is not written because ה here, from its very position, can only be sounded as a consonant.

A point which occurs four times over א, where that letter stands between two vowels, and must therefore be pronounced harder as a consonant, almost like j, must have a similar force: רַב־אֵר Gen. 43, 26. Lev. 23, 17. Ezr. 8, 18; רַב־אֵר Job 33, 21. cf. §. 55.

- 177 The direct contrary of this point for hardening, and negation of it, is an horizontal stroke *over* a letter, called רַב־אֵר *weak, soft* pronunciation. This sign, however, is not very regularly found in the manuscripts, and in the printed copies (except the oldest, cf. Jdgs. 16, 16. 28 Masora) is almost entirely omitted, without any great sacrifice of clearness; it is however designedly sometimes properly placed where it would be most easy to fall into a mistake: 1) most frequently as a sign that *Dagesh lene* cannot stand there, e. g. after Sh'vâ medium, where one might read incorrectly, as בַּרְתָּה ^הבַּרְתָּה, not *baita*; מְזַבֵּה ^המְזַבֵּה, and even besides, as מְזַבֵּה ^המְזַבֵּה, — 2) more rarely as a sign that *Dagesh forte* cannot stand there (because most of the cases in which *Dagesh forte* cannot stand are easily distinguished by the division of the syllables) chiefly only where one might easily erroneously suppose *Dagesh forte* necessary, as רַב־אֵר Gen. 7, 23 (active, *then he destroyed*; רַב־אֵר would be passive *then was destroyed*), בִּקְשֵׁה ^הבִּקְשֵׁה, imp. Piel, cf. §. 119. But this sign was never placed over the gutturals and ר, because they can neither receive *Dagesh lene* nor, properly speaking, *Dagesh forte* either; there exists therefore no object for the sign over them. — 3) in the same manner, as negation of *Mappiq* §. 176 and is found even in our editions in places where an ה־, which one might easily mistake from the connexion to be the suffix fem. sg. and read accordingly ה־, is not to be so read, as אֶתְּהָ 1 Sam. 20, 20. Job 31, 22.

- 178 All that is here said from §. 171-177 upon the hard and soft pronunciation of consonants, and the signs for it, is not confirmed by any thing so much as by the example of the Syrians, who observe the same minuteness in the copies of their sacred books. v. EWALD'S *Abhandlungen zur bibl. und oriental. Litteratur* p. 82-90 quoted above. Some traces at least of similar distinctions are found even in the dialect of northern Arabia, and in Persian, as for instance, the stricter orthography requires

בְּגָדָז, בְּשִׁשָּׁז, cf. the grammatical verses in FLEISCHER'S not. ad Abulfedae Hist. Anteislam. p. 212. Abulfeda always expresses the aspiration in Hebrew words, and its absence, in Arabic letters also. How old, however, softening is in Hebrew is another question.

Former Grammarians always set out, in the point of view 179 from which they consider the language, and in their expressions, on the presupposition of the existence of these signs for the vowels and consonants, without keeping in view the real nature of the ancient written text independent of the more modern punctuation. Hence they call the letters ה, ו, י, when they loose their power as consonants and stand immediately after the sign for a vowel, and thus appear to *rest* in that vowel, *litterae quiescentes*, as י in קים, קים, קי, ה in קרא, קלה, but if they are sounded as consonants, *litterae motae* or *mobiles*, as י in קריה. They also call one of these letters, which looses its power as consonant and stands still farther removed from a vowel-sign, *littera otians* (which therefore peculiarly relates to א), as in וְיִצְיָא §. 85, עֲדוּא §. 154. These names, however, have little meaning, and are inappropriate.

2. ACCENTUATION, OR SIGNS FOR THE TONE OF WORDS AND PROPOSITIONS.

Tone is the particular raising of the voice which is added 180 to the natural sound. For it properly proceeds from the sense and life of the sentence, distinguishing that which is most important and prominent. The tone of words in a proposition is manifestly regulated by the sense of the whole; but even in a single word, the tone of the syllables must be originally determined by the meaning of the form and composition. The concurrence of particular sounds in a single word may, indeed, also influence the tone of the syllables, since through it, many syllables must in themselves be raised, and definite laws have been established for the tone of words (§. 33 f.): this influence, however, only modifies the former, more general law, without destroying it.

Opposed to this raising is *sinking*, or tonelessness; this however has various grades. For according to the law of the rhythm, only those syllables are naturally sunk before the raising which are in its immediate neighbourhood; but in the remote members there arises again a gentle rise, a counter-tone, according to the same natural law, which can exert a more or less sensible influence according to circumstances, as for instance in the last syllable of the word *livelihood*. These three things, therefore, are to be clearly distinguished:

tone, high tone, the ruling one; *sinking*, utter tonelessness; and *countertone*, or *deep tone*. As this holds of polysyllabic words, so also it holds of propositions of large and small extent, in the most manifold way. The raising is indeed often attended by a new one of a similar kind in its immediate neighbourhood, since the peculiar concurrence of sounds may favour this in a single word, and the sense favour it in a proposition; but this does not destroy that general and natural principle.

How the tone then thus governs the single syllables of a word, and how it regulates whole propositions with greater freedom and variation, every where giving the sentence first unity, colour. and life (§. 19) all this has the accentuation endeavoured to determine with the greatest precision and minuteness. It is equally extended therefore as well to a single word, as to the connexion of words according to the sense and rhythm, and has established a number of signs to attain this end as precisely as possible. The most general sign for any raising of the voice is $\overline{\quad}$, usually called *Méteg*, *fraenum*, *retinaculum*, to denote the delay, the lingering of the voice. It stands, as all these signs properly do, *after* the vowel sign, by way of showing what is *added* to the natural sound of a syllable or word.

181 1. *Tone of a single word.* Every word has one chief tone which according to definite laws (the particular application of which is shown in the theory of forms) has established its position always towards the end of the word §. 34. According to the law of the rhythm however, and, occasionally, on account of certain sounds, a deep tone, or more gentle raising, may be also heard before it, which is denoted in the punctuation by $\overline{\quad}$.

1. According to the law of the rhythm, the sound immediately before the tonesyllable must sink, or be toneless. But the vowel which is separated from the final syllable by even the most fleeting vowel only can be again raised, and consequently receive Méteg; and if a full syllable goes before, it is a rule to raise the second syllable from the tone. Méteg however is very rarely written with a close compound syllable here, because its vowel is already sharpened by the nature of the syllable, as בִּתְּחִילָה Idgs. 5, 9. וְיִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה (var. lect.) Gen. 33, 7. וְיִתְחַדְּדוּ 1 Kgs. 18, 28 (others have not Méteg at the beginning) it is only frequent in בְּתִיבָם because it is to be read in an unusual way *bóttekém* according to §. 51. Méteg always stands on the other hand with the vowel closing the syllable which might easily be too faintly pronounced as אֲנֹכִי, יִזְנֶתִי, הָאָדָם, אֲבֹתֵינוּ, הַיִּשְׁבָּתִים, and even with a short vowel, as הַחֲבִים, הַהֲזָלִית, קֹדְשִׁים qódashim §. 162, although the ה which arises out of י §. 90 as being unemphatic does not receive Méteg. In the same manner also if a fragmentary vowel precedes the tonesyllable, as well when the vowel is long, as in בְּתִבִּי, תְּלִדָּתִי, וְנִשְׁבֵּי, קִרְאִי,

in which word *Méteg* is at the same time very important for the distinction of *jî-r'û* from *ירא* (*to be afraid*) from *ירא* *jir-'û* from *ראה* (*to see*); as when the vowel is short, as *הַלֵּלָהּ*, *הַלֵּלָהּ* Jer. 31, 21 for *הַלֵּלָהּ*; according to §. 119; rarely is *Méteg* found in a loose compound syllable, as *סִבְבִּי* Js. 10, 34, *קִרְבֹּה* Num. 31; 12, and even *הַדְּשָׁא* Gen. 1, 11 in which the first syllable may be at any rate resolved, as *Dag. lene* is wanting, according to §. 29, 172. If the word has two syllables with a vowel at the end before the place of the sinking, the one immediately before the sinking is raised, as *הַאֲנִכִּי*, *עֲלִיָּתוֹכֶם* Ez. 21, 29; if this syllable ends in a consonant, the former one, if suitable, as *הַאֲנִכִּי* Ez. 20, 5. *מִהֲתִתֶּנָּהּ* Job 1, 7. 2, 2. *Méteg* can even occur oftener before if circumstances favour it, as *לִישׁוֹנֶתָּהּ*.

2. The following are special causes for the rise of the voice being noted by a sign 1) the regular raising of the vowel which goes before a Chatefvowel. — 2) in *הִתְהַלֵּךְ*, *הִתְהַלֵּךְ*, *הִתְהַלֵּךְ* etc., for the purpose of distinctly raising the vowel which in itself is very difficult in this combination §. 94. — 3) to give the short vowels of many affix words a particular emphasis especially the interrogative *ה* and the article *ה*, the *ו* conversivum, the preposition *מ*; as *הַמְּבַלְאִים* Job 3, 15, *הַיּוֹדְעִתָּם*, *הַיּוֹדְעִתָּם* from the interrogative *ה*; *הַיּוֹדְעִתָּם* Js. 22, 19. In this however and also partially in the above the editions do not all agree since some go farther than others. — Concerning *Méteg* with *Sh'vâ* as the beginning of a word v. §. 198 *nt*.

II. The *tone of a proposition* on the other hand is infinitely manifold and more difficult to determine. For it depends on the ever varying sense of the proposition, and consequently on the unfettered liberty of combining thoughts and words in a whole. And it cannot be sufficiently kept in mind that the Masoretic accentuation, which has undertaken to point out the place and connection of every word in a proposition, is yet in the end entirely dependent on the sense of the thought, the internal life of the sentence, and endeavours to signify this by external signs, as much as it can. It is not however so loosely and extrinsically connected with the interpretation of the sense as the usual punctuation of modern languages, from the nature of which it is very far removed, as is sufficiently evident by the fact that it has no signs for interrogation, exclamation, or quotation of the words of another. Its object is not to determine single important, or prominent, shades and parts of the sentence, but to mark the motion, connexion, and colour of the whole sentence, from the greatest to the smallest member. The sentence has by nature, and especially in the life of the ancient languages, a vicissitude of rise and fall, of raising and sinking of the voice, which by being repeated throughout all parts, or members of a long passage, produces a rougher kind of rhythm. In more elevated, solemn language especially,

the flow of the sentence spontaneously forms itself into a natural rhythm, since the thought resolves itself into a number of similar thronging members, each member then rises and falls after the same manner, yet are all again subordinated to a loftier whole, in which alone they find their completion and rest ¹⁾. In the prophetic diction, and in elevated passages of history (like Gen. 1.) this natural rhythm is spontaneously produced; but as, in the eyes of the punctuators, the whole Bible appeared to have the same elevated language, and the same solemn tone, they have accented simple historical narrative in the same manner also, without regarding the difference of style; only for the proper poetical books have they introduced a peculiar mode of accentuation, the so called poetical accentuation §. 192 ff.

1) Cf. something similar in Arabic, EWALD'S *Gramm. Arab.* §. 777.

183

It follows from this, that there are two ruling principles in the so called prosaic accentuation: the *sense*, and a kind of *rhythm*, or regulated raising and sinking of the voice. The first and highest authority is the sense, on it depends the division and direction of the verses and members, as also the particular emphasis of single words ¹⁾. But the rhythm has also its influence, beautifully and appropriately articulating the members, determining the flow and rest of the diction according to just measure, and collecting and ordering what is loose and disjointed in a higher whole. These ruling principles, thus conspiring in their influence, produce that regulated, solemn kind of declamation which the punctuators considered to be suited to the dignity of the contents of the sacred volume.

1) To give a minute explanation of this here would occupy too much space. Suffice it to remark that the arrangement and power of the words of a sentence, as they are taught in the *Syntax*, is also on the whole entirely the basis of the accentuation. The accusative, when it is placed first, always has the emphasis, and produces therefore an impediment in the flow of the verse, which may be in the highest degree intense, where such an accusative contains something particularly important Js. 10, 23. cf. below the *Syntax* where all this is particularly explained.

For this purpose the text is first reduced to *verses* of the most equal measure possible, shorter propositions being combined into a higher whole wherever the sense will only permit it; but propositions which are too long are divided by suitable pauses, and resolved into their larger component parts; for a verse which is too short is more tolerable than one which exceeds bound and measure too much. If the sense alone was to determine the division, the verses would be obliged to be of exceedingly unequal length: but since

notwithstanding their great variety, a certain equality of measure is still aimed at in the compass of the verses, it is possible with the utmost precision to articulate and arrange all their parts according to equal laws of declamatory rhythm. — Within the verse then

1. the raising and sinking of the voice is first shown on 181 a small scale. For there is a natural tendency to sink the word before the tone, or raising, or to hurry it over rapidly and without emphasis. But while the raising remains always limited to one single word only, the sinking can embrace many; as in metrical rhythm many short unaccented syllables can be made to correspond to one long accented one e. g. $\text{vv} \text{ } \underline{\text{v}}$; only that there is a much greater license here. The number of words which are sunk has its limits however, since where too many are accumulated, a counterpoise, or deep tone, is necessarily added of itself. More than *three* words never stand so deprived of all delay and tone. It is not indeed necessary, on the other hand, that the raising or high tone should be preceded by a sinking, where the sense or rhythm does not admit such a sinking of a word, but this absence of the sinking always produces a violation of the natural tenour, arising from very peculiar causes and only permitted within certain limits.

This relation goes through the whole accentuation. The accents are accordingly either called *conjunctive*, that is, distinguishing words which must be more rapidly read, and hurried over, or *disjunctive*; every disjunctive accent has regularly a conjunctive one before it; but can also have more than one. When a word with a conjunctive accent is to be read with a countertone, the sign of delay — called *P'siq* i. e. section, separation, is placed after that word. We have therefore the three essential distinctions again: tone, tonelessness, countertone.

2. We call that which can be embraced by a disjunctive 185 accent, a *member*. For it is evident that the series of words which thus comes together has neither sufficient compass nor force to form a rhythmical verse, it is therefore merely a member in the series of the words of the verse. There must indeed necessarily be many such members in every verse; but in such a manner, that a higher unity again shows itself in them, holding them all together in an appropriate succession. That is to say, the verse itself as a *per se* perfect and complete whole, which therefore does not attain its full rest and completion until the end, and the *pause* (§. 130 ff.) as the expression of that completion, produce this unity. The

members of a verse, therefore, are so arranged in gradations, that the voice ascends from the deepest rest and breadth to greater and greater motion, rapidity, and shortness, or taken in another sense, descends more and more from elevation and lightness to depth and heaviness. Hence this progress, or the series of the members, has necessarily definite limits and numbers, since although the most manifold variety is permitted in the single members, the whole still preserves its appropriate progress and its limits. The verse with its member must be like a net, which can encompass few or many according as its extension is necessary, which can contract itself to the narrowest span, and stretch itself to the widest compass, but still always has its limits. The farther a member stands removed from the end, the more must it expand and relax itself, being lighter, the more words must it be able to embrace; but the members themselves have their limits. And on the contrary, the shorter the verse is, the more contracted are its members, the more condensed is their power in itself.

In unimpassioned diction, only four members properly can go before the final member with gradually increasing rapidity and expansibility, so that the third member from the end can extend itself, but still more, the fourth and fifth. In these five members, or in four new raisings of the voice on to the pause, the compass and power of a sentence of unimpassioned flow is exhausted. But neither are all sentences, which would be within this compass of so tranquil a tenour, nor is even this compass wide enough for longer verses. Hence the division into *sections* may be further added to the division into members, which does not do away with the latter, but only varies it, and supplies its deficiencies. These are not flowing members like those in tranquil diction, but *standing* ones, from the momentary delay, since they oppose and hinder the usual current, either on account of a greater abruption of the sense, or on account of a more particular emphasis. But the section then, being thus only a stronger, firmer, but disconnected, independent member, accommodates itself in other respects entirely to the order of the members. It may be therefore first *various* according to the graduated order of the members themselves. That is to say, a section descends *one* degree, comes down one preceding actual or possible member, lower, so that even the smallest may at least have one member before it. But as there are in general only five members, it follows, that, corresponding to this number, there arise four sections, with the last which is equivalent to the last member and the pause, with gradually decreasing power: 1-4 as sections to *a-e* as members. Each section according

to this gradation can have the members which are possible for it before it, as *2cde*, *3de*, *4e*; and as the anterior section is only a stronger, more retardescent representative of the corresponding member, therefore the order of the members after it *must* be continued on the same scale, as *ab2*, *abc3*; but it can *also* go back a degree, as *abc2*, just as also from the greatest section there can be no going back except to the next smallest, as from 2 to 3, not to 4. Each anterior section however (4-2) as an independent and unconnected, though not concluding part, may be repeated once or oftener successively with its circle. And thus the sections produce indeed the greatest variety and expansibility of a sentence, but in such a manner, that the order nevertheless remains always the same on the whole, since the voice returns after the interruption to the same degree again, and always continues in equably descensive flow to the end. There is nowhere an abrupt, unconnected transition. The preceding members, which are varied according to the section, acquire therefore a different power in different connexion, since *c* as *1c* is stronger than *2c*; although the section-member is always stronger than the flowing member of the same degree, e. g. *3c* has more emphasis than *2c*. In the last two sections, however, the final member (*1a* and *2b*) has so much power, that the nearest preceding member only serves it as a support and preparation, like a stronger deep tone; *1b* and *2c* therefore might be appropriately called *foremembers*.

With regard to the application of the sections, it again depends on the sense, as well as, on the compass of words which are to be brought into the rhythm. If the sense, for instance, proceeds tranquilly from *a* to *e*, but there then occurs a more important word, 3 may be put, or still stronger 2 where it appears suitable; just so before *d* there may be put 4, or stronger 3. But the case is different if the sense requires a division into many equal parts. In this case, 2 or somewhat weaker 3, serves properly to make a *division*, that is two half sentences, the second of which, according to the nature of the rhythm, is the heavier. If there are three equal parts according to the sense, the third part is nevertheless subjected to the second as its half, according to the rhythm: as *ABC*. And when four parts come together, the rhythm takes them in pairs, but so that the first two form the lighter half. And so on down to the smallest division. But as the sections are always at the same time dependent on the order of the members, therefore, if they are obliged by the sense to be placed in a situation too far removed for this order, they must necessarily be repeated afterwards with their possible peculiar circles, until the right order of the

members can again return; and this is the true and only cause for the repetition of the sections, or of members corresponding to them, by which, according to the power of the sections themselves, nicer distinctions in particulars may be occasioned. From which it is also evident, that when a section is repeated, it has most power as to the sense the first time, as it is afterwards more dependent on the rhythm *).

186 3. Although the series of words in a verse can be thus very much extended by the sections, yet only rarely does the verse consist of one simple succession, with, or without, sections. Where the sense will only permit it, the verse is rather divided according to the law of the rhythm into two halves, each of which is perfectly equal to the other as to intrinsic power, and the former is only a little more hurried at the very end; the latter has a great tendency to be of shorter compass, and thereby stronger and broader in tone, although the sense may even make the former shorter. Sometimes, however, from similar causes, a new part again becomes separated at the beginning, so that the verse consists of three intrinsically equal parts; but this part according to the combination of the rhythm is only considered as the first half of the first half of the verse, and is therefore nothing but the intension of a second section. We distinguish these three possible parts, which in the end embrace the whole great system, by I. II. III: that is, verse, half verse, third of a verse. The principal order however is, that II and III as parts of a verse are not dependent on the order and scale of the members, since they begin a new order again; they may therefore have the longest and the shortest order of members behind them, in which the only limit is this, that before I *a* and II *b*, *b* at least endeavours to find a place as foremember; although II in itself, when obliged by the compass (consequently only with a longer series of words) takes III before it.

187 In this manner therefore the members become very various and diverse: I, 1 *a-e*, 2 *b c*, 3 *c*, 4 *d*; II, 1 *a*; III, *b c*. As many different members in all degrees as there are, so many different signs for the solid ground and delay of a member, for the raising and place of the tone, consequently so many *disjunctive accents*. For this raising is just as much the ever necessary part of every member as it is, according to its variety, the sign of the degree of the member. In the

*) The three terms in the original, *Einschnitt*, *Abschnitt*, *Durchschnitt* (a cutting into, a cutting off, and a cutting through) convey a much clearer idea of the kinds of division than member, section, and division, which I have been obliged to use "*propter egestatem linguæ et rerum novitatem.*" *Trans.*

sinking, or in those words which precede the last word of a member, on the other hand, there cannot be so great variation; hence there are only five kinds of conjunctive accents, which are marked in the table α - ε . They are certainly originally different according to the five fundamental members, since δ corresponds to d , γ to c , and so on; but appear however to be regulated among themselves in the great whole after a still more artificial manner, partly according to the degrees of the members, and partly according to rhythmical laws of the alternation of the sinking in its course. The most important facts are: α remains for the last, broadest members of the first section, and is only seldom used besides for the broadest sinking; $\gamma\delta\varepsilon$ are always most properly confined to the corresponding unemphatic members of their degree (i. e. those that do not form sections) or at least for cases of a similar kind; β however, as of moderate compass, is not only used with members of the second degree, where that degree is to be especially raised, not only with all sections, and in all cases where there is a certain emphasis opposed to the smaller degree, but also always after $\gamma\delta\varepsilon$, since, after the least sinking, the voice raises itself again to its usual tenour. For which reason β is also the most frequently used *disjunctive* accent.

Where a particular word for the sinking is wanting in the connexion of a member, the sinking may establish itself in the last word of the member itself, in the place of the regular first Méteg §. 181. This extensibility of words, however, only extends as high as 4, and ceases at that smallest section. With 1 and 2 the foremember also can be so used.

A word itself, however, may appear too heavy for a conjunctive accent, being carried over to the following word without the least delay. The sign for this is a horizontal line after the unaccented word, called מַקְּפֵה *Maqqef* i. e. *connecting*. The cause of this lies partly in certain particles, which according to their meaning either always, or at any rate not unwillingly, admit closer attachment: e. g. מֵן, עַל, בֵּין, אֶת, לְ; in part and chiefly in the rules and within the bounds of the whole system of accentuation, which are often most easily applied and preserved inviolate by this skipping over a word. Only words however, which are closely connected by the sense also, can be so attached, and at the utmost, never more than four at once.

Finally, there is an internal doubleness possible with 183 many accents, according to delicate distinctions of various kinds, since it appears necessary from a particular rhythmical

cal cause that an accent which is necessary in a place should be written a second time with particular emphasis. Many new signs are produced by this, as will be explained below.

If we consider then that every word has thus its sign, the reader is never left in uncertainty from the very beginning. If for instance the verse begins with *d*, this may either lead directly down to *a*, or first go aside to *3c* or to *2bc*; nevertheless the reader is guided with certainty from the first word to the last. If we wish however by examining and counting the appointed signs to discover the principle of the whole articulation of the members, we should first observe whether the verse may be resolved into members in direct regular succession. If not, the proper place for the appropriate *section*, or *part*, must be found out; the first question again therefore is, whether a division of the sense is to be made in the middle, so that 1 and 11, or 1 and 2, or somewhat weaker 1 and 3, are divided. Where a division is not necessary, a peculiar emphasis may be nevertheless given to different passages by sections, or by parts of the verse, or by single words. Thus the structure is raised with order and proportion from the greatest to the least part, and correct measure is visible throughout it; we can scarcely say that some fluctuation of the Masoretic accentuation is discoverable in the extreme parts, since many possibilities come together. The variation of Mss. and edit. is often especially between a sinking and Maqqef.

189

After this, it is now easier give an explanation of particulars after a representation of the whole with all the signs and possible subdivisions has been given. The signs themselves are significant both in their form and their position; and it is not only instructive, but conducive to a knowledge of their use, to observe these peculiarities attentively.

On the whole, it may be observed that the accents for members towards the end are all written *below*, and those more removed from the end are all written *above*; by which the height at the beginning, and the sinking of the voice at the end, is clearly expressed. Just in the same way the accents for sinking have their place appropriately under the word; with the exception of *δ* too closely connected with *d*. It is moreover clear why the most important accents for sections, *2b* and *3c*, are points over the word, and the others straight strokes, *1a* and similarly *4d*, and the accents for dependent members, on the other hand, crooked strokes, which represent the incomplete state of those members. The strokes which are bent outwards are also manifestly signs of separation (*1b*, *d*); those bent inwards of connexion. How more definite signs arise out of more simple ones is often shown by the form and composition themselves; for instance, from the single point above, the double point $\ddot{\quad}$ first arose, from this latter $\dot{\quad}$ with still greater force. Lastly the power of some signs is increased by their being placed before or after; while they are usually written precisely with that syllable of a word which has the tone by way of answering the object of marking the tone of the word at the same time: thus $\overline{\quad}$; T'lisha when placed after, is the lesser, when before, the greater; the signs for *111b* and *c*, which have proceeded from *2b* and *c* with an increase of their power, are at the sametime made stronger by being placed after; and $\underbar{\quad}$ as *2c* (Pashtha) is distinguished as being stronger than $\underbar{\quad}$ as *δ* (Qadma) by being placed after. So deeply is the disadvantage under which this last very common sign labours (of the proper distinction of the place of the tone being lost where it is pla-

ced after) felt, that, where the tone occurs in an unusual place, the sign is twice placed; once in the place of the tone, and again in its proper place as accent, as in the penult הַגִּלְיָה־רִנָּה , also before Patach furtivum (§. 168) רִנָּה־ Gen. 8, 1, or even with the unusual termination in two consonants, as רִנָּה־שָׁתָה ; the other signs of this kind are also found so repeated in certain Mss. — From all this then it is also certain that the punctuation, as we now find it, cannot possibly be the work of one man nor, of one century; but that it has gradually been developed from simple and insignificant beginnings to its present astonishing perfection and precision; the most complicated signs are precisely those which from internal reasons also have arisen latest. See the description of the still simpler syriac accentuation in EWALD'S *Abhandl. zur bibl. u. oriental. Litteratur* p. 103 ff.

The names of the particular accents have been handed down to us from the Jewish schools, among which are many for the same sign, or for the sign under different relations (v. SPITZNER de accent. V. T. p. 31 f.). The following are the names at present most in use, according to the connexion and sense which may be found in them: 1) — (1 a) פְּסוּקָה *Pause* with פְּסוּקָה *end of the verse*; — (II a) אַחֲרֵיהֶם *rest*; — (3 c) רְבִיעִי *resting*; — (2 b) זָקָה *raiser*, which causes the voice to be raised; — (4 d) פְּזֵר *divider*, dividing into sections; which are all appropriate names for final and sectional members. — 2) — (1 b) טַבְּחָא *prolongation*; — (2 c) פְּשֻׁטָּא *expansion*; — (III c) זֶרְקָא *dispersion*, from the broad, prolonged, interrupted accentuation of the foremembers; — (2 c) יָתִיב *sitting, firm*; — (1 c) הַבִּיר *broken*, of the smaller division; — (d) גָּרַשׁ and — (δ δ) הַלִּישָׁא *drawing, pulling* (cf. — for ἐκτίλλω MIDDELDORPF curae hexapl. in Job. p. 53) from the slighter interruption and division. — 3) Accents for the sinking: — (a) יִרְבָּא (from אָרַךְ) *prolonging*; — (β) מְגִבָּה *demissum, deep*; — (1 γ) הִרְבָּא *step*; — (δ) קִדְבָּא *before*. To these are to be added the names derived from the figures: — (III b) סֶגוֹלָא like Ségol — among the vowel-signs; — שֶׁלֶשְׁלָה *chain*; — (2 γ) גְּהִפָּךְ *inversion*, since the figure is — inverted — (e) קִרְנֵי פָּרָא *cow-horns*; — (ε) יָרֵחַ *new-moon*. Lastly, these signs can never come in collision with the vowel-signs: — as R'bia is placed higher up and is larger than — Cholem.

רָמַמְּךָ וְלֹא נִמְיָתָךְ, in which the 5th member only embraces more than one conjunctive accent. But let us examine the members singly:

a and *b* are always so mutually connected, that *a* must necessarily have *b* before it as its fore-member. Therefore they both have only *one* sinking, since *a*, or the sinking of the first degree, stands before *b* also. *a* and *b* may indeed be compressed into *one* word, since *b* stands instead of Méteg, as Lev. 21, 4. Num. 28, 26. Ez. 10, 13. 1 Chro. 2, 53; but if the last word is too short for the space of an ordinary Méteg, the last word but one cannot be carried over to another section; *a* however is sometimes found alone as part of a verse Gen. 1, 3. — II *a* is only distinguished from this in that being somewhat shorter it introduces β and sometimes even repeats it (Ex. 3, 4; on the other hand the same occurs with *Maqqef* in many editt. Js. 48, 11. 54, 4), while *a* remains for II *b*, and in general all the rest holds of II as of I.

\overline{c} is the second foremember to 1, but not a necessary one; to judge from its figure, it is formed from the sinking-accent of this section \overline{y} by augmentation. Where it would precede *b* immediately, i. e. without a sinking or Méteg intervening, \overline{m} *Mé-r'ka k'fûla* i. e. *double M.* is used for it, as Gen. 27, 25. Lev. 10, 1. 2 Chro. 20, 30, and it appears to be somewhat weaker than \overline{y} on account of the contracted space. \overline{y} is used as sinking γ for both (a somewhat crooked stroke for \overline{y}) instead of which however, when one syllable only, or none whatever, comes between, \overline{y} is often again found as the longer sinking of this section, Gen. 1, 17. 24; cf. Js. 5, 19.

d is used as member as well in 1 as in 2 and 3, and consequently as for 2 so also for III *b*; so that all that follows holds of each of these three beginnings; how far there are special laws for 3 see below under 3. It is a very remote member and the usual prelude to long series; hence too it is very expansible and light. The most important result of this is, that it may have a number of sinkings before it, the remote ones of which are always β , accord. to §. 187. *d* however has still so much power that when before δ , it must be preceded by $\delta\delta$ as a gentler raising of δ and a countertone to it, which in the figure also (δ) represents an intension of δ δ ; this may then be preceded by many β . Whence also it happens that where the series of *d* embraces only three accent-words, β with P'siq may come in just before *d* and δ as sufficient, Gen. 28, 9. 1 Sam. 14, 3. 47. 2 Sam. 13, 32. Jer. 4, 19. 38, 11. 40, 11. Ez. 9, 2. Hag. 2, 12. 2 Chro. 26, 15. ¹). When a word, however, occurring where δ has its rhythmic place, has somewhat more emphasis, the sign δ *T'lishá g'dôlâ* which is stronger, is used for it; from which we perceive, that the distinction according to rhythm and sense which pervades the whole system is also repeated on a small scale in this first remote member. The basis of the member, *d* and δ , only occurs in this connexion, when the first word is very closely attached to the second, as Gen. 11, 31. 12, 5. 14, 8. 13, 14. Num. 14, 34. Jdgs. 11, 17. Js. 8, 14. 10, 16. or even in the same word, where δ can stand in the place of Méteg, as Gen. 48, 20. Dt. 7, 13; in a single word which cannot receive Méteg, *d* stands alone also, if it can come in the penult Gen. 7, 14. 50, 10; in all opposite cases however the signs are joined together, as δ *G'rasháim*, which is therefore stronger than simple *d*, and can be preceded by a word with the accent at the beginning with β , and is even besides not unfrequently placed as being stronger as to the sense, especially alone (without sinking)

after the stronger T'lishà g'dolà, but always on the tonesyllable, that is, on the last syllable of a word, because the emphasis is to be rendered more prominent there than when the penult has the tone, Gen. 1. 28. 11, 3. 17. 11. 19, 11. Ex. 3, 16. Jos. 2, 1. 1 Sam. 15, 18. 29, 6. 25. 7, 8. 14, 2. 8, 14. 11. 12. 1 Kgs. 20, 9. Jon. 4, 6. A word with the tone at the beginning, as being shorter, takes the usual β even before the simple d , as Gen. 14, 9. Mal. 1, 11. Ez. 45, 4, except when T'lishà k'tanna goes before and the height of this member already begins with it, Gen. 9, 23.

- 1) The dispute whether T'lishà k'tanna is a *conjunct.* or *disjunct.* accent may be accordingly thus settled: that it is in itself indeed of less power than any disjunct. accent, but that after one or more β it yet has a certain retention. It has P'siq like a conjunct. accent 2 Kgs. 18, 17. If however its in itself slender power is to be rendered more emphatic, T'lishà g'dolà must be used, as a complete *disjunctive* accent.

But this member can also occur before c of 1 and 2 with diminished compass and force, that is to say, from δ onward. For the usual tranquil c suffers itself also to be extended beyond the narrowest compass; where the sense then permits this expansion, there may be a leap from $c\gamma$ to δ (or instead to β , according to what is above said) at once, which is a lighter, more flowing transition ¹⁾ than that abrupt one to d , as אֶת־קֹל יְהוָה אֵלֵיהֶם Gen. 3, 8. 13, 19, 32. Js. 7, 4. (with a *penult* which has the tone, however, there is then often d itself, if it does not happen to go before Gen. 43, 34. 2 Sam. 14, 9. 30.) $\delta\delta$ can then at once go before Gen. 3, 14, or the stronger $\delta\delta$ Js. 7, 16; instead of δ too and the usual $\delta\delta$, the stronger $\delta\delta$ (T'lishà g'dolà) may be used at once where there is some stress, which however is still weaker than d ²⁾, as רַק לְאִנְשֵׁי הָאֵל Gen. 19, 8. 7, 7. Jos. 2, 1. 1 Sam. 1, 1. Jer. 39, 5; but a longer series cannot be added. Hence it is further possible for this weaker, dependent part of a member to be preceded by the complete member d with greater emphasis and with all its possible compass, while δ and T'lishà k'tanna can then at the utmost have one β before them. (Ex. 5, 8. 2 Kgs. 5, 1. 2 Chro. 22, 11), as Gen. 19, 35. 21, 23. Ex. 22, 9. Js. 8, 14; Lev. 4, 7; Gen. 1, 12; Num. 3, 39. Hence too as before, instead of δ and the weaker $\delta\delta$, the stronger $\delta\delta$ may be used at once with an emphasis and be then preceded by d , as Js. 9, 5. Gen. 13, 1. 1 Sam. 17, 51; Dt. 26, 12. Neh. 5, 18. By this therefore great variety and expansibility of this member is produced, and without occasioning interruption or ambiguity.

- 1) cf. Jos. 22, 10 with v. 11, where the same words are arranged before 2 $c\gamma$ as $\delta\delta\beta$, but before the stronger 3 c , as $d\delta\delta\delta$.
- 2) This T'lishà g'dolà and G'rashūm however are so near then, that both are considered possible in some places, and are therefore combined by the copyists in the same word, as Gen. 5, 29. Lev. 10, 4. 2 Kgs. 17, 13. Ex. 48, 10. Ref. 2, 15. The case is different in אֶת־נֶפֶשׁ Ex. 32, 31 cf. Koh. 4, 10, where two accents which are possible according to the connexion are indeed united in two successive syllables, but in syllables which may be also divided into two words: נֶפֶשׁ-נֶפֶשׁ.

Finally e is the extremest independent member, and as its form $\underline{\quad}$ shows, an augmentation of the power of $\underline{\quad}$ and $\underline{\quad}$ by union for a new member; its sinking $\underline{\quad}$ e appears to be the same single sign $\underline{\quad}$ placed below, with some trifling alteration. If it has a flowing member before it therefore, it must always follow either entire d (Num. 35, 5. 2 Sam.

4, 2. Jer. 13, 13. 38, 25. Est. 7, 9. Neh. 5, 13. 13, 5. 13. 2Chro. 24, 5. 35, 7) or δ with $\delta\delta$ in an expanding series, for even in the latter case, d could not be placed, but something smaller, though independent, consequently e , Jos. 19, 51. 2Kgs. 10, 5. Ez. 48, 21. It is on the whole not frequent, because the sentence seldom extends itself so far in tranquil sequence.

2. The first anterior section $2b$ has $2c$ as its foremember, which however it not so necessary as b is with $1a$. Each of these members has usually only one sinking; nevertheless β is sometimes repeated before $2b$ where the sense favours it, as Gen. 3, 12. 4, 11; and 2γ according to what is stated above can be enlarged by δ etc. Instead of $\bar{\quad}$ as the proper 2γ , however, α is rather used, as being longer (cf. with $1c$) if there is no syllable at all between the sinking and $2c$, as Gen. 1, 2. Js. 6. 13. Instead of $2c$ too, $\bar{\quad}$ (being changed to a *praepositive* and then called *Ptib*) is used as weaker, if the word has no other word whatever before in this section, and has at the same time the tone at the beginning. Where the section consists of two words only, the former receives $2c$ if it is possible, though also β merely where the sense is too unimportant, as Gen. 1, 2. 4. 6. 3, 1. Where this section consists of a single word however, $2b$ is then found together with $2c$ if the second or third syllable of the word before the tone is a firm, compound one, whose firmness adapts it for the the strength of a foremember, as Gen. 12, 7. 17, 17. 24. 25. 19, 27. 21, 33. Jos. 6, 23; if not, β only has space for a possible Méteg before the tonesyllable, as Gen. 3, 7. 4, 1. 1Kgs. 20, 5. 32; although Méteg also remains where it is placed extraordinarily Dt. 26, 10; but lastly, where the word is too short for it, a stroke is placed after the sign $\bar{\quad}$ thus $\bar{\quad}^{\text{e}}$ to detain the voice sufficiently even in this little space; for the name *Zaqef gadol* does not mean that the sign with P'siq added to it has intrinsically a higher power. — If this $2b$ stands too far off from the end (for at the utmost it can come before $1c$ with δ 1Kgs. 20, 1. 30), it may then according to §. 185 be repeated as often as is necessary for it to come to its right place, and since the rest of the measure after $2b$ preserves greater evenness, $2b$ is often repeated even with a very small number of words, where the sense will only permit it, Gen. 1, 14. 18. 20. 3, 1. 7. 12, 7. 2Sam. 7, 29. Ezr. 7, 26. 1Kgs. 19, 4. 18. 20, 5. 32. 2Kgs. 1, 6; though $3c$ with its compass may also come next, if it is more suitable to the sense, as Dt. 30, 20. 2Sam. 15, 21. 1Kgs. 18, 36. 44.

III b and c perfectly correspond in nature to this $2b$ and c , just as the signs also of the former are nothing more than an augmentation of those of the latter. But the foremember III c is always necessary here, as with I and II. β can sometimes occur twice in the last member, Gen. 3, 14. 2Kgs. 1, 6; there is also a gentle augmentation of this part when β recurs in the last but one, by which equality of the sinking in both members, III becomes more like I and II. The longer α however is not unfrequently found instead of β before III c , if a longer series of syllables comes between, or somewhat greater emphasis is expressed, as 2Sam. 7, 7. 1Kgs. 1, 19. 25. Gen. 30, 20 although the Mss. and edit. often waver between both. In dependence on this α or β , even δ may go before in the same word, Lev. 10, 12. Jdgs. 21, 21. Neh. 12, 44. Sometimes too β is found twice in short words, Jos. 24, 15. Jdgs. 9, 2. Lev. 17, 5. 1Chro. 12, 18. 2Chro. 23, 18. Where this part consists of only one word, $\underline{\quad}$ is used as a new sign, perhaps not of less accentual power, but always with P'siq (cf. *Zaqef gadol*) without other distinction of the length of the word; it occurs Gen. 19, 26. 24, 12. 39, 8. Lev. 8, 23. Js. 13, 8. Am. 1, 2. Ezr. 5, 15; its figure represents three strokes instead of three points.

3. The middle anterior section according to its sign $\underline{\quad}$ and its power, is nothing but a weaker power of the first; therefore where they are both possible according to the compass, a trilling turn, which follows from the consideration of the whole, often decides which shall be used, cf. Dt. 27, 19. 26 with v. 16-18 (cf. something similar 27, 22 and 25). That 3c may easily enter into ll for 2b in l, is proved by Job 2, 3 compd with 1, 8 (where lll is put for ll by mistake). 3c has no foremember, and can never have d in the same word instead of Méteg, hence d is indeed apt to go before, when a member can be formed out of the words going before according to the sense, but where only a light series of 1-2 words goes before, the sinkings are then sufficient; and if d fixes itself 3 5 words further suitably to the sense, the number of the sinkings of 3c may also be extended so far. The second word before 3c takes γ , which exactly suits this member, as its sinking, and indeed the same as 1 γ , while the last word before the word of the section must have β accord. to a general law, Gen. 3, 6. 4, 15; as somewhat more emphatic however β with P'siq is always used instead Gen. 2, 5. If it is enlarged, a third word cannot go over directly from γ to δ , as with 1 γ and 2 γ' , for 3c has more power; but it is put with β again, either alone or with P'siq Num. 4, 14. Js. 5, 25. Gen. 31, 29; but every word which follows a β with P'siq, then takes α somewhat longer, and the next word may then have δ Dt. 13, 6. 1 Sam. 12, 2. 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Kgs. 14, 21; Jos. 19, 47; β however remains with P'siq Gn. 7, 23. Dt. 31, 16. This β with P'siq and α is also sometimes found before 2c γ as being somewhat stronger than δ (which would be the usual one accord. to what is above said) as soon as d has before found a suitable place Lev. 10, 6. 21, 10. Ru. 1, 2. — Where this section is too far from the end so that all cannot in arranged in tranquil order after it, it must be repeated if there is a suitable place for it accord. to §. 185: yet still another possibility offers itself. For instead of 3c, 2c which corresponds to it, may be repeated, since that too has a strong tendency to the end; the only difference is, that 2c although possessing no less delay, is yet less abrupt and stiff; but this very thing is often more desirable in this connexion. Consequently 3c itself is only repeated where there is greater power and independence, elsewhere the softer 2c is used, especially in shorter more unimportant repetitions, or rather floating continuations; thus 1) before 2b, as 2 Sam. 7, 29. 14, 7. Ezr. 7, 25. Ex. 8, 13. 29, 20. 22. 32, 1. 1 Kgs. 3, 11. 20, 39. Jer. 13, 13; — 2) before lllb, therefore where lllc must stand at the end as foremember; but as this comes into contact with 2c so as to be also able to stand for it, the distinction is, that the weaker 2c is used where lllc as foremember already embraces a series of more than two words, and 2c itself only one word, if not, the foremember immediately before it is repeated, as Dt. 12, 18. Jos. 18, 14. 1 Kgs. 12, 10. Gen. 42, 21; — 3) before 1c, where a similar distinction takes place, that instead of 2c before 1c, the same 1c may be immediately repeated, whether only the one regular sinking separates both, or none at all comes between, as Dt. 30, 20. 1 Kgs. 17, 36; Lev. 8, 26. 1 Kgs. 20, 9. Jos. 10, 11; only Dt. 26, 2 the latter 1c has two sinkings before it. Moreover 3c can of course be also repeated immediately before 1c where the sense requires it, as Gen. 38, 12 so that all other interpolations and members, which are possible accord. to what is above said, may admit of the most manifold application.

4. It is not possible to have the smallest anterior section before the sequence has arrived at d or at least at $\delta\delta$; it is very frequently found before $\delta\delta$ where the sense and compass favour it, and indeed naturally in every possible connexion, as Jos. 2, 1. 7, 24. 10, 11. Ex. 29, 20. Dt. 5, 23. 6, 22. 1 Kgs. 19, 11, from which it appears that it can also stand

immediately after 3c and as its substitute. Where it is possible to advance by counting short similar sentences, from *d* to *dd*, *4d* is then put after this last, as 1 Kgs. 10, 5. *4d* may indeed take *e* as an inferior member under it, this however is only very rare with longer series before *4d* and *e*, the only passages of which kind are Neh. 1, 6. 1 Chr. 28, 1; *4d* is usually found at the extreme end, since it may have a considerable, but by no means an unlimited and altogether unsuitable member of sinkings before it, among which P'siq alone can make a distinction. Where *4d* however must be placed at too great a distance on account of the sense, it can be repeated often in succession until the gap is filled up, and as the smallest section it may return at the smallest distances and where the least rest is possible, as Gen. 27, 33. 1 Kgs. 19, 11. 1 Sam. 14, 3. Dan. 3, 7. Jos. 7, 24. 1 Chro. 12, 40. 15, 18. Js. 66, 20. Ez. 43, 11. (var. lectt.).

Thus this infinite variety may be clearly explained from a few laws, and it must be admitted that the punctuation, although the growth of years, and only a progressively developed system, is yet built upon principles, and appoints to every word of a sentence its allotted place.

The *poetical accentuation* has two peculiarities which ¹⁹² intrinsically distinguish it from the prosaic: 1) it is calculated for shorter and lighter propositions, since poetic diction is in general hurried and short, and its members are therefore of more limited compass than those in Prose, which are at one time very short, and at another very long. The members therefore ascend, in flowing diction, at the utmost to three only: *a-c*; and the corresponding sectional members are only 1-3. Every section and part of a verse has indeed a foremember, but it is not so necessarily attached to the final member. — 2) Within these circumscribed limits, however, there is more manifold variety and more nice distinction in particulars, since this accentuation does not prescribe an invariable recitativo dependent on the sense and rhythm simply, but a mode of cantillation ever varying according to the position and compass of words and propositions. Parts of the verse, members, single words, all are more accurately distinguished after melic method, and yet are all again brought into harmony. An accentuation which is actually more suited for Poetry has thereby been produced, which the punctuators however have not applied to all poetical pieces of the Old Test. but only to the great poetical sections of the Bible, the book of Psalms, of Proverbs, and Job 3, 2-42, 6, but in these pieces, have also extended to the few intervening passages of prose, for uniformity. —

The substance of this accentuation is entirely borrowed from the former, since the same signs are found again with selection, and with many new modifications and compositions. Its force is essentially the same, but it often acquires in this system a new application. These peculiarities and licences, as also the many compound signs in this system, are also the

cause that many more variations and mistakes are found in it in Mss. and editt. than in the usual accentuation. The following is a particular statement:

- 193 1. There is no such tranquil, regulated progress in *members*, as in the prose accentuation. Every part of a verse has rather only one single *foremember* properly, which indeed always tries to mark the countertone towards the end, but as it is at the same time dependent on the rhythmical compass of the word and only exists in a limited space, it cannot alway do so, so that weaker kinds and expressions of the same then arise. Where the verse or its parts, however, are of wider extent, the two anterior *sectional members* must be at once called into service, the stronger one 2*b* corresponding to the 3*c* of prose, and the weaker 3*c* to 4*d* of prose, which are moreover exactly so distinguished from each other as in the accentuation of prose.
- 194 2. The *sinkings* however are much more manifold and important, first because they occupy the greatest space in this more hurried accentuation, and secondly, because the changes in the mode of cantillation, ever varying according to circumstances, are particularly expressed in them, as it holds as a rule here that many sinkings cannot come in succession without distinction, as in prosaic accentuation, but every one is adapted for its place alone. All these more delicate rules and distinctions cannot be now accurately and completely given; the leading principles however are clear. Above all things, three kinds of sinkings are to be distinguished: 1) in the first place, the two bases of each part of the verse have one usual sinking, differing according to the nature of the part; I has α , II has β , III*b* the same β , but III*a*, like 3*c*, has the smallest sinking, the prosaic ϵ , see farther below. — 2) Next in importance is a group of sinkings, whose intention essentially is to denote the progress to γ , or the sinking which, standing on the third degree, becomes more isolated and unconnected; and $\overline{\gamma}$ is the usual, but $\overline{\gamma\gamma}$ the stronger sinking here, wherefore we distinguish the former by γ , the latter by $\gamma\gamma$. It is thereby also clear beforehand why these sinkings, especially $\gamma\gamma$, so often have P'siq. To descend to particulars, it is now easily understood why they never come immediately before I*a* and *b*, and before II*a*; they can however distinguish the third word before these; they can also stand immediately before $\widehat{\beta\beta}$, $\widehat{\beta b}$ which is a weaker substitute for II*b* and I*b*, as Ps. 24, 10. Iob 12, 8. 15. 13, 14. But in the more remote members II*b*, III*b*, 2*b*, 3*c* they stand either in the third place, as Ps. 34, 7. 24, 10. 125, 3. Iob 14, 7. 16, 4; or even in the second, immediately before the accent of the section, or anterior part, if the sense rather favours the separation of this part, as Ps. 10, 14. 45, 13. 71, 18; the common sinking of 2*b* is α , but with greater separation γ , cf. Ps. 1, 1. 2, 8. 8, 2. 40, 5. 7. Pro. 32, 17. Iob 14, 7; it is also observed to stand more easily before 2*b* and 3*c*, if a stronger separation goes before Ps. 125, 3. $\gamma\gamma$ with P'siq, thus possessing the power of a smaller sectional member, can be successively repeated in the remote members, with γ for its sinking; but where this $\gamma\gamma$ would fall upon a word accented on the first syllable, γ with P'siq is used instead of it. Sometimes however α is also found as pure sinking, in remote parts, although there is great variation in Mss. and editt. in this point; cf. var. lect. Prov. 6, 3. Ps. 90, 10. J. H. MICHAELIS not. crit. ad Ps. 35, 10. Prov. 30, 9. But still stronger than $\gamma\gamma$ is $\frac{1}{2}$ (generally with P'siq) which is found in similar situations, but only before I and II, not before III and the sectional members; we call it therefore simply ϵ . — 3) Peculiar sinkings are: 1) a word immediately

before a stronger or weaker sectional accent often receives a β above (Munachus superior) probably to show that the word is to be read with an elevation of voice, but yet abruptly; it is found before the final sectional accent I and II, if the connexion of the sentence gives occasion for unusual lightness and flow (see below); and just before $2b$ and $\gamma\gamma$ with P'siq (Ps. 7, 10, 10, 9, 22, 29, 30, 27, 3, 9, 40, 11, 42, 3, 5, 9, Job 14, 13, 19, 28, 3), as also before the light $\beta\bar{b}$ and $\beta\beta$ (Ps. 4, 8, 78, 25, 119, 84, 10, 17, 32, 2) as being lighter than γ which is usual here. 2) a word with a single *open* (i. e. ending in a vowel) syllable before the tone often receives the sign of a raising \sim at the beginning besides the sinking, because the uncompressed vowel before the sinking spontaneously raises itself, although it appeared to be still proper in the melic accentuation to raise it, especially where there is some emphasis in the sense; and indeed \sim only is always used with the chief sinking of the heavier parts for all cases in I a , b and II a , and \sim for all other cases without further distinction; a small word can also be so attached to another; cf. Ps. 10, 5, 17, 3, 18, 20, 65, 2, 69, 2 (where two syllables go before and \sim is upon the farther one). Job 31, 34, 35.

3. Since the verse is for the most part determined by the nature of the poetic diction, it is seldom simple, i. e. consisting of one single section Ps. 25, 1; in unimpassioned diction, it regularly falls into two halves of similar sense, and of similar kind, I and II; but in impassioned diction, a new part may be placed before, merely as preparatory and introductory, and therefore lighter and less independent, which is indeed usually followed by II and I, if the sense permits it (the chief part being divided into its two equal halves, in such a manner that II consists sometimes even of a single long, independent word Ps. 3, 6, 5, 13, 15, 5, 29, 9, Job 27, 5) but is by no means necessarily followed by II. The verse then thus presents a heaviness and depth progressively increasing from the beginning to the end, since III is the lightest and most expandible, I the heaviest and deepest. Hence I is also the shortest; but where it stands without II it can expand itself. Since then III stands thus alone and independent before I, and has a greater importance than III in prose, as it corresponds to a , and not to b , accordingly, the new sign \sim has arisen for it, \sim i. e. $\gamma=3$ being placed above and, thus rendered stronger, being moreover compounded with a which directs to the end.

The rhythmical foremember (or b) to III is \sim , from III c of the pros. accent.; to II, the praepos. b of the pros. accentuation, distinguished by the very fact of its being praepositive; but to I, at once stronger \sim , that is $2b$ with the prose d ; hence too where I standing without II expands more freely, many Mss. and edit. leave out the Géresh over the first letter of the word. The use of these foremembers, however, is primarily dependent on the rhythmical compass of the last words:

1) The strong $1b$ is only used when there are two syllables between it and the tonesyllable of the last word, or at least somewhat more than one full syllable; under this condition then, it stands immediately before I a , on account of the sense, or because the whole part consists of two words only, as Ps. 24, 2, 27, 5, 11, in which case, however, the mere sinking can stand even before a short word Ps. 18, 50; or even, for the sake of a better sense, with the third word from the end, in which case the requisite number of syllables is determined by both the following words, as Ps. 1, 2, 4, 22, 2, 4. These cases are the most frequent; and a is found as sinking before I a (instead of which we find the lighter β in a word with the tone

on the first syllable, as Ps. 1, 1. 2, 10) and once or twice before $1b$, Job 16, 8. But if the last word is a *short* one, i. e. without that requisite member of syllables, and the last word but one must be nevertheless separated from the last and drawn over to the preceding one, in accordance with the sense, then a smaller foremember is used viz. $\beta\beta$ before II, and somewhat stronger $\beta\hat{b}$ before I, the prose b in its usual place (hence too this b instead of M^éteg Job 12, 19) cf. Ps. 18, 5. 6, with the corresponding words according to the prose accentuation, 2 Sam. 5, 6. Lastly, if the division as to the sense is at the fourth word from the end, the strong foremember $1b$ can be used with great emphasis, $\beta\hat{b}$ remaining if the last word but one has again a slighter separation, Ps. 3, 5. 46, 8. 12. 56, 3. 75, 4; if the third has it, this must rather receive γ (with P'siq), but the last but one the abruptly raised β -superior, Ps. 3, 1. 10, 14. 20, 2. 45, 2. 56, 8. Where however, this fourth word before the gentle $\beta\hat{b}$ does not, on account of the sense, admit the strong foremember, then there is occasion for γ , $\gamma\gamma$ and c , and c is used with some emphasis Ps. 7, 6. 10, 2. 13, 2. 3. 66, 7. 67, 5. 77, 4. 131, 1. — These measures are almost always sufficient with I after II; it is only very rarely that the second a extends itself before $1b$ so as to begin a new member, with three words Ps. 18, 1 (cf. with two words Ps. 31, 22, where \simeq is equivalent to c , 66, 20, where however we must read \simeq) or that a , or ab , occurs again without $1b$ before c Job 32, 6. 37, 12. Ps. 89, 2.

2) Nearly the same rules hold of II b as of $1b$ (Ps. 22, 27); the only difference is, that $\beta\hat{\beta}$ is used as a smaller substitute, or even $\beta\gamma$ with P'siq, if the third is somewhat separated Ps. 14, 5; sometimes too $a\hat{b}$ is used instead of $\beta\hat{\beta}$, in which case the second word appears to have a somewhat stronger tone, as in an exclamation etc. Ps. 89, 52. Job 5, 27. 30, 27; in which however the edit. often vary. The sinking before II a and b is β ; only where II a stands alone without its b , as is not rare, is a found, as Ps. 1, 4. 3, 1. 9. Job 13, 16. 24. 29. Another peculiarity however is, that this weaker II b may be altogether omitted, and cannot stand farther back than with the third word from the end; sectional members then may go before, and even the third word can be a sectional member, that is $2b$, as is very frequent if the sense requires more separation, or weaker, $3c$ Ps. 109, 16; and weakest of all, even $\gamma\gamma$ Ps. 37, 1. sometimes too the rare c is found with the third word, the last but one usually having β -superior, as Pro. 1, 9. 6, 27. Ps. 65, 2. 72, 3.

If I occurs without II, it can extend itself, and become lighter. In that case 1) II b as c can be placed before with its sinking β , either before $1b$ itself, Ps. 11, 6. 44, 4, in which case the weaker substitutes for II b are then also used for this c accord. to what is above laid down, Ps. 31, 6. 10. 19; or without $1b$, in which case the second and third word are more easily pronounced with β -superior and γ Pro. 8, 13 (where \simeq is wrong). — 2) $3c$ stands shorter instead of c before $1b$ with some emphasis Ps. 58, 3. Pro. 1, 10; and still more so, c merely Ps. 34, 8. 68, 15. 137, 9; just as smaller, but still with some separation, γ Ps. 71, 21. 109, 28. On the other hand, however, even the strongest $2b$ may appear necessary before in every place, as Ps. 49, 15. — 3) Lastly the series before such a I may resolve itself still more, and especially if III does not go before. Two words which alone make up the verse with $1a$ receive two β -superior Ps. 36, 1. 44, 1; or the third, on account of the separation, receives $\gamma\gamma$ P'siq, preceded by a , and farther back, and stronger, by c Ps. 125, 3; or in a short sentence, c stands with the fourth word so that the monosyllabic third word is drawn to it Ps. 3, 3.

3) The foremember *III b* can only occur when there are at least 3 or 4 syllables between it and the tonesyllable for *III a*, as Ps. 1, 1. 3. 3, 3. 49, 15. lob 14, 7; it occurs in the shortest compass, compressed by 2*b* which suitably precedes it, Ps. 5, 11, 106, 47; this *III b* is also repeated after 2*b*, just as in the pros. acc. 1*c* after 3*c*, Ps. 1⁷, 14. With a smaller interval, the more tranquil 2*b* is indeed at once used instead of *III b*, as Ps. 1, 2. 2, 7. 3, 6. 4, 5. 15, 5. 60, 8; but *III b* can still find a pace before this where there is a suitable member (just as 1*b* in the fourth word), as Ps. 13, 6. 15, 5. 22, 15. 35, 10; where three words, however, intervene on account of the sense, *III b* is rare, and 2*b* is usually found, Ps. 28, 7. cf. 20, 7. 52, 9. In case 2*b* thus precedes *III a*, its sinking ϵ is also changed into the more tranquil α , just as the sinking of 2*b* when preceded by *III b*, Ps. 15, 5. 32, 4. 35, 10. Pro. 30, 9. lob 30, 1. 15; the β of *III b* also is sometimes changed for this α , Ps. 1, 1. 4, 7, 9. 6, 5. 40, 4. lob 31, 7.

Moreover 2*b* and 3*c*, the above limitations excepted, may be repeated precisely in the same manner and from the same reasons as in the pros. acc., as Ps. 20, 7, 42, 5; 32, 5. 41, 7. 46, 5. 59, 6; Job 33, 23; Pro. 30, 4; concerning 2*b* before I without II v. Ps. 31, 23. 49, 15. 148, 14. Job 32, 5. 33, 24. 27.

The following is a table of the poetic, or melic accentuation, as far as it may be briefly given:

<p>I. 1: $\frac{a}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	<p>$\frac{b}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	
<p>II. $\frac{a}{1} \quad \frac{\beta}{1} \quad \frac{b}{1}$</p> <p>$\frac{\beta}{1} \quad \frac{\beta}{1}$</p>	<p>$\frac{b}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	
<p>III. $\frac{a}{1} \quad \frac{\epsilon}{1}$</p> <p>$\frac{\beta}{1} \quad \frac{\beta}{1}$</p>	<p>$\frac{b}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	<p>$\frac{c}{1} \quad \frac{\gamma}{1} \quad \frac{\gamma\gamma}{1}$</p>
<p>$\frac{a}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	<p>$\frac{b}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	
<p>$\frac{a}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	<p>$\frac{b}{1} \quad \frac{a}{1}$</p>	

- I. 1 *a* Sillûq; *a* Merka. *b* *R'bîa* and *Geresch*. $\beta\beta$ *Mûnach* with *Thifcha* postpositive.
 — *Munach* superior. — *Merka* with *Zarga*.
- II. *a* *Atnâch*; β *Mûnach*. *b* *Thifcha* praepositive. $\beta\beta$ *Mûnach* with *Mûnach*.
- III. *a* *Merka* with *Mahpach*; ϵ (pros.) *Jérach*. *b* *Zarga*.
 2 *b* *R'bîa*. *c* *Shalshélet*. γ *Mahpach*.
 $\gamma\gamma$ *Qadma*.
 3 *c* *Pazer*. — *Mahpach* with *Zarga*.

197 III. The accentuation, applied with such severity and inviolable regularity, is always in intimate connexion with the pronunciation of single words, since the connexion of words in a proposition, the rapidity, or heaviness and rest, of the voice can also exercise an internal influence on the pronunciation of words (§. 129 ff.).

1. The shorter pronunciations, opposed to the pause, are found in the flow of the diction. Moreover it also produces in certain cases the *attachment* of a short word by reduplication of the first consonant, concerning which v. §. §. 129 and §. 171. 172 at the end. This is however most strongly shown when, before a word which has the tone on the first syllable *with a disjunctive accent*, the tone of the preceding word closely connected with this member of the sentence is thrown back from the last syllable to the penult, for the purpose of preserving the chief rule of the tone §. 180 f. inviolate, as קִרְיָהּ הָיָא for קִרְיָהּ הָיָא, הַיְיָרִי רִיבִּי, קִרְיָהּ הָיָא for קִרְיָהּ הָיָא, הַיְיָרִי רִיבִּי, קִרְיָהּ הָיָא shortened from בְּהַיְיָרִי (e is the only vowel which may be so shortened); also when an appoggiatural consonant comes between, as וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן, וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן, וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן; also before a word with an appoggiatural consonant, as גֵּשְׁהֶם פָּקָדִי Gen. 1, 11 (where the Dagesh in פ is to be explained according to §. 129), וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן Dt. 19, 8. This must not, however, be opposed by the rules for the tone of the penult §. 34, since if it is, the tone remains on the ultimate, as, for instance, וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן Gen. 27, 25 with the tone thrown back, is allowable, because the ultimate with a long vowel is still a simple syllable §. 85, but וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן is not; cases like וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן Ps. 18, 20 are against the rule.

198 All this holds in the same manner if the word is attached to the succeeding one by *Maqqef* accord. to §. 187, only that the vowels of the last syllables are then still shorter, if possible, since the proper tone of the word disappears entirely. Only the final vowels, therefore, which are long by tone, e and o (as above §. 197) are thus shortened; while the somewhat more protracted long vowels resist this shortening ¹). It is in accordance with this that the countertone leans rather to the beginning of a word then, and the place of the tone of the word remains thus without any raising; so that Méteg (or its substitute §. 187) is then not only put accord. to the general rules §. 181, as וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן, but even in a compound syllable, as antepenultimate, as וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן Gen. 22, 8 (but not Dt. 16, 9. Ps. 94, 7), וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן on which cf. §. 168. 169, and in more remote syllables, as וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן - וְנִשְׁמַע 1 Kgs. 10, 10. 13, וְנִשְׁמַע בֵּן Gen. 6, 9. The countertone can then easily fall upon the, in itself, very weak sound of an appoggiatural consonant at the beginning of a word, if there is no place for it further on in the word, as וְנִשְׁמַע Zach. 3, 8. Job. 2, 5. 3, 4. 5, 1. 9, 24. 19, 6. Js. 13, 2. Jer. 37, 20. Num. 14, 19. Ru. 1, 11. Est. 3, 12. ²). On the other hand, if the last syllable before Maqqef retains its long vowel and the tone cannot be drawn back, the one immediately before the tone must also on account of its heaviness receive Méteg, as וְנִשְׁמַע Gen. 35, 1. 3. וְנִשְׁמַע 1 Sam. 21, 12. Although in this, as in other cases, Méteg may be placed where it belongs accord. to the rule, though for convenience it is not

uniformly used in all Mss. and edit., and this is the chief cause of the many discrepancies in the placing of it. In monosyllabic words, however, with a short vowel, Méteg is better omitted, as בֵּל־אֶתְּ, זֶה־בֵּיתְּ.

- 1) The distinction is often very trifling, as for instance *e* is oftener retained in monosyllabic substantives, as שֵׁם.
- 2) On the other hand, this Méteg with Sh'vâ is much rarer in a word without Maqqef, and is only sometimes found where the syllable which should have Méteg is not a simple one, and therefore does not easily admit Méteg, so that it hurries over to the weak open sound at the beginning, as לְיִרְדְּדָרִי Ps. 2, 3. לְיִרְדְּדָרִי Est. 7, 9. לְיִרְדְּדָרִי Ps. 144, 14. Jer. 49, 18.

2. The *pausal forms* §. 130 ff. are not only found at the end of the verse i. e. pros. 1*a* and 11*a*, poet. 1*a*, 11*a*, 111*a*, but even in the anterior members where it happens to be suitable. For the chief thing to be considered in these is whether, depending on the rhythm, they only form a member of a proposition which is not *per se* independent in sense and therefore can have no pause, or whether in the division they end a short independent proposition which properly has the pause. Hence too the pause is most frequent with the sectionary members 2*b* and 3*c* pros. Jer. 46, 28, sometimes even with 4*d* pros. 2 Kgs. 3, 25. and 3*c* poet. Pro. 30, 4; but also not rare with the foremember, as 1*b*, 2*c* Dt. 13, 5. 1 Kgs. 20, 40. Jes. 33, 20. Jer. 8, 6. 25, 30. and poet 1*b* Job 9, 20. 21. Ps. 45, 2. On the other hand it is very rare that there is no pause at 11*a*, Ez. 19, 4. Therefore the Masoretes always particularly note such pauses in unusual places, or their unusual absence, in the margin, to avoid possible mistakes.

A similar distinction is sometimes made with *Dagesh lene* §. 174 accord. to which the established rule generally indeed holds, that it is only wanting after a conjunctive accent, but can also be absent on a suitable occasion after a very weak disjunctive, as is expressly remarked after וְ Ex. 5, 15. Ez. 14, 4. and on the other hand is found after וְ 1 Sam. 13, 11 (Dan. 3, 3).

The common editions of the Bible exhibit the whole accentuation, and especially the more complicated poetic one, rather according to tradition than with knowledge and discrimination, and therefore very inaccurately and imperfectly; the editions of JABLONSKI and J. H. MICHAELIS alone appear to be more accurate. The Jewish Grammarians too have only an imperfect knowledge of the subject; among the many works of christian scholars who have endeavoured to understand the system in modern times, *Institutiones ad analyticam sacram V. T. ex accentibus*, auctore A. B. SPITZNERO. Hal. 1786, is still the best.

SECOND PART.

O F F O R M S.

201 I. It is the duty of the lexicon to show minutely how every sound, consonant and vowel, of the roots, or primitives, of the language is significant as the expression of particular feeling; but the Grammar begins with observing how these roots, as to their meaning and formation, pass through essentially three stages: 1) some have remained stationary at the lowest degree, expressing the immediate outbreak of mere feeling, and therefore, for the most part, short and hurried, consisting of vowels, aspirates, and weak sounds, and still continuing, for the most part, without formation and internal regularity; they may be called *roots of feeling*, or *interjectional roots*. — 2) Other roots refer to a place, or to some definite direction, not yet naming the object according to its nature, but only referring to its relative position to the speaker; they may be called *local*, or *indicative roots*, they and as they progressively split into ramifications, the pronouns and very many adverbs and conjunctions arise from them; these roots are of a much higher kind, since they are founded on the perception of the difference of space, and consequently on judgments of the understanding, but for as much as they only indicate, or imply these, they stand nearer the roots of the first stage, and are already more capable of flexion, but not yet in all its kinds. — 3) The largest class in number, and the most capable of flexion, are the *roots of idea*, which express the idea according to the consciousness of the nature of things, clear, perfect expressions of the thought. In these the complete form, which preserves its regularity in all single words, is first found, which is in this respect very strongly expressed in Semitici in that these roots have always an established compass of at least three firm sounds (radices triliterae, sometimes quadriliterae) §. 14. As the highest roots, they may indeed be derived from lower roots, or be related to them, as הָאָל to *howl*, אָנְקֵן (low German) to *sigh*, from the interjections אָ, אָא; מִתְּנֶה to *stretch, extend*, connected with the *t* which points to the distance, and as אָבִי *father*, אָמִי *mother* ¹⁾ may be borrowed from the first labial sounds of an infants lisping; the distinguishing feature however is this, that such words, when they leave the sensuous and material ground of the language, and become fixed for the expression of the idea, first form a perfect human language.

1) cf. in Sanscrit *pitri* (pātri) *mātri* from the same roots; the Mand-

schu however is most like Semitic here; in it, the origin is still plainer, since *ama* distinguishes the male (father) *eme* the female (mother), according to the uniform distinction of *a* as the stronger, and *e* as the weaker vowel, cf. VON DER GABELENTZ Gram. Mand. p. 138.

The root has in itself no form as yet, i. e., no definite 202 conception of its meaning and pronunciation in this or that direction. But as soon as ever it rises above the state of a mere interjection, either as expressing an idea, or giving signs of it, it can split into manifold conceptions and forms, and from the principle of the formation of roots, a second finer formation arises which modifies and divides all roots uniformly, namely that of *stems*, from which finally, by the last impulse of the flexion, the *words*, as they now exist independent in the language, proceed as branches from the stems. The most general division however is this, that the idea is either conceived at rest in itself and unconnected, or as acting and determining: the first is the *noun*, as naming the mere *being* according to its nature, the second the verb as describing *motion, action, and becoming* (*fieri*) according to the distinctions of time. The noun therefore is more limited, sluggish, and lifeless than the verb, which is the ruling, most animate and comprehensive part of the language, and hence too the most developed: the noun represents the idea isolated, confined within itself, the verb represents it acting and determining with animation in a time. The roots of idea are thus almost all developed to verbs, so that all impulses of the formation may display themselves in them; only a very few have been stamped as nouns merely, and preserved so. With regard to the whole form then, the verb and the noun make the two chief parts of the language, in which the living formation has stamped itself in all directions in a peculiar manner: some words, however, are excluded from this class, either because they have remained in the primitive rough state, as the interjectional roots, or because they only approach the cultivated part of the language, as the local roots come very near to the nominal formation, or because they separate themselves again from the living part of the language, and rather indicate certain ideas briefly, according to a permanent, and therefore, more or less inanimate form (adverbs): all these, under the general name *particles*, make up the more immoveable, inanimate part of the language, which keeps itself apart from the ruling development; in which this rule generally holds, that the newer and more powerful the formation is in a language, the more does it raise its particles to a higher degree of animation and formation, or retain them in it.

203 II. The formations which arise from the roots, and indeed, from the roots of idea chiefly, are the following *three*:

1. Formations of *stems*, or words which proceed from the roots in such a manner that the naked idea of the root e. g. *to hear*, is conceived with many new more particular, and subtler modifications, and thereby assumes the form suited to every one of these variations of the sense; but because these accessory ideas are the general ones of augmentation, or diminution, of the difference between noun and verb, active and passive etc., accordingly, the formations which express them prevail through all roots uniformly, and it all depends on the usage of the language whether this or that stem of a root is developed. Thus the root has regularly branched out into stems, and is now only discoverable in them. Wherein, however, the distinction remains, that one stem may stand nearer to the root, or sprout up more directly from it, than another.

204 The external increment and development of stems runs through the following three stages: 1) The definite compass of three, and sometimes even four, firm sounds which exist in the root (§. 201) forms, even with the internal vocalization which adapts itself to the shades of the conception, the *simple stem*: its kinds therefore depend on the varieties of this vocalization. But by the accession of similar firm sounds, new augmented stems may be formed: viz 2) first, by the repetition, or reduplication, of one or two of the radical sounds, *intensive stems*, which render the idea of the root more intense in divers ways, an easier, subtler formation, instead of a repetition of the whole word. Only rarely, and with great emphasis, are the last two sounds repeated, as *הָלַךְ הָלַךְ* *to go round and round*, e. g. of the beating of the heart; frequently the middle one only is doubled, as *כָּתַב כָּתַב* *scriptitare*, *זָרַח זָרַח* *very strong* (hero). — 3) Besides this internal augmentation of the root, and different from it, is the augmentation by means of the external accession of a sound which superadds a particular foreign idea, *ha* before the verb. gives the idea of the *causative* §. 238, *m'* before the noun, that of a *something* to which an action is ascribed §. 338. All these affixes, according to an uniform *nisus formativus* of the ancient language, are most closely attached to the root *at its beginning*, taking hold of the radical idea from before, and giving it a more definite modification beforehand; only few and later derivatives from nouns take affixes at the end §. 341-343.

205 Within these firm sounds of the simple, or augmented and derived, stem, the *change of vowels* exercises its influ-

ence, not casually, but with invariable regularity and force, 205 and this regular and, as to the sense, very uniform *internal change of vowels* is the second principal means for the formation of stems, cf. §. 15. For there is first a natural vocalization, the nearest and easiest, whose principal rules are especially the following: that *a* is in general the nearest vowel, and that the deeper *e* (i) is rather dependent upon a preceding or succeeding syllable with a sharp vowel, as in קִטַּל §. 326. But then the *idea* too influences the change and position of the vowels, and this is the most important and decisive; it depends on this, for instance, that in the simplest stem כָּתַב with the accented vowel at the beginning, denotes the noun, כָּתַב with the accented vowel at the end, the verb, that the obscure, inert *u* expresses the idea of the passive, and the clear, energetic, strong *a* that of the active. The distinction of the short and long vowels too is to be attentively observed. The short ones are in general the oldest and most primitive; in the final syllable, the vowels are often only lengthened by the tone §. 33 f. in the noun, also by the idea of the noun as distinguished from the verb §. 316. Lastly long vowels are inserted, which are just as primitively immutably long, arising from a significant augmentation, or reduplication of the short vowels §. 326 f.

Thus the more *delicate* and *intellectual* distinctions in the modifications of the radical idea rest in the internal change of the vowels, and the richer and lighter the vocalization is, the more are these short subtle formations sufficient. But in the advance of the language, since there arises an endeavour to stamp every thing in firmer, external sounds, and since the language becomes poorer and poorer in short vowels, the *external* formation (§. 204, 3) gradually supplants this internal one more and more.

The distinction of the *verb* and *noun* lies also originally in the change of this internal vocalic formation, so that the *root*, i. e. the three firm sounds, can no longer be pronounced as pure root, without distinction, but with the formation of the distinction, that is, either as verb e. g. כָּתַב or as noun e. g. כֶּתֶב. According to the present development of the language, therefore, the root exists only as a learned *abstractum*, as an invisible root, hidden in the earth, whose trunk and branches are alone seen. Because the verb, however, gives a more animate and complete idea, and the noun, on the other hand, conceives the idea as limited and at rest, and therefore, a noun is more easily derived from the verb than *vice versa*, the verb is nearer in the theory of forms; and since in etymology the root must be briefly and distinctly given some how or other, it has become customary, especially in the Lexicon, to assume the shortest verbal form, as כָּתַב, as the radical sound, just as we give the infinitive in European languages, which, however, historically considered, is neither root nor first stem.

206 Finally, since even the shortest stems according to the formation of roots must be disyllabic according to rule §. 15, the language has a tendency to lengthen words again which have been considerably shortened from other causes; and this is shown in the most various ways in the whole theory of formation.

207 2. Next to this *formation of stems* follows personal distinction, i. e. that of *number* and *gender*, as also of the different *persons* at the same time in the verb; all which distinctions, as being originally only accessory to the stems, are attached to the *end* of the stems (the fact mentioned §. 267 is only from special causes an exception to this); these terminations, however, are as inseparable from the word, and as intimately attached to it as the augmentations of the stems are. In these formations, Semitic has in this respect indeed a greater copiousness, in that the gender is not only distinguished in the *third*, but in the *second* person also (there is however no such distinction in the *first*, because the necessity for it is most sensible in the remotest persons, and from them on gradually decreases): but in other respects even here the form in Hebrew is not most perfectly developed. For

208 1) the plural must indeed always be expressed by a termination, where the sense requires it; this termination appears to have been originally *ām* (ân) or *óm*, the sound *â* appearing to express the extension, enlargement of the thing, *m* the encompassing it, and both together the idea of plurality. The dual *āim*, distinguished from the plural by an inserted *i* (as *u* in Sanscrit: *au*¹) is only very sparingly used, and under great limitations; concerning which v. 376.

1) For the sound *i* (*u*) as it were paints separation, division, therefore possibly also the idea of a whole severed into two halves, that is, of the dual.

209 2) *Gender*, however, is not uniformly distinguished with the same accuracy, just as it is not so necessary to be distinguished as the number, and especially where it does not hold in a physical sense. The *msc.* as the nearest is sometimes used for the form of the *fem.*; but all this has definite limits, as will be particularly explained below. But the most important fact is, that the *neuter* is not externally distinguished, so that the form of the *msc.*, but more definitely in most cases that of the *fem.*, corresponds to it. The *fem.* too is always formed from the *msc.* only, in such a manner that the *msc.* has no distinct termination whatever; hence too the simple stem is the *msc. sg.* in the noun, and the *msc. sg.* of the third person in the verb; for the third person is the

nearest in the verb, in as much as it is in itself the most general and indefinite one of which an action can be understood.

ā is found as the usual termination of the fem., the softer, *vocalic* ending which is contrary to the formation of stems appearing to represent the idea of the feminine. This *ā* however does remain merely the prolonged immoveable *ah*, but first becomes the softer *eh*, from which the still further progress to *ī* is easy, (just as in Sanscrit *ī* with *ā* is the termination of the fem.) which is shown in many pronouns in which *ī* as fem. expels the *ā* with which the masc. terminates. Secondly, it becomes flattened into the harder *āt*, with shortening of the vowel, the aspirate at the end being changed into *t*, according to §. 106; which *t* is especially near and frequent in many forms.

The ideas of tense and mode, which are yet added to 210 the verb, belong on the other hand rather to the more intellectual kind of formation, which is described above §. 205 in the formation of stems; see farther §. 260 ff.

3. What has just been described may be called the *first* 211 *flexion* of the stems; for there is yet a *second*. This arises from the union of two words into one, by which the second is closely attached to the first, and *vice versa* the latter to the former, not only as to the idea, but as to the pronuntiation also; by means of which, if the second word is a personal pronoun, this little word, attaching itself to the first, becomes almost amalgamated with it so as to form a single one §. 300 ff. 440 ff. A pronoun thus attached to a word is yet very loosely connected with it as to the idea, and does not affect the pronuntiation of the first word more than is according to the most general laws of the tone; while in the formation of stems, and in the first flexion, all parts of a word are most closely attached.

Hence also particular established and harmonious pronun- 212 tiations of words have been formed for the closest attachment of syllables, in these first two formations. Thus a vowelless prefix-sound is always united with the first radical in a firm syllable, in case the latter is not itself followed by a permanent vowel, as *יְקַח*, *יִקַּח*, *יִקְחֶהָ*. Moreover, it is a rule that where one syllable is very strongly accented or vocalized, the other is alternately so much the more weakly vocalized; some important consequences of which are:

1) that after the long *ō* after the first radical, the second is pronounced very short, unless a new formation is added,

as בִּזְהָב §. 326, just as it is after a compound syllable with a sharp vowel, as in אֶגֶר §. 330, מִזְהָב §. 338; on the contrary

- 213 2) the vocalization is very weak before a very strong vowel in the last syllable, especially before *ó* and *ú*; hence in the stems מְבֹזֵל §. 334 the first radical is altogether without a vowel, and in derived stems מְבֹזֵן §. 341 the *ó* or *ú* of the first syllable has fallen away before *ó*, and in מְבֹזֵן, מְבֹזֵן, §. 341 has been changed into *é* or *î*. In the same manner *a* is sometimes found before *î* for other firmer vowels §. 343; and indeed the changes of pronuntiation produced by the foretone are to be compared §. 36-42.

- 214 3) Before *a* in the last accented syllable, a short *a* in the preceding compound syllable is rather changed into the finer, weaker *i*, so that pronuntiations like מְבֹזֵן, מְבֹזֵן §. 270. 412 are avoided.

- 215 III. Very much, however, depends, in the application of the formations to the several roots, on the *nature of the radical sounds*. For the formation is most regular and, in general, most perfect only in those roots which consist of three firm, permanent consonants, which are most capable of all internal and external formation and flexion, as כֹּהֵן. But although the formation is calculated for these as being the normal roots, there is still a very large number of roots which in a greater or less degree want this perfect strength, the formation of which accordingly is subject to special laws, and which so far only *approach* the strong formation. Hence the distinction of *strong* and *weak* roots. Not only however much that is antique, but also peculiarities of form, have been more distinctly preserved in the weak roots, because from the peculiar concurrence of sounds in them they often found a more easy development or preservation. All the apparent irregularities of these deviations depend either on the origin of these roots, or on peculiar laws or weaknesses of their sounds; and hence the following three chief classes and many subordinate ones must be generally distinguished:

- 216 1. There are roots which have remained very near the compass and state of the primitive roots §. 14 which embrace indeed, as to their *power*, three firm sounds as the established compass of a root, but which only unfold them to three actually separate sounds in certain forms, from necessity; viz.

- 217 1) two sounds with a short vowel, like מַד מַד *mad*; פַּל פַּל *pal*; but because the formation requires the power of three sounds, all the stems are founded on a reduplication of the 2nd radical;

so that the living root is *maddl*, *pall*. These roots are indeed in particulars entirely formed according to the regular forms; but the last two radicals always endeavour to remain together where it is possible, and besides the same sounds repeated twice successively have in themselves something disagreeable and endeavour to unite §. 116. Hence a moveable vowel which would stand between the second and third radical, is thrown back to the first, in case it has no firm vowel of its own, as כב for כבב, רב for רבב (as the *â* is only the fore-tone and does not therefore maintain its place) and even when two consonants go before, as רכב for רכבב, נכב for נכבב.

All the final vowels which are lengthened by the tone return to their original shortness, because the vowel is compressed and shortened by the double consonant. The reduplication of the last consonant cannot indeed be distinctly heard, from a particular cause §. 118, and the vowels in the tone, becoming accented, may be again lengthened on a suitable occasion, although the lengthening remains much more limited here; before affix syllables, however, the reduplication is necessarily audible, and the tonevowels fall away with the tone, as תסבוקה: קב, תסבוקה: קב, תסבוקה: קב.

Especially when without postfix syllables, these stems are the shortest and weakest which are possible. Hence too these weak stems endeavoured more than any others to lengthen themselves, which is most shown in two consequences:

a) instead of the usual *a*, we often find *e*, with a single other short syllable, which *e* is heavier in such a connexion: viz. regularly in the fortone-syllable before short *a* in the forms קבל, נכב cf. 270. 339 for קבל, to which also belongs the *ê* which remains in the participle §. 351, and often even in the last syllable after *a* in the forms נכב for נכב §. 276.

b) the reduplication, which is inaudible in the final consonant, presses forward into the preceding one, so that these stems from the reduplication of the first radical become like those whose first radical is *ך*, as נהב for נהב, §. 254 ff. Cf. farther §. 228.

Some cases, however, still occur in which the reduplication is lost in the progress of the flexion without any trace, if a full, firm syllable goes before, as נכב for נכב, there are always, however, certain reasons for this shortening when it occurs, as will appear below.

On the other hand, the last two radicals must be perfectly separated: 1) if an immutable long vowel comes before, or after, the second, which necessarily hinders the union of the two similar sounds, as סבב §. 336, סבב §. 326. — 2)

external resemblance; in them too, as with those with a medial vowel §. 219, the formation is more and more founded on one vowel sound which has obscured and expelled the others. That is, the sound *i* has gained the upper hand here, beside which, *u* is only seldom found in some forms: the only root in which *u* has more firmly remained, is שָׁלַח *to rest* in distinction to שָׁלַח *to draw out*; *v* is often still preserved in קָנַח *bowed down*, as עָנַח is properly a perfectly different root, *to declare*. Their formation is as follows:

a) In the most numerous class of stems, that is, in those which have the accented vowel after the second radical, *a* as the nearest stem-vowel has always coalesced with that *i* in *ae* (*e*) which has again not continued pure, but is flattened and melted, on account of the tone at the end, into the sharp *é* §. 49. 51. This sound is moreover generally prevalent at the end of a word, as the mixed sounds *e* and *o*, as in the forms בָּרַח , רָחַח , like that *a*, cannot be distinguished in these roots, so that their formation has continued, as far as this is concerned, more uniform. In some cases, however, there arises a smaller change of that *é* itself, it being changed on suitable occasions into *ê*, *â*, nay even into *ô*.

The weakness of this final *é* is also the cause of its disappearing before every vowel which is attached to the end (accord. to §. 56), as $\text{הָלַח} : \text{הָלַח} = \text{רָחַח} : \text{רָחַח}$, $\text{הָלַח} : \text{הָלַח} = \text{בָּרַח} : \text{בָּרַח}$. It is seldom, and only in poetry, that the sound of the third radical maintains itself (as it always does in Aramaic) against this flattening and elision, so as to be changed before every vowel, but most easily before *u*, *a*, into the semivowel *v*, and before the generally weaker verbal terminations in such a manner that the diphthong *ae* (*ai*) maintains itself powerfully against the vowel of the termination, and the tone therefore falls upon the *ai*, as הָלַח , רָחַח , which *a* before *j* may indeed also maintain itself without the tone in הָלַח , רָחַח , but not after a longer delay of the vowel, as הָלַח cl. §. 36 ff.: before the strong nominal terminations, however, *ae* can never be accented, so that it is merely changed into the semivowel: הָלַח fem. from הָלַח .

b) But if an immutable long vowel intrudes after the second radical, the third must then necessarily be separated; we therefore generally find *v*, which either coalesces with the long vowel, or separates itself entirely, according to the laws of the sounds, as הָלַח , fem. הָלַח ; הָלַח (= הָלַח), fem. הָלַח . And these formations are very frequent in Hebrew, as the radical vowel can generally resolve itself into its semivowel more easily and frequently at the end, than in the middle §. 218.

c) Accordingly, those few forms which have the vowel after the first radical, and not after the second, have remained truest to their origin, because the third radical must then always appear by itself, pure, whether it may remain a vowel or is forced to become a consonant; and ו is therefore more frequently preserved this case. Thus שָׁחַד, פָּרַי, הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה §. 235. 318.

The roots which *begin with a vowel* are similar as far 223 as regards the difference of their sounds. At the beginning of a word, *u* or *o* is almost regularly ¹⁾ changed into *i* or *j*; in the derived stems, on the other hand, in which a single affixed consonant unites itself with the first radical in one syllable, the formation which sets out from *u* (as in those with a vowel in the middle) is by much the predominant one: a few verbs with a prefixsyllable in which ו is found stand in the middle: הִתְנַחֵם, הִתְנַחֵם, הִתְנַחֵם, although י is found here, as הִתְנַחֵם, הִתְנַחֵם. — In these also, must *d* fix itself in a guttural; yet many formations of this kind are somewhat later, as הִנֵּךְ beside הִנֵּךְ §. 228, יָכַף beside יָכַף §. 246.

- 1) Very few nouns excepted: הִנֵּךְ in the ancient passage Gen. 11, 30. הִנֵּךְ Pro. 21, 8 and the remarkable הִנֵּךְ (*hook*) in Ex. formed like הִנֵּךְ §. 225, cf. כוּה, עוּה to be crooked, bent.

As ו at the beginning of a word must always be a consonant §. 90, these roots have even for that reason fewer peculiarities. At the end of a syllable only, ו cannot maintain themselves as consonants, and then peculiar formations arise whose deviations from the normal ones are however only partially sensible. These roots then, of those described, conform most of all to the strong ones.

The vowel-sound which arises from ו at the end of a syllable may however be skipped over in a perfectly different manner, by the reduplication of the following consonant, that is, be entirely dropt (cf. §. 113). This is indeed primarily a weakness of the language, as the long vowel at the beginning of the word is shortened, though only before sibilants and liquids which easily admit reduplication, as הִנֵּךְ, הִנֵּךְ for הִנֵּךְ, הִנֵּךְ; but this reduplication is again so good a compensation for the first radical, that the formation deviates entirely from the nature of these roots and becomes the usual strong formation, as הִנֵּךְ = הִנֵּךְ (§. 271); only extremely late however is this introduced before other sounds than sibilants and liquids, the only example of which is הִנֵּךְ Koh. 10, 20 from הִנֵּךְ.

2. While these classes of roots, and especially those with 224

a sound doubled and those with a medial vowel, deviate so far and so thoroughly from the strong ones that nearly every one of them follows a peculiar kind of formation, the *gutturals* produce only trilling deviations according to the peculiarities of their pronuntiation. For as the guttural generally remains unaltered as consonant, their formation is entirely founded on that of the strong roots and only suffers trilling changes, and those chiefly in the vowels.

225 3. Lastly, isolated irregularities occur, produced by the peculiar weakness of many sounds, chiefly in certain words of frequent recurrence, or in forms in which such weaknesses can most easily be shown. To these belong the peculiar weaknesses of the softest aspirate א, as they show themselves only incipiently in Hebrew, and the softness of the easily resolved ך §. 113.

226 Many of these weak sounds, however, can come together in one root. This has first its limits in itself. For with all the licence in the formation of roots to three sounds §. 14 f. nevertheless all sounds cannot be indiscriminately combined without regarding the euphony and compatibility of the whole. Thus 1) the first two radicals can never be the same sounds, as בב, גג, by which, as the vowel is generally after the second radical, the words would sound very awkward. The first and third radical are never the same originally (except in the roots which have a medial vowel, as כנס) since roots like שרש are either produced from longer ones by shortening, as שרשר, or one sound has been commuted for another as נהג for נהל. — 2) Even consonants which are *very similar* cannot originally stand together in the root, although it happens sometimes at the end from commutation, as עתד from עתה; the very weak sound א, however, may stand at the beginning before ה or ח, as אהב, אהז, אהל; while, on the other hand, roots like הלז are not primitive according to §. 106. — 3) A T-sound never stands at the beginning before an S-sound on account of the too great hardness, §. 114, but it may at the end, as נחס; and, on account of their too great softness, the weak sounds נלר, and especially נר, seldom occur in immediate succession.

227 Moreover, a sound which would otherwise be resolved may become so much the stronger and more fixed when near a very weak one, so that one weakness removes the other, cf. §. 94.

According all this the following are the principal peculiarities of the roots of many kinds of weakness:

1) if the middle radical is a firm one, as in נקטה, נקטה,

אָתָה, the circumjacent weak sounds are treated each according to its peculiar weaknesses; so also if the middle radical is a guttural, as קָהָה.

2) יר not unfrequently stand as middle radicals before יר (ה §. 222) as the last. In this case, the second radical is always the more primitive one, and may be sometimes even contracted with the third, after the manner of the roots with double sounds §. 217. But where the third separates itself as a pure vowel-sound (accord. to 222, a) the second must then always necessarily become a firm consonant (contrary to §. 218) as קָהָה, בָּהָה, הָהָה; for the formation proper to roots whose middle radical is a vowel is totally inapplicable to these, because a third radical is wanting to hold the vowel, as second radical, fast. (Nevertheless גִּיר can be formed according to §. 222, c, since both sounds maintain their original power very well here). — ג is often a consonant even before gutturals, because with them too the support behind is wanting, as גָּוַה, גָּוָה; this however is not uniformly the case, as בִּוּא, בִּוָּה.

3) ך maintains its strength much more before the weak guttural and is only rarely resolved, as וְנָחַל, וְנָחָה §. 273. Before יר, the guttural is often stronger, as וְהָהָה §. 94.

Three weak radicals can only come together on the condition that one or two of them are gutturals, in which case then all these rules hold, as הָהָה and הָהָה §. 94, רָהָה §. 290, רָהָה.

Roots with one weak sound are like roots which have not been firmly 228 and regularly enough developed out of shorter primitive roots, and which therefore often waver between two developments and, without difference of meaning, fix themselves variously according to various stems and forms. The nearest related are, those with double sounds and those with a medial vowel §. 217 f., those with double sounds and those with a vowel at the end, those with a medial vowel and those with a vowel at the beginning. those that begin with ר and those that begin with א or ה or with the liquid נ; the following are some of the principal points: a) the shorter roots with a medial vowel compared with those beginning with a vowel, in the imperf. of the simple stem: יָגַח, יָגַח (S. 270) perf. יָגַח to fear, יָגַח *aucupari*, עוּץ only *imperat.* perf. יָעַץ to advise; seldom the contrary: טוֹב to be good, imperf. יוּטֵב. From the last word in the causative stem יוּטֵב, more commonly יוּטֵב; yet before consonant-postfixes we find both יוּטֵב and יוּטֵב, and once even יוּטֵב Ez. 36, 11, with a punctuation fluctuating between both. From בוּשׁ to be ashamed, the causative stem יוּבֵשׁ, but before consonant-postfixes where the vocalic formation of בוּשׁ easily intrudes §. 287, יוּבֵשׁ Ps. 44, 8. 53, 6 with הוּבֵשׁ 2Sam. 19, 6. b) in the same way יָקַע imperf. יָקַע perf. to distort; beside הִלֵּךְ to go we find, in those forms in which the first radical is at the end of the syllable, derivatives from וָלַךְ, as וָלַךְ imperf.,

הוֹלִיךָ causative stem, and only gradually, especially in the Poets, do the derivatives from הִלֵּךְ usurp these forms also, as יִהְיֶה v. §. 270, יִהְיֶה and the late noun מִהְלֵךְ; — יָצַב to place only preserved in הִתְיַצֵּב beside יָצַב. — c) רַב to be many only preserved in the perf. of the simple stem and the adjective רַב, other derivatives being from רָבָה; יוֹם day pl. יָמִים, as if from יָמָה. Those with double sounds and those with medial vowels change oftener, as הִסְתַּח 1 Kgs. 21, 25, 3rd pers. fem. sg. beside הִסִּיתָ 3rd pers. pl. Ps. 73, 9 f. beside שָׁתַּח, שָׁתַּח imperf. Nif. beside שָׁחַ; עָבַר cloud pl. עָבָרִים, עָבַר, st. estr. sg. עָבָר Ex. 19, 9; יָם sea pl. יָמִים. — d) נָהַל poetical dwelling (prop. tractus, extended district) in pl., except in זֶפְחָה Zeph. 2, 6, which is rather easier to pronounce before ה.

Different from this is the frequent reduplication of the first radical in the roots of double sounds, which is apparently a transition to the formation of those that begin with נ, but is properly nothing but an effort of the short roots to extend themselves, which is most easily achieved when the vowel of a prefix syllable establishes itself more firmly by reduplication of the first radical, v. §. 217. This extension sometimes intrudes into roots with a medial vowel also, most easily with sibilants and liquids, as הִסְתַּח to seduce, though the pure form is still found before accented affix syllables (except Jer. 38, 22), הִלְצִיחַ to mock, from סִחַח, לִחַח, הִלְצִיחַ (pure before accented affix Js. 27, 4) from צַחַח or צַחַח, also הִלְצִיחַ K'tib 2 Sam. 14, 30, נָחַח (Nif. to move) Zach. 2, 17, מִשְׁחַח and מִשְׁחַח an oar Ez. 27, 6. 29, מִרְחֹץ course Koh. 9, 11; still more easily if a difference of meaning accompanies it, as נָחַח to murmur different from נָחַח to pass the night §. 245, הִנְחִיחַ to set down in distinction to הִנְחִיחַ, more properly to cause to rest.

229 On account of this fluctuating nature of the weak stems, even a quite unusual licence may be sometimes hazarded for sake of assonance, as מִרְחֹץ for מִרְחֹץ passage in beside מִרְחֹץ passage out Ez. 43, 11. But even otherwise there is much in Hebrew that is still fluctuating, still forming itself anew, and not yet so finished: but even that which might be called an anomaly from its unusualness, to be possible, must always have its points of attachment by which it is connected with the centre of the formation; e. g. נָשָׂה Gen. 41, 51 for נָשָׂה perf. Piel is indeed hazarded for the explanation of a name, but yet originally is not entirely false or indistinct, v. 274. All apparent anomalies are either derived from that former greater freedom which permitted this or that which has now become frequent or rare, — or is caused by some particular word no longer having its primitive power and moveability in the feeling of the language; so that becoming isolated, without its kindred stems from the same root, it often also does not preserve its form pure and fresh. Inaccurate, or bold writers like Ezekiel indeed venture much: but even here then are certain limits, and הִנְחִיחַ מִשְׁחַח Ez. 8, 16 is probably a very ancient mistake in writing for מִשְׁחַח.

230 Roots of more than three sounds, though still very rare in Hebrew, may yet arise in various ways: 1) the root, which is primitively shorter than three sounds, sometimes lengthens itself beyond the usual normal measure of three

sounds, as a late and weak continuation of the formation of roots of three sounds; only *weaker* consonants, however, are attached at the end or the middle of the root, and most frequently *r*; very rarely in the verb, as בָּרַחַם Ps. 80, 14 *to devour* cf. כָּסַם *to decrease*, רָטַבַּשׁ Iob 33, 25 with passive pronunciation §. 256 *to be refreshed* cf. רָטַף fresh, and פָּרַשׁוּ *to stretch out* 26, 9 from פָּרַשׁ with a repetition of the sibilant; more frequently in the noun, which generally lengthens itself more easily, as שָׁרְבִיט Est. 4, 11. = שֵׁבֶט *scepter*, כִּרְעָפוֹת pl. *twigs* Ez. 31, 5 beside כְּעָפוֹת v. 5, כִּרְעָפִים *thoughts* Ps. 94, 19 beside כְּעָפִים; and from the early period בְּרָמֶל *fruitful land*, עֲרֵפֶל *clouds* beside עָרַף a cloud; often in proper names, as עֶקְרָב *scorpion*. — 2) Sometimes two words always connected together either in sense or by usage, are amalgamated together, especially if their sounds resemble each other; פִּלְמָנִי Dan. 8, 13 is decidedly so contracted from the usual connexion פִּלְמָנִי אֱלֹהֵי a *certain one*, like the word *aliquis*, שָׁלֵאֲנָן Iob 21, 23 from שָׁאֲנָן *quiet* and שָׁלוֹ *to rest*, and צִפְרֹדֶיֶת *frog* appears to have arisen in the same manner from צִפְרֹ *to chirp* and רֵדֶיֶת a *marsh*. But such an origin of words of many sounds cannot be frequent. — 3) A sound added by the form may become indistinct in a isolated noun, and be so changed as to appear to belong to the root, as אֶרֶז *axe* from צָרַז *to cut* and the adjective ending *dn* §. 341, אֶבֶט *blossom* perhaps from אָבַע and the nominal ending *on*. Foreign names are indistinct as to their etymology also, as פֶּלֶאֶשׁ or פֶּלֶאֶשׁ *παλλαξ*, *pellex*. — Such a root, however, from whatever cause arising, never exceeds certain limits; the verb never has more than four, and the noun, which can more easily extend itself, never more than five sounds; and so great is the influence of the laws of the roots with three sounds, that the formation of the few longer roots entirely follows that of the former, without a *nisus formativus* of its own.

After the Jewish and Arabian Grammarians, who have chosen the verb פָּעַל *to do* as a general example and pattern, the first radical is generally called פ, the second ע, the third ל in the roots of three sounds; as also פֿ means a root beginning with נ, עֵי a root like קוֹם, לֵי one like אֶלֶה, עֵי one with double sounds like אֶלֶל = אֶלֶל. All possible formations, therefore, are named after this model, as הִפְעִיל i. e. the verbal causative stem §. 238, פִּהֲלֵל a rare verbal stem §. 237 or more usually the simple active participle §. 336; even roots of four sounds are called after this model, as פִּרְשֵׁי after the form פִּעְלֵל. But כָּתַב *to write* is better suited for a model, being a perfectly strong root, and distinctly showing the changes of Dagesh leue also.

FIRST SECTION.

VERBAL FORMATION.

1. VERBAL STEMS.

- 231 I. The simple stem is distinguished as a verb by the stem-vowel being pronounced after the second radical, as *k'táb* or כְּתָב, while in the simplest noun it is drawn back to the beginning, as *kátb* or כֶּתֶב §. 317; the former pronunciation, which lays the stress upon the end, expresses motion, action, the verbal idea; the latter, which reverses the emphasis, expresses rest and completion in itself, the nominal idea. The simple verb, therefore, has the essential, important vowel after the second radical, which vowel is moreover changed according to the active or passive modification of the idea §. 248; the first radical, which stands by itself, has regularly the foretone *á* according to §. 37, as כָּתַב *to write*, קָטַן *to be little*.

The simple verbal stem is usually called after the Jewish Grammarians: *Qal* קָל i. e. *light*, the augmented and derived stems on the other hand כְּבִידים *heavy*.

In quadriliteral roots, the simple verbal stem has the tone vowel after the third radical, and the first two rad. form a compound syllable, as פָּרְטָוּ.

- 232 II. *Reduplicated*, or *intensive stems*, by internal augmentation: 1. the lightest and shortest, with reduplication of the *second* radical: כָּתַב commonly called כָּתַב *Piel*, a very frequent form, derived from verbal and nominal ideas. 1) In the verbal derivatives, the idea of *intension* is the primary one, and Piel expresses the *violence*, *zeal*, *skill* or *quick repetition* of an action, where other languages would use frequentative verbs ¹⁾; as כָּתַב *to write*, כָּתַב *scriptitare* Js. 10, 1; צָנַק *clamitare* 2 Kgs. 2, 12; רָדַף *sequi*, רָדַף *sectari*; our languages also express the accessory idea by composition, as שָׁבַר *frangere*: שָׁבַר *confringere*; שָׁלַח *mittere*: שָׁלַח *to send away utterly, for ever, dimittere*; סָפַר *to count*: סָפַר *to recount* (to reckon up *seriatim*). It is also possible that the idea of this stem establishes itself in a substantive (participle) only, as רָצַח *to murder*: מְרַצֵּחַ *murderer* (*always murdering*) Js. 1, 21; מֵאֲהָב *amator*, *osor* from אָהַב, מֵאִיָּא *to love, to hate*, without the accessory idea of permanent zeal.

1) The intensive forms in Sanscrit resemble these most, as *rôrud* to weep much from *rud* to weep.

Piel can indeed be an intension of transitive as well as intransitive verbal ideas (e. g. intransitive: פָּהַד *to tremble*: פָּהַד *contremiscere* Js. 51, 13, Pro. 28, 14, רָדַף *to drink*

רָהַה *to be very drunk* Js. 34, 5, 7; סָמַר *to bristle up* Job 4, 15; but the active and passive pronunciation is rather very much developed and distinguished in this light intensive form (§. 253) and the other coarser, more sensuous intensive forms have remained proper to intransitive ideas (§. 233). Hence the language often keeps the more intellectual idea of *busy doing* or *making* which can be in Piel, fast, in a strictly active sense only, and thus Piel approaches the force of the causative verbal stem Hif-il §. 238, without however becoming entirely like it; for Piel always expresses primarily the idea of the causative or transitive with the accessory idea of *care* and greater activity with which an action is performed, while Hif-il simply and sensuously only distinguishes the transitive, as from intransitive verbs גָּדַל *to be great*: גָּדַל *with care or zeal to make great* (e. g. *to bring up*, of children or plants; *to honour*) הִגְדִּיל *merely to make great*; כִּבֵּד *to honour* and הִכְבִּיר *to make heavy* are distinguished in the same manner, קָלַל *to curse* and יָהַקל *to make light*. In the same way from the active verb יָצַד *to bring forth* יָצַד *to cause, or to help, to bring forth*, very different from הוֹלִיד *to beget*; the part. fem. מִיָּצֶדָה *midwife*. Piel is nevertheless used in some verbs together with Hif-il without any great difference of force, especially to make forms intransitive in Qal transitive §. 239, as קָשָׁה *to be heavy*: קָשָׁה and הִקְשָׁה *to make heavy* Gen. 35, 16. 17; אָבַד *to perish*: הִאֲבִיד *to destroy*; חָיָה *to live*: הִחְיָה and חָיָה *to make live* (though Piel here has rather the force *to preserve life with care, to support* Js. 7, 21, which is not found in Hif-il); but it is only in a few stems that both forms have become so equal, and only Poets and writers in the later periods of the language form a Piel sometimes for the perfectly sensuous Hif-il, as קָרַב *to bring near*, קָרַב (קוֹרֵב) *to raise up* Ps. 119, 28. 106 for הִקְרִיב, הִקְרִיב; it is exceedingly rare that Piel is found in the most proper meaning and force of Hif-il, according to which it can make a transitive verb doubly transitive, v. §. 239.

2. When derived from nouns, it expresses, according to its peculiar power, *an active working, busying oneself* with a thing, as בִּהֵן *to perform a priests office* (from בִּהֵן *priest*) שָׁגַשׁ *to do something on the third day* (שָׁלֹשׁ); and as the verbal form only expresses this being occupied in a thing in an indefinite manner, it therefore depends on the possible kind of occupation and on the usage of the language in *what* sense we are to take Piel, as דָּשַׁן (from דָּשַׁן *ashes*) *to reduce to ashes*, or, *to remove the ashes* Num. 4, 13; בָּקַל *to throw stones, to stone* 2Sam. 16, 6 and *to gather stones, or to free from stones* Js. 5, 2; only one possible meaning shows

itself in such derivations, as *חָצַב* to cut off the tail (*חָצַב*) to cut off branches (*חָצַב*) Js. 10, 33; although *פָּאָר* to shake, to search the branches (*פָּאָר*) Dt. 24, 20; cf. the rarer formations of our languages: *köpfen*, to skin, *jugulare*, *τραγγιλλίζειν*, to stone ¹⁾. But even here we find the mere transitive signification, as *שָׁלַח* to divide into three, *לָבַב* to encourage, *בָּבֵר* to constitute ones firstborn (*בָּבֵר*) to bring a sin-offering for some one (*הַשָּׂאָה*) and thereby to purify, to reconcile Lev. 6, 18. 19. 14, 52.

- 1) This multiplicity of signification dependant on the usage of the language is shown in all active forms derived from nouns, no less than in Piel, as *עָרַף* to break the neck (*עָרַף*); *הָשָׁבִיר* and *שָׁבַר* to buy and sell corn (*שָׁבַר* corn for the mill).

A guttural as second radical, as the reduplication belongs to the stem, regularly recieves the short vowels before it in all forms, according to §. 120, as *נָחַם*, *נָחַם*, *נָחַם*, pass. *נָחַם*; only rarely has the vowel entirely separated and become long in a simple syllable, as *נָחַר* Gn. 34, 19, the imperf. *יִנְחָץ*, part. *מִנְחָץ*; Hitp. *יִתְנַחֵץ* Job 9, 30. With *ר*: *בָּרַךְ*, pass. *בָּרַךְ*, reduplication only in *פָּרַח* pass. §. 124.

- 233 2. The other intensive forms are rarer, and only appropriated to the more sensuous intransitive verbal ideas:

1) Repetition of the third radical (*פָּעַלְלַל Paalal*), a rather frequent formation, is peculiar to some verbal ideas to signify a permanent state, or an inseparable bodily quality, e. g. colour; *שָׁאַנַן* to be at rest, *רָעַנַן* to grow green Job 15, 32; concerning *נָאָה* to be lovely Cant. 1, 10 and the reflexive intensive form *הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה* (from *שָׁחָה* = *שָׁחָה*) to prostrate oneself humbly, to do homage to, to worship cf. §. 236.

2) Repetition of the two last radicals (*פָּעַלְעַל Pealal*) is a very evident and strong intension, but has become very rare, and is rather used in poetry to paint the idea, as *סָהַרְהַר* to go round and round, of the heart beating hard Ps. 38, 11 ¹⁾. Repetition of the first and second radicals, on the other hand, is decidedly against the normal formation; concerning *רָפַרְפַּר* v. §. 256.

- 1) It is from the most ancient mode in which these stems have arisen, that the end of the verbal form can be sometimes repeated even with the personal terminations; thus *אָהַבְי אֶהְבֵּה* they love love, love deeply Hos. 4, 18, *אַמְתַּחֲנִי אֶמְתַּחֲנִי* they destroy-destroyed me Ps. 88, 17. — Generally speaking, many of these rare forms are peculiar to the emphatic language of the later writers.

- 234 Intensive formations which are otherwise rare become nevertheless more frequent in certain roots whose sounds do not so easily bear the reduplication of the second radical. To this class belong regularly the roots with a medial vowel, as

קום, on account of the great weakness of the second rad. §. 93; but those with double sounds also unwillingly admit the reduplication of the 2nd rad. and its separation from the 3rd, on account of the cacophony §. 116. These two, in other respects too, very cognate and nearly allied classes of roots assume, therefore, two other formations instead of the common ones:

1) The roots ע" repeat the 3rd rad., if it is a strong one, in such a manner, that the *ā* of the 2nd rad. coalesces with the active stem-vowel *ā* in *ō*, as קום to raise from קום, ה"לל to bring forth, ע"ר to excite, ש"קק to cause to overflow. The roots ע" are also of the same sound, the reduplication of the second rad. being supplied by the immutable *ō* after the first (cf. §. 237), as ג"לל to roll from גל, ח"קק to determine from חק, כ"בב to surround from כב. These very frequent formations are, as far as signification is concerned, perfectly like the lighter intensive forms of the strong roots §. 232, and are so constant, that the otherwise usual form only intrudes if the third rad. (and therefore in ע" the second also) is a weak sound, cf. §. 94, as חנה, אנה, רנה, קנה, צנה and all of that kind, sometimes too before a guttural, as ש"ע to cry, in which root ר is harder; with that exception, the stem כ"בב of ע" is exceedingly rare, as ענה to bend, in which ר is stronger being interchanged with ע"בב ¹⁾ ענה to surround only in Ps. 119, 61, ע"ל to sin, poet. from ע"ל sin, Hitp. ה"צ"יד (to provide oneself with food) derived from צ"ידה food, and the new formations ק"בב, ח"בב, in which ר has been changed into ר according to §. 93. The usual intensive form is more frequent in ע", though even in them more in new formations and significations only, as כ"בב (very rare) to alter, ק"לל (properly, to make to fly) in the peculiar, new signification to curse ²⁾.

1) Also ענה participle Nif'al.

2) Yet חנהב Ps. 18, 27 according to the normal form חנהב is shortened into חנהב 2Sam. 22 accord. to §. 116, the repetition of the ר returning in the reduplication of the ח before, accord. to §. 217 b: this is also excused by its better assonance with חנהב.

2) Both classes of roots repeat the two firm distinct elements, or the whole short root, entire, which heavier intensive form, where it exists together with one of the former, or another lighter one, in the same root, expresses a greater intension of the idea, as ש"רר to shatter, and ש"פפ to dash to pieces Job 16, 12. ג"לל to roll Jer. 51, 25, ח"ללל to hurl Js. 22, 17 with great emphasis for the usual forms ש"ר and

פּוֹצֵץ, הִלֵּל, הִטִּיל, or has a more sensuous meaning, as קָלַקַּל to move violently, *to shake*, beside the preceding קָלַל. The form may indeed occur also without such strong intension, and correspond entirely with Piel §. 232 in signification: but this is rare if the last radical is strong, as הִרְהִיר *to kindle* poet. Prov. 26, 21 from הָרַר *to burn*, בִּלְבָּל *to support* by food, from בָּיַל *to hold*, and only frequent in roots whose last radical is weak, in which the preceding formation §. 234 is impossible, as שִׁעֲשַׁע to stroke i. e. *to caress*, *to delight*, אָגַז *agitare* Hab. 2, 7, so that a very short root is often developed in this active stem only, as טָאָט *to drive*, *to drive away*¹⁾ (and hence only *to sweep*) Js. 14, 23, טָאָט *to reject* 27, 8 (§. 129). For similar formations in the noun, as קָנָן etc. v. 330.

1) cf. טָאָט ^{ט-א-ט} *Taberist. Annal. ed. KOSEGARTEN I. p. 60, 11. טָאָט*

is related to it, cf. also טָאָט ^{ט-א-ט} *cucurrit.*

236 We also find in some roots with a medial guttural an effort to supply the absence of the form בָּיַב by reduplication of the last radical, as the guttural is also incapable of reduplication; this happens most frequently where the 3rd radical is a weak one, which, being repeated accord. to §. 222 c, then only becomes hardened into the semivowel ׀ and always remains so if it has only a vowel after it; for so we find not only the intransitive נָאָה (for נָאָה §. 84) *to be beautiful* Cant. 1, 10 like רָגַן *to grow green*, and שָׁאָן *to rest* (accord. to §. 233) but also the pure active טָאָה *jactare, jaculari* Gen. 21, 16 and corresponding to this, Hitp. הִשְׁתָּאָה *to bow oneself, to worship* from שָׁחָה.


237 The possibility of resolving the final consonant of a syllable into the obscure vowel *u* and of contracting¹⁾ this last with the preceding active stem-vowel *a* into an immutable *o*, besides the case mentioned §. 234, is extended to roots of all classes. This form, called פּוֹעֵל, still very rare and isolated in Hebrew, is thus primarily a *variety* of Piel without difference of signification of stem, as שׁוֹעָה *to plunder* Js. 10, 13, זָרַם *to pour out*, Ps. 77, 18, and rather designedly שׁוֹרֵשׁ *to strike root* (שָׁרַשׁ §. 226) as distinguished from שָׁרַשׁ *to root up* §. 231, סָגַר *to be tossed* i. e. *to fly away* Hos. 13, 3 distinguished from סָפַר *to scatter about* Zach. 7, 14. But as this *o* = *a* represents the active *ā* in its highest power, this stem assumes also a more independent signification, describing an action performed with the *design of affecting another*; hence this stem, or the *verb of intention*, subordinates to itself an accusative of the person even immediately, as לִשׁוֹן properly *to use the tongue* against some one, i. e. *to slander* Ps. 101, 5 K'tib; שִׁפֹּט *to litigate* with some one, i. e. *to oppose* Job 9, 15; יִדְרֹעַ *to cause* some one to know i. e. *to order him* 1 Sam. 21, 3; הִרָה וְהָגָה *to concieve and utter* lies against others with hostile intention Js. 59, 13.

1) A liquid consonant is indeed most easily thus resolved, as *sauter* (french) from *saltare*, in Sanscrit the *ar* of terminations (from *as*)

into *ô*, but the licence of this resolution may be extended. In Hebrew, many stems with the entire root repeated §. 235, as their sound has always something rough and disagreeable in it, resolve the hard final consonant of the first syllable; but this is only frequent in nouns of obscure derivation §. 330, the only example in a verb would be עִזָּר to excite for עִזָּר Js. 15, 5. if the reading be correct.

III. Derived verbal stems with external augmentation : 238

1. *Causative stem*: הִפְעִיל, called הִפְעִיל Hif-îl. The power of the form lies in the prefixed *a*, or, with a sharper aspirate at the beginning as is always the case in Hebrew, *ha* ¹). This *a* is indeed the same *a* which expresses the *active* idea in the root (§. 205. 246); but it has much more emphasis in this sharp prefixure, and gives the more definite expression of *active effectuating* an action, a condition, or a thing ²). The idea of *causation* therefore is peculiar to this stem above all others, and only rarely and late is its power weakened in some verbs into a *mere active* signification, in such a manner, that Hif-îl is to express the action externally and, therefore, more definitely. According to §. 232 however, the stem Piel becomes only very gradually and partially like Hif-îl in signification.

- 1) Instead of this ה, the softer א is occasionally used in the later periods, as in Aramaic, but only very rarely; in the same manner אִתָּן for the ancient אִתָּן of another stem §. 242, cf. Js. 63, 3. Ps. 76, 6; א then, as weaker, takes ע instead of י §. 79, 1. On the other hand, as a change is possible between *h-s* and then between *s-t* (§. 106), accordingly ה in Hif-il can be hardened into ת which is shown in הִתְרַגֵּל = הִרְגֵּל to lead (properly to make to go from רֶגֶל foot) Hos. 11, 3. as  Knös chrest. syr. p. 112 v. 71; הִתְחַדָּה to act violently — to dispute Jer. 12, 5. 22, 15 beside הִחַדָּה Neh. 3, 20. This hardening easily takes place, when Hif-îl assumes a peculiar, singular signification, and thus, almost unconscious of its origin, isolates itself as a new verbal stem. In the noun, שִׁלְהֶבֶת flame poetical, from להב to burn, intransitive, שִׁלְהֶבֶת to ignite, active.
- 2) Thus this *a* is fundamentally the same as the termination *ae*, *an*, *awo*, by which causative verbs are formed in Sanscrit, Persian, and Greek, as has been already remarked in the Götting. gel. Anzeigen 1832, p. 1126. — Even as to the use, the Sanscrit and Persian approach nearest to the Hebrew here.

This stem may 1) be derived from a *verb*, as is most frequently the case. When founded on an *absolute* verb, i. e. on one whose idea is complete in itself and requires no complement by means of an object, as *to fall*, *to lie*, *to die*, Hif-îl subordinates to itself *one* object, or *one* accusative, which depends on the idea of causation, e. g. from נָפַל to fall:

הָבִיל לוֹ he makes the lot fall = casts it. By making a *relative* verb (i. e. one whose idea allows the complement of an object) causative, Hif-*l* may subordinate to itself *two* (or, if the simple verb already has two, *three*) objects, the first of which depends on the idea of causation, the second on the idea of the simple verb; in the usual arrangement of words, the former of these objects must always be placed first, e. g. from רָאָה to see, נָחַל to inherit: הִרְאָה אֶת-עַבְדּוֹ אֶת-גָּדְלוֹ he causes his servant to see his greatness, הִנְהִיל אוֹתָם he makes them to inherit the land Dt. 3, 24. 28. The power of this stem is most strongly shown in this last use of it, hence too Piel exceedingly rarely follows, Gen. 41, 51 (in which place however an attempt at etymology at the same time forces its use) and Job 33, 20. — 2) A causative verb can be formed from any *noun* or other word, in which case, the noun itself becomes the object of the causative, so that no other object is required, as from נָטַר rain: הִנְטִיר he makes rain, or rains, הִילִיל to make wail (אֵלֵלִי interjection) to lament; הִלִּיךְ (see §. 245, probably from לַיִל night according to the commutation of the liquids §. 107) to pass the night, pernoctari; in the same manner also from a verb without a definite subject (an impersonal), as from בָּרַ לִי it is bitter to me: הִבְרִ לִי he makes it bitter to me. Such an Hif-*l*, however, often assumes a relative verbal idea also, so that an object may be subordinated to it, as הִאָזֵין properly from אָזַן ear, poetically = שָׁמַע, to hear with any accusative; הִנְטִיר בָּרַד to rain hail.

Since the simple stem also may have a strictly active signification (§. 248 ff.), Hif-*l* and Qal may both exist together in the same root in a purely active sense, as the history of each single root must teach, e. g. מִנְחִירֵי and זֶרַע yielding seed Gen. 1, 11. 12. 29; but Hif-*l* is most frequently found in this sense together with Qal, if Qal is rather used in a more absolute and, therefore, intransitive sense, so that the active signification fixes itself anew in Hif-*l*, as נָטָה to incline, very often to bow down: i. e. to yield, whereas הִנְטָה to bend down, although the new active form may also gradually begin to become absolute again, as Js. 30, 11; or, in a verb which is always active, Hif-*l* occupies the place of the shorter active forms, as a more definite, external one, as זָעַק to call is afterwards expelled by הִזְעִיק, only Jon. 3, 7. Job 35, 9. But it would be an utter violation of the idea of this stem, if it ever had a primitively intransitive signification; and all examples of this are only such in appearance. For 1) many verbs in Qal express quite simply a quality or condition, in Hif-*l*, an *action*, an active *exercise* of this quality or condition, as הִשְׁחָת to act corruptly from שָׁחָה to be

corrupt; הִשְׁכִּיל *to have discernment*, not from nature, but by action and exercise, as their fruit; in the same way הִרְגִּיעַ, הִשְׁקִיט not *to be quiet*, but *to keep quiet* (רָגַע Job 7, 4); הִרְחִיק used of living beings: *to go far off*, but רָחַק *to be distant*, as also used of time הִאָּרִיךְ *to be long* i. e. *to last* Ex. 20, 12, and Piel מָדַד used of time: *to protract, extend itself* Job 7, 4; also הִתְנַחַּה *to err* willingly Prov. 10, 17. And thus many Hif-îls, especially those derived from nouns, which may be translated intransitively in our languages, have a purely active signification according to the original poetical conception of the Semites, as הִשְׁרִיב *to strike root*, הִשְׁרִיב *to evening* i. e. *to do, to go at evening* (עָרַב); especially verbs of colour, as הִלְבִּין *to produce, to show white*, therefore with us equivalent to *to be white*. But 2) the case is different if the *object* is gradually omitted, where it may be done without detriment to the sense, with an active stem, Hif-îl or another, as the name of a member in phrases of very frequent occurrence, e. g. הִקְשִׁיב *to attend*, properly *to incline* אָזְנִי *his ear* Prov. 2, 2; הִאָּרִיךְ with יָמִים as object: *to prolong days*, i. e. *to live long, to endure*, hence too even used alone, on account of the frequency of the phrase, for *to live long* Koh. 7, 15, 8, 12. — Verbs however, which have thus an apparently single signification in Hif-îl, can also express the highest causative power by the same form, especially as the formation is exhausted and no new Hif-îl can be formed from Hif-îl; but then there must always be added a distinct object for the new causative signification, as הִאָּרִיךְ *to prolong* 1 Kgs. 3, 14; הִשְׁכִּיל *to make wise* i. e. *to teach* Ps. 32, 8; הִבִּיחַ *to distinguish, discern*, and again *to cause to discern* Ps. 119, 27; הִזְכִּיר *to repeat, to testify*, and again with an accusative of the person, *to cause to testify* Js. 8, 2.

2. *Reflexive stem*: נִכְתַּב *Nif-al*, whose characteristic 240 is a prefixed *n*, or fuller, *hin* (§. 277) ¹⁾, has 1) primarily and originally a *reflexive* signification, and causes the action to fall back on the agent, e. g. נִכְתַּר *to conceal oneself*, נִשְׁמַר *to take care*, φυλάσσεσθαι, נִזְנֶץ *to deliberate*, βουλευεσθαι; also from intransitive Qal, as נִמְלֵא *to fill oneself, to be filled*, from מָלֵא *to be full*; if the reflexive action is referred to many persons, the idea of the reciprocal arises, as נִדְבָּרִי *they speak one with the other mutually* Ez. 33, 30, נִבְּשׁוּ the people oppress one another Js. 3, 5; hence Nif-al in general is commonly used for such verbal ideas as express a reciprocal action between many, as נִלְחָמוּ (prop. *to consume, destroy each other*) *to contend*, μάχεσθαι, נִאָּבְדָּן *luctari* Gen. 32, 25, נִשְׁפָּט *to present oneself before a court*

with another and argue, to litigate. According to this fundamental signification, Nif-al cannot be attached to an external object, as it includes its own object in itself, except in a few words in which the language preserves at length only one *active* sense proceeding from the original reflexive one, especially if Nif-al has no Qal and has thus isolated itself, as נִצַּח to show oneself a prophet i. e. to prophecy something Jer. 25, 13, נִשְׁבַּע to bind oneself by seven (שְׁבַע) sacred things, or with seven oaths i. e. to swear something, נִצַּח (§. 288) to put oneself about i. e. to surround a city Jdgs. 19, 22. On the other hand, Nif-al indeed approaches the *intransitive* Qal (cf. §. 246); there is nevertheless universally a difference between them originally: 1) Nif-al is often used of actions which work back upon the mind, as נִחַח and נִחַן Ez. 9, 4 ὀδυρόμεθαί, to sigh, to lament, נִחַח to repent. 2) Nif-al, when derived from an intransitive Qal, expresses rather the free action of a living agent, or spontaneity, as קָרַב to be near, נִקְרַב to approach Ex. 22, 7.

- 1) This essential *n'* is decidedly the same *n* (or *m* in other languages) which also distinguishes the pronoun of the first person ('*ami*'); for *n* paints the inward part, retiring, withdrawing, the idea of the reflexive in the verb, and, when by itself, the pronoun of the first person.

241 2) Although Nif-al according to its origin, pronuntiation, and formation (§. 257) has not a *passive* signification, it is nevertheless frequently used in that sense, as נִנְיֶשָׁה, נִילֵד to be annointed, to be born. The cause of this is to be sought in the gradual decay of the passive pronuntiation (§. 248) which compelled the language to supply the deficiency by an *external* formation, since the reflexive form can easily express the cognate idea of the *passive* also 1).

- 1) Just as in Latin and for the most part in Greek too the form of the middle coincides with that of the passive, while Sanscrit shows how the passive can only be more definitely developed out of the middle.

242 3. The prefix *hit* 1) gives also a *reflexive* signification like the *n'* of Nif-al, but is distinguished from it, first, by its having a still more recent, stronger reflexive power, whereas Nif-al is often of a purely passive sense, and secondly, by its being formed from the active intensive stem, and not from the simple stem; thus it is a *reflexive intensive stem*: הִתְפַּחַח, called *Hitpael*. The *h* of this prefix always changes places with the first radical if it is a sibilant, according to §. 114, but is also sometimes entirely resolved into the sound of the first radical according to §. 113, and most easily when it is a sibilant, as הִזְכָּה Js. 1, 16, also into a *mute* or *liquid*, as

הִתְבַּשֵּׁה Prov. 26, 26, הִתְרַחֵם Js. 33, 10 for הִתְחַר, only Jer. 23, 13. Ez. 37, 10 for the usual הִתְבַּשֵּׁה, but never into a mere aspirate.

- 1) All that is essential in this sound is the *t*, but it is more difficult to say whence it has arisen. It is probable however that this *t* is, as to its origin, to be compared, by means of the commutation with *s*, with the pronominal stem *su* (*sua*) *se*, which expresses the idea of the reflexive in Indo-germanic. There is indeed no other trace of this reflexive in Semitic; but it would be perhaps hard to assert that it never existed; for אָתָּה from אָתָּה as particle is from the same root, see below.

1) According to this origin, the form has properly greater power than *Nif-al*, as נָקַם *to revenge oneself*, הִתְנַקֵּם *to revenge oneself with ardour, to be revengeful* Ps. 8, 3, נָשָׂא *to raise oneself*, הִתְנַשֵּׂא *to raise oneself proudly*, 1 Kgs. 1, 5; and used of many persons e. g. הִתְרַחֵם *to continue looking at one another, to linger* Gen. 42, 1; very frequently with verbs of mental emotion, and with more emphasis than *Nif-al*, as הִתְקַצֵּה *to be indignant*, הִתְאָבֵב *to lament bitterly*. When derived from an intransitive *Qal*, it expresses *zealous spontaneity*, as נָפַל *to fall*: הִתְנַפֵּל *to prostrate oneself continually or ardently* Dt. 9, 18. Gen. 43, 18, רָצָה *to be loved*: הִתְרַצֶּה *to make oneself dearly loved, or to try to make oneself loved* 1 Sam. 29, 4, like הִתְהַנֵּן *to try to make some one gracious to you*, i. e. *to implore mercy*; that we can sometimes translate the fundamental idea of the form by *to represent oneself* (which *Hitpaël* in itself by no means signifies) as הִתְהַלֵּה *to make oneself sick* i. e. *to pretend to be sick* 2 Sam. 17, 5 depends on the nature of some ideas¹). Just as *Piel*, however, becomes sometimes merely *active*, so also the idea of intension gradually disappears from this reflexive form, and it becomes a mere reflexive form, especially when it is formed as a reflexive form from *Piel*, as קָדַשׁ *to hallow*: הִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to sanctify oneself*, כָּסָה *to cover*: הִתְכַּסֶּה *to cover oneself*; we even find *Hitpaël* together with *Nif-al* in the same signification, as הִתְנַצַּח and נָצַח *to present oneself*.

- 1) In the same way also in *Nif-al*: נִשְׁתַּבַּח *to make or show oneself obedient* 2 Sam. 22, 45; נִתְקַדֵּשׁ *to show oneself holy*. In *Hif-il* and *Piel* too the idea of *causation* may often (with an intransitive verbal idea) express only *to make in opinion*, as הִצְדִּיק, הִצְדִּיק *to make just* i. e. *to justify*, used of a judge, *to pronounce innocent*.

Just as *Nif-al* as reflexive stands properly without an *object*, so also does *Hitpaël*. Only in two cases does it begin to subordinate an object to itself: 1) where the language gradually retains in some reflexive verbs a possible active modi-

fication of the idea, as *הִתְנַבֵּל* to *make oneself cunning*, hence to *endeavour to cheat* some one Gen. 37, 18, *הִתְבּוֹנֵן* to *be deeply attentive*, to *observe*, poetically used with an object Ps. 119, 95; the same words otherwise more originally attach their objects by prepositions. 2) Hitpael as a reflexive form can also express a *mediate* reflexion of the action upon the agent, which delicacy of the Greek middle is still rare in Hebrew. Thus *הִתְנַחֵל* to *inherit something for oneself*, to *take possession of it* Js. 14, 2. Num. 33, 54. Lev. 25, 46, *הִתְפָּרְקוּ אֶת-הַחֲזָמִים* they *stripped themselves of the rings* Ex. 32, 3. 33, 6, cf. other examples Js. 52, 2. Jos. 18, 5, and without an accusative *הִתְחַקֶּה* to *set bounds to oneself* Job 13, 27, *לִי הִתְאַוָּה* to *seek an occasion (for oneself) against*, some one 2 Kgs. 5, 7.

2) Just as Nif-al gradually assumed the *passive* signification, so also Hitpael, although much seldomer, and only frequently in the writings of the later periods. Thus even from Qal *הִשְׁתַּמֵּר* to *be observed* Mich. 6, 16; *הִשְׁתַּכַּח* to *be forgotten* only Koh. 8, 10, usually *נִשְׁכַּח*.

Where the usual active intensive form is supplied by rarer forms §. 234-236, this reflexive stem conforms to them, as *כוּנֵן* to *direct*: *הִתְכוּנֵן* to *erect oneself*, or also to *be founded*, *קוֹמֵם* to *raise*: *הִתְקוֹמֵם* to *raise oneself*, *קָלַקַל* to *shake*: *הִתְקַלְקַל* to *move violently* Jer. 4, 24; many, especially of the class which repeat the entire root §. 235, are only developed in a reflexive form, as *הִתְמַחֲמַח* *cunctari* from the interjection *מַח*; *הִשְׁתַּקְשַׁק* to *run to and fro among one another* Nah. 2, 5 with the similarly intensive *רוֹצֵץ* *cursitare*; *הִתְמַרְמַר* to *be enraged* Dan. 8, 7 and the frequent *הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה* §. 236.

241 View of the stems:

Simple stem:

1. כָּתַב

Forms with external augmentation:

Intensive forms:

Causative form:

Reflexive form:

כָּתַרְתָּ

(Hif-al)

(Nif-al)

כָּתַנָּה

3. כָּתְּבֵם

4. נִכְתַּב

2. כָּתַב (Piel)

Reflexive intensive form: (Hitpael)

5. הִתְכַּתֵּב.

All these stems are independent of each other, and each arises from the root, according as the idea requires it; unless we are perhaps to

admit that *Hitpael* proceeds more nearly out of *Piel*, in some verbs. By no means do the augmented stems necessarily arise proximately from the simple stem; a verbal idea which has gained a footing in Nif-al, for example, may become causative in Hif-il, as נִשְׁבַּע *to swear*: הִשְׁבִּיעַ *to cause to swear*. Nay even a new simple signification may fix itself in Qal, although it be not the first according to the idea, as in the root ברא when it sensuously signifies human, and therefore toilsome, formation (properly by means of *splitting, dividing* cf. פֶּר) the intensive בִּרָא is used, and on the other hand בִּרָא returns to Qal to express the simplest and easiest, therefore the divine *creation*; in the same manner אָבַל is a new poetical derivation from the reflexive הִתְאַבֵּל of the common language; הָלַל for *to rage* Ps. 75, 5 shortened from הוֹלִיל; חָלַל *to be wounded* Ps. 109, 22 from the passive חוּלַל, active חוֹלֵל.

Moreover, any verbal stem can be used to form, as is sometimes necessary, a corresponding verb from an idea which has only fixed itself in a noun, as active Qal לָבַן *to make bricks* (לִבְנָה) Gen. 11, 3; *Piel*: לָבַב *to encourage*, Nif-al: נִלְבַּב *to become wise*, both from לֵב *heart*; often *Hitpael*, as הִתְיַבֵּד *Judaeum se facere* (יְהוּדָר) *s. profiteri*, הִתְנַבֵּד *to cause oneself to be enrolled in the genealogies* (תּוֹלְדֹת) Num. 1, 18. When such verbs are derived from longer nouns, the three radicals only remain, or three equivalent sounds; nevertheless we find Hif-il הִשְׁמָאוּל or according to §. 82 הִשְׁמָאוּל *to make i. e. to go, left* (שָׁמַאֵל 358) and הִשְׁאָזְרַת (for הִשְׁאָזַר accord. to §. 73) *to emit a bad odour from* אֲזָרָה (formed accord. to §. 319) Js. 19, 6, nay even נִמְבָּזָה fem. part. Nif-al *contemptible* from מִבָּזָה *contempt* 1 Sam. 15, 9, and הִצְצֵר *to trumpet* preserved entire from תִּצְצֶרָה *trumpet* 1 Chro. 15, 24. 2 Chro. 7, 6 *Ktib.*

The signification of an augmented stem, however, is only then most 245
vivid and strong in the consciousness of the language when the root and its simple signification are still quite clear. But if an augmented stem is isolated and has therefore quite a peculiar signification, the primitive power of the form is gradually lost, and it is possible for an augmented stem to return to the simple one without altering the signification. This falling back into the simple stem, however, and this fluctuation of the formation are only frequent in certain remote forms, partly (e. g. in the participles of many verbs accord. to §. 357) and partly in some kinds of weak stems, whose sounds give the easiest occasion for it:

1) In Hif-il of the roots with a medial vowel, the ה at the beginning stands so alone and is externally so weakly united with the root, and the emphasis of the whole stem falls so very exclusively upon the last syllable, that this ה is very easily gradually dropt; most easily and naturally in the *Imperat.* and *Inf.*; in the perfect, in which the deviation of the form is very remarkable, the verb is then usually formed as a new Qal, since בִּין for instance (from הִבִּין) has too little distinction for the perfect, and the participle act. follows this; in the imperfect, however, where the shortening cannot take place, the form from *Hif-il* remains, and it is only seldom that it is formed from Qal. This progress is found in the following stems which partly only begin to drop ה, and partly have almost entirely lost the derivation from Hif-il: 1. הִבִּין (*discernere*)

imperat. shortened pl. **הִבִּינָה** except **הִבֵּן** Dan. 9, 23; *inf.* **הִבִּינִי**, though even Prov. 23, 1 **בִּינִי**; *perf.* **הִבִּינִי**, although also **הִבֵּן** for **הִבִּינִי** Dan. 9, 2, and **בִּנְתָּה** for it Ps. 139, 2. *part.* **מִבִּינִי**, once Jer. 49, 7 **בֵּן**; *imperf.* **וּבִינִי**. — 2. **הִקְרִיב** (*to contend*) *imperat.* **קְרִיב**, *inf. c.* **קִרֵּב** *inf. abs.* **קִרְבוּת** Jer. 50, 34 and **רָב** Jdgs. 11, 25; *perf.* **קָרַב**, **רָבַח** but also **רִיבּוּת** Job 33, 13. *part.* **קָרַב**, but also **מִקְרִיב** 1 Sam. 2, 10. Hos. 4, 4. *imperf.* **וּקְרִיב**. — 3. **הִשִּׁיב** (*to place*) *imperat.* **שִׁיב**, although we also find **הִשְׁבִּינִי** fem. sg. Ez. 21, 21; *perf.* **שָׁב**; *part.* **שָׁב**, but **מְשִׁיב** also Job 4, 20. *imperf.* **וּשָׁב**, but also **הִשְׁבֵּן** Ex. 4, 1. and hence *inf. c.* **שׁוּב** and **שָׁוָה**, *inf. abs.* **שָׁוָה**; as *part. pass.* **שָׁוֶה** (cf. §. 324) Obad. v. 4. — 4. **הִשִּׁית** (*to place*) *imperat.* **שִׁית**, *perf.* **שָׁת**, *imperf.* **וּשִׁיתָ**, *inf. c.* and *abs.* **שִׁיתָ** Job 22, 24 yet *inf. abs.* **שִׁיתָ** Js. 22, 7. — 5. Similar are **לִיץ** *pernoctari* §. 239, **דִּין** *to judge*, **שָׁיר** *to sing*, **גִּיה** *to burst forth* (Job 38, 8 cf. Jdgs. 20, 33); in **שִׁיתָ** *to meditate*, **שִׁיר**, **גִּיה**, *to rejoice*, **צִיץ** *to shine* no definite trace of Hif-il is found and **י** may have been primitive in these; but as the formation of roots **לִי** generally declined and was lost, accordingly, the formation of **לִי** often intrudes into these also. Single examples are also: **לִבְצָתִי** Prov. 9, 12, 7, 17 both only once from **הִלְצִינִי** *to mock*, **הִלְצִינִי** *to swing*; **דִּיגָה** 3rd pers. pl. *perf.* for **הִדִּיגָה** (*they catch fish*) Jer. 16, 16. — Hof-al is most frequently used as passive: **הִנָּשָׁר** Js. 26, 1; the derived forms are founded on **י**, *Nif.* **נִבְּחָה**, *Palel:* **בִּוּחָה**, **שִׁוּחָה**, also the nouns, as **מִשְׁוֹשׁ**; the most simple nouns, however, have **י**: **דִּין** *judgment*, **שִׁיר** *song*, **רִיב** *strife*. Similarly **רִיחַ** *odour*, **רִיחַ** *cry* Mich. 4, 9 from Hif-il¹).

- 1) The cause why the Hif-il of roots with double sounds is not shortened in the same manner, is because the weight of the root is not to very much drawn to the last syllable only in these stems.

246

2) Other scattered examples are: **הִקְרִינִי** *to awake* Hif-il from **קָרַן**, always in the *perf.*, *inf.* and *imperat.*, but in the *imperf.* instead of the rare and poetical **הִקְרִינִי** we usually find **הִקְרִינִי**, a new simple and short formation from **יִקְרַן**. — **יִרְכַּל** *imperf.* Hof-al (cf. **יִרְכַּל** proper name Jer. 37, 3 with 38, 1) *to be able*, properly a pure passive: *to be empowered*; but as its signification appears to be simple, its *perf.* is always **יִרְכַּל** as an intransitive Qal; in this fluctuation, the word has lost a *participle* which ought to have arisen from the *imperf.* — Moreover, the remarkable **הוֹסִיף** *to add*; this too gradually goes over into Qal, but in such a manner, that its last vowel only is shortened in the *imperf.* **וּוֹסֵף**, **וּוֹסֵף** beside **וּוֹסֵף** (seldom **וּוֹסֵף**, **וּוֹסֵף** Mich. 4, 6. 2 Sam. 12, 8. Ex. 5, 7. cf. §. 272) pl. **וּוֹסֵפִים**; yet the *inf.* **וּוֹסֵף** Lev. 19, 25, though also we find **כְּפֹתָה** already like a Qal (concerning the termination cf. §. 354) and *imperat.* always **כְּפֹתָה** pl.; the *perf.* is already quite Qal **וּוֹסֵף** or **וּוֹסֵף**, and only later writers again use **וּוֹסֵף**.

3) Not unfrequently the Nif-al and intransitive Qal in roots with double sounds are equivalent to each other, as **קָלַל** and **נִקְלַל** *to be light*, **הִתַּחַת** and **נִתַּחַת** *to be terrified*, **נָשָׁה** and **נִשָּׁה** *to be desolate*, **נָחַ** and

נָפַח *to perish*; but this is at the same time dependent on peculiar circumstances in the sounds and formations of those very short roots, concerning which v. §, 288. — Also נָחַךְ *perf. to be poured out* in Nif-al, imperf. shorter נָחַךְ intrans. Qal.

On the contrary, a derived stem may be gradually treated as a simple stem, because its origin has been lost in the consciousness of the language and it has isolated itself in a new signification, so that an affix merely belonging to the stem is considered as radical. Thus particularly the Hif. הִתְחַל prop. from חָל *to throw*, hence *to deceive*, *to mock* (pass. הִתְחַל) in which ח always remains as radical; the reduplication is still shown in יִתְחַלּוּ Job 13, 9 and thrown back into the preceding letter accord. to §. 217 יִתְחַלּוּ, but it also disappears, as יִתְחַלּוּ (in pause) Jer. 9, 4. יִתְחַלּוּ 2 ps. sg. msc. perf. Jdgs. 16, 10.

Within these stems, the vowels can change with great regularity and constancy to determine the distinction of the active, passive, and semipassive (intransitive) conception §. 205. For these stems have primarily an, in itself, necessary vocalization in which the simplest vowels prevail, *a* therefore and its shades. The new passive conception produces an obscure *u*, whose sound represents the idea as compressed and included within itself, while the clear *a* makes it busy and stirring (active).

The passive idea, however, may be conceived more strictly or loosely. It is most distinct and strict when it represents the suffering an action with the definite implication that it is *performed by another*, as הִנָּח *to be killed*, a pure passive. The passive is conceived in a less strict sense when it signifies only suffering internally, or being influenced, spontaneous action alone being excluded, cases which are called *intransitive*, or, more appropriately, *semipassive*, and in which the ancient languages are for the most part richer than the modern, in which this distinction is more obliterated. This weakening of the passive idea expresses itself partly, by *u* being lowered into *o*, or, on the other hand, still more into *i* (*é*) and partly, by the change of vowels then affecting only *one* syllable, while in the full passive the vowels may change in all syllables of the stem.

1. The full and semipassive pronunciation were originally both possible in the simple stem, and indeed because the second radical (§. 231) alone received the distinguishing vowel even for the full passive (see the traces of this §. 323 f.). But because the accented short *u* could not maintain itself in Hebrew §. 46, the semipassive pronunciations with *o* and more frequently *e* have alone remained in distinction to the nearer *a*, which has remained here for the active. The semipassive pro-

nunciation has moreover only remained in this, in itself, perfectly indefinite simple stem, because the other verbal stems are from their origin of more determinate signification, either active §. 232. 237. 238 or reflexive §. 240. 242 or intransitive §. 233.

Both stem-vowels are very short: 1) the stems with *e* therefore should receive the short *ē*; but as this cannot remain in these short words on account of the tone, *ā* is first substituted for it and then *é* (§. 46); *é* however is only uniformly found in these words: קָדַח, טָהַר, קָבַח, קָבַל, קָבַע, קָבַע; in all others usually *ā*: קָדַל, קָדַח, קָדַח, though we also find קָדַר Gen. 12, 10; but that this *ā* has sprung from an E-sound is first shown in the *pause*, where *é* must be always sounded: קָדַשׁ Ex. 29, 21; קָדַשׁ Num. 17, 2; and then in all formations in which the second radical forms a simple syllable and must have a *long* vowel, as before the suffixes קָדַחְוּ Lev. 16, 4; and lastly, very distinctly in all weak stems קָדַח according to §. 85, in which a *long* vowel is equally necessary: קָדַח, קָדַח, קָדַח, קָדַח, קָדַח. — 2) *o* is just as short; but as there is no intermediate vowel between *ō*, which the tone will not permit, and the accented *ó*, *ó* is universally used at once: קָדַח, קָדַח, קָדַח, קָדַח.

- 250 The stems in *o* are very rare and show no difference in signification from those in *e* (it is otherwise with the corresponding adjectives §. 322). Not only, however, ideas which signify a *physical condition*, as קָדַח, קָדַח to be small, to be great, קָדַח to be thirsty, קָדַח to be hungry, קָדַח to be old, קָדַח to be lovely, קָדַח to be deficient, קָדַח to be clad, and moreover ideas which exclude the notion of animate action, as קָדַח to die, קָדַח to cease, קָדַח to be able, קָדַח to dwell, all belong to the same passive class, but also, in an *intellectual* sense, ideas for actions and conditions of the *soul* which exclude visible action and express a state of half suffering, as קָדַח to rejoice, קָדַח to lament. קָדַח delectari, קָדַח to love, קָדַח to hate, קָדַח, קָדַח to fear, קָדַח to hear (to be attentive, obedient) קָדַח to forget, and lastly, some active verbal ideas also with the accessory idea of a continual, laborious occupation to which one has applied himself, as *toil* and *suffering* are cognate ideas, as קָדַח to hew wood Js. 5, 2, קָדַח to lay snares (au-cupari) Jer. 50, 24. cf. קָדַח to plunder, or to be rapacious Gen. 49, 27, קָדַח to bind up wounds, to be a surgeon Job 5, 18. Ideas of the last two kinds may nevertheless be *relative* i. e. may subordinate an object to themselves immediately, as קָדַח he loved him.

Sometimes the active and semipassive formation and sig-

nification occur in the same stem, as *יָחַלַּשׁ* *debilitare*, *vincere* Ex. 17, 13, *יָחַלַּשׁ* *debilem esse* Job 14, 10; *יָחַזְקַ* (cf. §. 270) *to be strong*, seldom active *to strengthen* 2 Chr. 28, 20; *יָמַלֵּא* *to be full*, *יָמַלֵּא* *to fill* Est. 7, 5.

2. The *pure passive* represents the action indeed as being ²⁵¹ definitely performed by another, but is not so easily and so generally used as in our languages, but properly only in cases where the agent is unknown or not mentioned, as *יָמַת הָאִישׁ* *the man shall be slain*, and without a definite subject *נִתְּנָה* *it is told* 1 Sam. 23, 13. For where the agent is known and should be mentioned, the nearer active connexion is rather chosen.

It is also in consequence of this difficulty in the use of the *pure passive* that the Hebrews frequently use, still more indefinitely, *intransitive verbs* where we do *passive ones*, namely in ideas of *motion*, where no obscurity arises from it, since they predicate motion of things in which the motion is properly produced by a power without them, as *שָׁבַע* *to return* = *הוֹשָׁבַע* *to be brought back* Gen. 43, 18 cf. v. 12; *עָלָה* *to ascend* = *to be placed upon*; *רָרַר* *to descend* = *to be thrown down*.

The *pure passive* pronunciation has that *u* always at the ²⁵² beginning of the stem. In the last syllable we always find *a* as counter-vowel to *u*, since there are different vowels here in the active stem; yet that obscure vowel at the beginning is originally, by itself, the distinguishing and important one.

1) *Piel* and *Hif-il* have the greatest distinction of active and passive according to their signification, both, as consisting of two compound syllables, being of almost entirely equal development. In the first syllable, the active has *a* (or *i* as a distinction of the perfect §. 274) the passive *u*. In the second, the active has the low *e* as the nearest vowel after a strong syllable (§. 212) and the passive the harder *ä*. That, low, soft *e* also remains after the strong reduplicated syllable in *Piel*, always long by tone merely; but in *Hif-il*, in which the root is more split, it is lengthened by an accentuation peculiar to Hebrew to *î*, although this vowel may be nevertheless short, in part from the flexion §. 287, and in part according to the difference of dialect ¹⁾.

- 1) For as the short *e* has remained in Aramaic, it is also occasionally found in Hebrew in poetry and in the later writers, as *יִחְשְׁרֵהוּ* *inf. c.* Dt. 26, 12 accord. to the punctuation, and hence with gutturals with *ä* (accord. to §. 78) *יִחְשְׁרֵהוּ* Job 6, 26; corresponding to this, part. pl. *יִחְשְׁרֵהוּ* 2 Chr. 28, 23, because the use of the *Hif-il* of this root is Aramaic, accord. to §. 239.

Piel then: *יָדַבֵּר*, *יָדַבֵּר*; *אָנָּה*, *אָנָּה*; *u* remains generally ²⁵³ accord. to §. 47, *c* and is only exceedingly rarely changed into

o, as כָּסַף from כֶּסֶף where it has been preferred on account of the following *u* Ps. 80, 11. Prov. 24, 31. Nah. 2, 4. 3. 7. — From gutt. stems according to §. 81: נָחַם, נָחַם, נָחַץ, נָחַץ, cf. farther §. 232 at the end.

Hof-al on the other hand has more rarely *u* than *o* accord. to §. 47 *c*, as הִשָּׁחַת, הִגָּלָה, הִרְחָה, הִפְקֵר, הִשָּׁבַב Ez. 32, 32 somewhat oftener הִשָּׁבַח than הִשָּׁבַח, and in the participle the rather longer *u* often, as מִקְרָה Ez. 29, 18. But where a medial syllable can arise, as in פָּחַ, we regularly find *u*, as הִפְחָה, הִפְחָה, הִפְחָה, imperf. פָּחַ, while on the other hand הִתְחַלַּל, הִתְחַלַּל without contraction accord. to §. 227.

The Hif-*l* of פָּחַ and of פָּחַ are no longer strictly distinguished: the pronunciation is most frequently founded upon הִלָּל, הִלָּל, הִלָּל; these are always founded on י, הִלָּל, §. 239 הִיטָן (to go to the right from דֶּמְרָא *dextra*) הִיטָן, but together with הִיטָן we also find הִיטָן K'tib Ps. 5, 9. Js. 45, 2. In this rarer formation the pronunciation *ai* sometimes remains for *ae* Gen. 8, 17. Prov. 4, 25. 1 Chr. 12, 2. — In Hof-al, however, these two classes of roots are perfectly alike, because *u* not only coalesces with י in *ú*, but also absorbs the sound *i* accord. to §. 53, into *ú*: הִנָּח, הִנָּח. — The resolution of this first radical into the following consonant accord. to §. 223 is regularly found in הִצִּיר (to place, whereas הִצֵּק is to pour) and intrudes also into הִצִּיג and הִצִּיג to spread out, stems which rather become independent verbs in Hif-*l*, as Qal is not used in these significations. The *ú* of Hof-al more easily descends for the reduplication of the following consonant in these examples הִלָּדָה, הִלָּדָה (the being born, inf.) Gen. 40, 20. מִיִּסְדָּה (established, part.) Js. 28, 16.

254 The *í* of Hif-*l* meets with no obstacle to its insertion in the roots הִקָּח. From הִקָּח, Hof-al would be primarily formed הִקָּח or הִקָּח; but as the *u* at the beginning would be very inaudible in this case, this important vowel preponderates so much at the beginning, that in its protracted *ú* the power of a radical rests at the same time, and the י, as if it was transposed to the beginning, disappears entirely from its place as second radical: הִקָּח, although a long *a* is still found at the end הִקָּח Gen. 24, 33 Q'ri. A short *u* is also still found at the beginning with reduplication הִקָּח 2 Sam. 23, 1.

From roots of double sounds, Hif-*l* הִסָּב, since the vowel has not been able to prolong itself to the long *í* before the, properly speaking, double sound of the last radical. Hof-al is like in הִסָּב, although the first radical is often doubled

accord. to §. 217, as יוֹשֵׁד Hos. 10, 14. יָבֹה Iob 4, 20, and in the *infinitive* הִשְׁפָּחָה Lev. 26, 34 f. 2 Chro. 36, 21 the vowel at the beginning has remained perfectly short without being supported more than loosely by the reduplication, so that with a vowelless prefix it rather attaches itself to it, as בָּהִשְׁפָּחָה Lev. 26, 43. cf. §. 62, 2.

Where *o* already exists at the beginning of the stem, the 255 passive (since its *u* is even otherwise not free from the change into *o*, as if the passive sound was already contained at the same time in this *o*) can only be distinguished by the *a* at the end: הוֹלֵל accord. to §. 234, *pass.* הוֹלֵל; שוֹרֵשׁ accord. to §. 237, *pass.* שוֹרֵשׁ to be rooted Jer. 12, 2¹⁾.

- 1) In the same manner from a פֶּל we find הוֹרֵעַ as Hof-al, Lev. 4, 23. 28 for הוֹרֵעַ; but this is the only example of this kind.

From בָּלָל §. 235 *pass.* בָּלָל, with a guttural נִשְׁכָּשֵׁת.

2) From the rarer intensive forms §. 233 אֶמְלֵל (*to be withered*) 256 always with *u*; הִמְרִיבִיר (*to be much inflamed*) Iob 16, 16 where the passive vowel is at least held by the guttural. רַפִּיפִיּוֹת (*thou art very beautiful*) Ps. 45, 3, on the other hand, is a new passive pronunciation, formed in such a manner from the active רַפִּיפִיּוֹת that the *o* forms a distinct full syllable; the succeeding *a* has been preserved from the foretone §. 41¹⁾. — רַטַּבֵּשׁ §. 230 is an example of a passive of a quadriliteral root, in which the *u* of the first syllable has so heavy a sound that the close attachment of syllables is hindered by it, and a fragmentary vowel is inserted accord. to §. 169.

- 1) This is perhaps the easiest explanation of the form. It is no valid objection that we do not find אִיֶּת accord. to §. 238.

3) Hitpaël and the corresponding stems §. 242 f., in as much as they 257 proceed primarily from Piel, have *e* for the most part in the last syllable, but do not invariably retain it, the idea of the active being resolved in them. It is not rare to find *a* at the end, as הִתְהוֹזֵק 2 Chr. 13, 7. 15, 8. Jer. 8, 21. הִתְהַפָּא, הִתְהַפָּא, הִתְהַפָּא Iob 10, 16; in pause therefore *a* הִתְהַפָּא, הִתְהַפָּא Js. 1, 3. 42, 13 f. When this reflexive stem is used in a purely passive sense, the passive vowel also intrudes into the first syllable, though it is rare, without changing the *e* at the end, as הִפָּסַס (*to be washed* used as *inf. c.* Lev. 13, 55 f.) הִנְדִּשֵׁן Js. 34, 6. הִתְפַּקֵּד *to be numbered* in Num. and 1 Kgs. 20, 27 beside הִתַּקֵּד¹⁾ Jdgs. 20, 15 twice 21, 9. In some later formations, the pronunciation of Pual as the nearest passive is transferred in a somewhat different manner to Hitpaël and Nit-al: הִתְהַנְּעַשׂ *to be moved* Js. 25, 16. 46, 8. מְנוּאָץ part. *despised* Jer. 52, 5. מְנַאֵל *to be defiled* 59, 3 Ezr. 2, 62.

- 1) The reduplication even and the derivation from Piel disappear here, because there is no longer an intension of the idea. In Aramaic, the simple passive is regularly so formed. The only other word like this is נִשְׁתַּוָּה §. 258.

The pure passive forms are indeed primarily distinguished from one 258

another according to their origin out of the active; but yet, since the formation of the passive is not uniformly developed through all active stems, they are again so isolated and irregular that both the passive forms which are alone of frequent use, Hof-al and Pual, are even sometimes used as passives of Qal. The following is a statement of all the facts: 1) Hof-al is still most frequently the passive of Hif-il, as *הִגִּיד* to tell, *הִגִּיד*. When *two* different objects are dependent on *Hif-il* accord. to §. 239, the former of them would indeed fall away in Hof-al because the idea of the causative has become passive; but the second object which is dependent on the simple verbal idea, remains, as *הִרְאָהוּ אֶת-הַתְּמוּנָה* *he was made to see the pattern* i. e. was shown. Ex. 25, 40; *הִנְחַלְתִּי בְרָחִי שׂוֹא* *I am made to inherit evil mouths*, or, forced etc. Job 7, 3, — 2) Pual is primarily always passive of Piel, as from *צָוָה*, *צִוְּהוּ* always *צִוְּהוּ*, *שָׁנַח*, *שָׁנַח*; seldom does its *reflexive* occur in a merely passive sense, as *כָּפַר* to expiate, pass. usually *כָּפַר*, although also *הִתְכַּפֵּר* 1 Sam. 3, 14. — 3) Since Qal is without a passive (§. 248), Nif-al is very often used as such §. 241, much more rarely Hitpael §. 243 so that sometimes instead of *הָרָה* we find *נָה* a stronger pronunciation with the *n* of Nif-al, as Nif-al is more clear as passive: *נִשְׁתַּחֲוָה* *part. fem.* Nipael from *שָׁחָה* Prov. 27, 15, and in the same manner with derivation from Piel *נִכְסַר* to be expiated Dt. 21, 8; *נִכְסַר* Ez. 23, 48¹). Pual is however not unfrequently found beside Qal, especially if Piel is not in use, as *נָחַל* to be born, *קָפַר* to be buried beside *נִכְסַר*, also Hof-al too, especially easily and often in the *imperf.*, if *נ* as 1st rad. suffers itself to be contracted, and thus the shortest passive in Hof-al arises, as *נָחַץ*, *נָחַץ*, *נָחַץ* (from *לָחַץ* §. 273) *נָחַץ* Gen. 4, 24 beside *נָחַץ* — On the other hand where a verb has not been preserved in Qal but only in Piel or Hif-il, and has become isolated in them, the passive formation not unfrequently returns to the simple stems i. e. to Nif-al accord. to §. 241, as *נִשְׁעַן*, *נָשַׁע*, *נָשַׁע* which are in signification *passives* of *הִשְׁעִין* to help, *הִכָּה* to strike, *הִשְׁמִיד* to destroy; *נָחַל* to be desecrated often beside *הִנְחַל*, and coming into use *נִכְסַח* to be covered Jer. 51, 42 beside *כָּסַח* from *כָּסַח* 2).

1) This last example is more remarkable on account of the weak *י* into which *ה* must have resolved itself §. 242, and it were more natural to conceive Nif-al *נִכְסַר*.

2) This is also found when Nif-al is of reflexive signification, as *נִבְרַךְ* to bless oneself beside *הִתְבָּרַךְ* from *בָּרַךְ*, Qal being lost; *נָחַם* beside *הִתְנַחֵם* Gen. 37, 35 cf. 38, 12 from Piel *נָחַם* to comfort. The first signification of this root is to breathe hard, hence reflex. to sigh = repent, but active Piel to cause some one to breathe freely i. e. to comfort; nothing is so like it as the Sanscrit *śvas*, *āśvas*.

259 Yet the proper reflexive forms have in this respect an advantage over the purely passive forms, in that the passive signification in them easily assumes a reflexive direction again, denoting *what a man suffers to be done to him*, without resistance, as *נִמְצָאתִי* *I was found* i. e. I let myself be easily found by all Js. 65, 1, *נִזְכַּר* to be warned = to let oneself be warned Ps. 2, 10. Ez. 23, 48; whereas the pure passive forms are only rarely used in this manner, as *הִקְנַח* *imperat.* Jer. 49, 8. Ez. 32, 19.

II. VERBAL FLEXION.

Since the verb describes acting and happening, and these 260 cannot be conceived without the idea of time, it is natural for the *distinctions* of time to have been at the same time determined in the verb in its developed state; *tense*, however, is accompanied by the subjective consideration of the relation of the action to reality, which finds its expression in the *mode*. In the next place, as the action described by the verb must be fixed somewhere and have a source from which it proceeds, the verb becomes in its further development, *personal*, and all personal ideas, even those of the first and second person, are attached to it; hence also the verb combines subject and predicate in itself. Every verbal stem thus only becomes a definite distinct word, by the idea of a definite time, or of a relation of the action, on the one hand, and, on the other, the idea of a definite person as the subject of the action, being most closely and inseparably united with it in a whole. Of the two formations, however, which thus always concur in the flexion of the verbal stems, the older, more sensuous and firm formation is that of the signification of persons, the distinction of the time and mode of the action is more intellectual and subtle.

The distinction of tense and mode is still very simple in 261 Hebrew, since the full sense is rather contained in the vivid feeling of the speaker and, therefore, in the connexion of the sentence, than externally expressed minutely in the form. The conception of the time of an action is first twofold: it is either considered as already *finished*, *done*, and therefore as *definite* and certain, or, as *not yet finished* and done, as being done merely. The first is the positive and objective, the other the negative and subjective side and view of the relation of the action to the circumstances of time. Hence these two forms of time are not confined to *external spheres* of time, to abstract past or future as contradistinguished from the present, but in whatever sphere of time the speaker can conceive the event, he can consider it in that sphere either as finished or unfinished, so that those forms do not acquire their more definite sense by themselves alone, but in particulars essentially by the connexion of the whole sentence also. In this respect Hebrew especially has still very great freedom and range of imagination, and the Poets again more than usually so. It is improper therefore to compare them with the abstract forms of tense in later languages, and the names *preterite* and *future* are inappropriate; it appears most correct to call them *perfect* and *imperfect*, although not in the strict sense of the Latin Grammar ¹).

- 1) It might be proved that even the very developed tenses and modes of the Indo-germanic languages might be reduced to a similar primitive distinction, just as the later Semitic languages have in this very point departed farthest from the Hebrew.

262

1. The perfect is used therefore 1) of actions which the speaker contemplates from his present as actually finished, happened, past, whether the act belongs to a more definite period of the past, in narration, as *God בָּרָא created the world*, or refer to the past indefinitely, as *כִּיָּה עָשִׂיתָ what hast thou done?* לֹא הָרַגְתִּי אִישׁ *I have not slain any one.* — 2) Of actions which the speaker contemplates as finished, already accomplished, but extending in that state into the present, where modern languages would use the simple present; this holds therefore especially of tranquil, positive conditions of mind and body which we speak of as already existing, as *נוֹדַעְתִּי novi*, זָכַרְתִּי *memini* Num. 11, 5. שָׁנָא *odit*, נִאָץ *he refuses* Ex. 10, 3. 16, 28. אָהֵב *he loves*, נִזָּעַס *he despises*, כְּטַנְתִּי בְּךָ *I am too unworthy to be* Gen. 32, 11. In the same manner when universal truths, which are clear from experience and have decidedly proved themselves so, are accordingly described in the perfect, as *the sinner נִזָּעַס despises God* Ps. 10, 3, and in similes and proverbs often. — 3) Of actions which in reality indeed are neither past nor present, but which the intention or the imagination of the speaker contemplates as being already as good as done, therefore as perfectly unconditional and certain, where in modern languages at least the more energetic, definite present would be used instead of the future. Thus when any one declares his intention briefly, the internal decision of the mind which he has thoroughly determined, therefore often in the declarations of God especially, whose will is equivalent to the deed, as *אֶתֵּן לְךָ I give thee*, בֵּרַכְתִּי *I bless him* Gen. 15, 18. 17, 20. and in the language of contracts of buying and selling Gen. 23, 11. 13. The imagination of the Poet and Prophet, however, often views the future as lying distinctly before it and as already experienced, but not in unimpassioned, continuous description, but in short rapid images, partly in a new train of contemplation, as *אָבְדוּ they are gone!* Ps. 10, 16. partly in the midst of the future already described, as *it shall wither, נִדָּח is driven away and gone!* Js. 19, 7.

263

2. The *imperfect* describes what is unfinished, what is about to be done, only just approaching accomplishment, and hence what is dependent on circumstances and indefinite, and since this signification is not yet more objectively defined in Hebrew, the sphere of the use of this form is uncommonly wide; all the particular varieties of this use, however, may

be reduced to two fundamental ideas. The unfinished act may be either conceived as something just about to happen, as arising in a moment and lasting, only as not yet past, or, as absolutely *future*, not yet existent; according to our languages, therefore, as a *present*, or as a *future* tense. To this last signification then is united, thirdly, that of the subjective *will* that the action be done or happen, or a pure *mode*.

1) As the imperfect denotes the mere being about to be 264 or arising, it can be used to describe an action which is not finished at this very moment, but which is being performed in order to be finished, therefore where we use the present; as יָצֵאתָ *you come out* 1 Sam. 17, 8; hence the perfect is sometimes found together with the imperfect for our present, according as the event is described as just finished, or as rather being still in progress, as בָּאתָ וְיָצֵאתָ *whence comest thou?* The distinction is often very delicate, since a language which has not yet any definite form for the abstract present can easily conceive an event happening in the present as already finished and therefore *present*; as to the usage of the language, however, the perfect is rare in this application. — But the *imperfect* may be used with the same propriety to denote a happening (the present) in the past, as soon as the thought is engaged in that sphere; this Praesens Praeteriti, however, may be again conceived in two ways and differ accordingly: *a*) in an event that has *simply* happened and is past, the one side of its *being* done, the moment of its origin when it was present, may be rendered prominent, the imagination of the speaker already lingering in the sphere of a time considered as definitely past and, from that point, looking down on that which was *then being done*, and thus placing the hearer at once in the time in which it happened; this the poets especially can do with great ease as *why* אָמַרְתָּ לֹא מָתָה *did I not die from the womb?* אָז הָיִיתָ *tunc nascebaris* Job 38, 21. 3, 3. 11. 15, 7. Ex. 15, 12. 14. 15. 16, and even at the beginning of a sentence when the more accurate definition of the time is presupposed, and the Poet is only occupied with the fact, as *out of Aram* בְּהֵבֵאתִי *he brings me* Num. 33, 7. This usage is also found in prose, but is confined to special cases and connexions; e. g. to the connexion with אָז *then*, as אָז זָמַר *then sang* Ex. 15, 1. Jos. 8, 30; cf. especially §. 296.

b) But this Praesens or Imperfectum Perfecti is still more necessary if the past action actually *lasted a long time* and is to be described in this kind of continuance in the sphere in question, or (which depends on the nature of particular

actions) of frequent recurrence during its continuance, for what continues is not finished, is always being again done to an indefinite period. Even with *the usual present time*, the imperfect is always used to express this idea, and not the perfect, as יֹאמַר *dicitur, dicunt*, hence especially in comparisons, as בְּאֶשֶׁר יִשָּׂא *as one bears* Dt. 1. 31; but quite as often for the *past*, the idea of which arises from the connexion of the sentence only, as יִבְשֶׁה שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *he was accustomed to do year by year* 1 Sam. 1, 7. 2, 19; *forty years long* אָקַד *was I troubled* Ps. 95, 10; just in the same way הָיָה *did we know then?* Gen. 43, 7¹).

- 1) The whole of this use of the imperfect for every present ceases entirely in Aramaic, the participle in it being used as a third form of time, as the present; there are indeed beginnings of this use in Hebrew, but still very confined, v. §. 348 f.

2) The *imperfect* is the definite expression of an absolutely *future* event, in the strongest contradistinction to the perfect, as לֹא הָיָה וְלֹא יִהְיֶה *it has not been and will not be*; but is also permitted for the future in the past, if the time spoken of in the connexion of the sentence be past, although very rarely, as *the firstborn which* יִבְלֶה *should have reigned* 2 Kgs. 3, 27; especially in dependent propositions, where the simple form merely always remains in Hebrew, as הָיָה בִּי יֹאמַר *did we know that he would say?* (like יֹדַעְתִּי בִּי יֹאמַר *I know that he will say*) Gen. 43, 7. 25, cf. 2, 19. Ex. 2, 4.

265 The different shades and relations in which a future event is spoken of have, on the whole, no influence on the form; in the sense of certain propositions and connexions, therefore, the future may be prominent rather as something *intended*, something to be put in execution from the point of view of the speaker; which idea other languages can either express by the *potential* or conjunctive, or can distinguish by a circumlocution. Thus the imperfect may be used a) in a question of the first person in an uncertainty of what is to be done, as הֲאֵלֶּךָ *shall I go?* וְכֵן אֶקַּח *why shall I curse?* Mich. 6. 6. Num. 23, 8. — b) It can represent that which is to happen merely as the *intention* of the agent, in dependent propositions, as אָמַר בִּי וְשִׁיבוּן *edixit ut redeant* Job 36, 10, הִצִּיחַ בְּיָדָהּ *imperavit* — (ut) — *starent*, in narration of the past Dan. 1, 5; but such instances of indirect diction are still very rare. The imperfect is also used in the same manner of a event which is conceived as *being to happen*, as coming and resulting if something else *were*, or in English more briefly of an event which *would be*, as *for then* (if I had died as a child) אָשְׁקִיט *would I rest* now Job 3, 13. 16; and when an event which is really past is contemplated in

the poets fancy as a present image, as אֶחָדָּךְ *I would die and no eye see me* = I had then died (if I had not been brought up) Job 10, 18 f. In such rare instances, however, there always exists an indication in what goes before which cannot mislead. — c) An event which *should happen* is simply enjoined as being future, is represented as the result of external necessity, as of all trees of the garden הָאֵצֶל *shalt thou eat*, according to my permission and command Gen. 2, 16; this is especially significant in a strong negation, in a law, as הָאֵצֶל לֹא *thou shalt not eat*, or only generally in solemn diction, as *thou hast done* וְעַתָּה לֹא *what should not be done*, the emphasis being upon *not* Gen. 20, 9. 34, 7, Lev. 4, 2.

3) But if the thought that something *should be done* is 266 not simply and composedly expressed, but is poured forth with vehemence so that the *subjective will* is alone expressed, then the imperfect is more hurriedly pronounced, and a new form, a peculiar *mode*, is produced, which may again divided according to nice distinctions into *jussive*, *imperative* and *cohortative*. Because this mode however is only formed from the imperfect, it cannot now be minutely described §. 290 ff.

Similar but less important are the changes which the perfect and imperfect undergo from certain firm and significant connexions with the copula ו *and*, concerning which see §. 296 ff.

Compound formations of tense and mode such as prevail in later languages are totally unknown in Heb.; see some faint beginnings §. 349.

The distinction between the perfect and imperfect as to 267 form is most strongly marked by the signs of the persons being attached in the verbal stem to the perfect, as the nearest, positive tense, at the end, which is also the plan most accordant with the general principles of the formation of words §. 207, but in the imperfect, being placed before, which is at the same time agreeable to the idea of this tense as the *negative* conception of the action, in which the mere person is the prominent part, and the action itself is only secondary, as being not yet completed and past.

But the language has not been satisfied with this ancient, 268 strong, external distinction of the two senses by the pre- or post-fixture of the signs of the persons; the subtler internal change of vowels which pervades all other parts of the formation of words has also intruded here (§. 210). Its general laws are: first, that the nearest, open *a*, which is found in in the last syllable of most stems, descends in the imperfect, whose first syllable is rendered heavy by the attachment of

the persons, to *e*, though on the contrary the unfrequent reverse of this also occurs; but to this rule, which does not hold in all stems, is to be added a special one of another kind, that the imperf. as describing what is unfinished, continues, prefers *long* vowels. In the rarer and more remote verbal stems, indeed, all change of vowels is absolutely wanting; but so much the more prevalent and important has it become in those of more frequent use. In some instances, the peculiarities of the weak roots afford an opportunity for all the consequences of this internal change of vowels to show themselves in clearer and firmer impressions than the formations of the strong roots permit; in other instances the delicate change of *a-e* has not yet been able to affect the double sound which arises in the formation of stems, namely in the derived stems of כִּי and לוֹ.

269 I. The following is the internal change of vowels, in which the pure verbal stem or the third person sg. msc. may serve as an example of the perf., and as one of the imperf. the same person, the sign of which will then be a prefixed י (see §. 281 ff.)

1. This change of vowels is greatest in the simple stem:

1) For the *active* pronunciation, the perfect has *ā* after the second radical, v. §. 231; in the imperfect, however, in certain roots only whose sounds favour it, *e*, §. 271-273; *a* is rather changed regularly into the obscurer, longer *ō*, which becomes by the tone *ó*. Therefore: כָּתַב, יִכְתֹּב; the *o* is very seldom written with ו, generally only in pause and by later writers, as וְיִכְתֹּב lob 14, 16. 31, 4; 39, 2; the *ā* of the perf. on the other hand, only becomes *ā* in pause, out of it only 1 Sam. 7, 17. The imperf. of a verb whose 1 rad. is a guttural is נִהַשֵּׁב, יִהַרֵּג accord. to §. 76, it is seldom, and only especially with א. that we find *e* instead of *a*, as נִהַשֶּׁה Ps. 29, 9. יִהַרֵּס lob 12, 14 with יִהַרֵּס (2nd pers.) Ex. 15, 7, נִהַשֶּׁה, יִהַרֵּג; on the other hand, however, יִהַרֵּה and יִהַרֵּה accord. to §. 94. From 2nd rad. gutt. יִהַרֵּל, יִהַרֵּל, but also יִהַרֵּל, יִהַרֵּל and יִהַרֵּל accord. to §. 79; from 3rd rad. gutt. יִהַרֵּה, יִהַרֵּה accord. to §. 78 and hence יִהַרֵּה §. 85 from יִהַרֵּה. — From לוֹ or roots with double sounds כָּב perf., יִכְבֵּי imperf.; with a gutt. which admits no reduplication whatever and before which therefore the vowel can become more lengthened, יִצִּיר Js. 8, 17. Jdgs. 5, 29. — From לוֹ, perf. כָּב with expulsion of the ו, as the sound *a* here is characteristic; imperf. on the other hand יִכְבֵּי, *o* having coalesced with the *ā* of the root §. 91. Hence the infinitive כִּי is assumed as the root in Grammar.

270 2) For the *intransitive* pronunciation, the perf. has *e* after

the 2nd rad. accord. to §. 249 f. seldom o; and these vowels are so characteristic that they even intrude into the roots עף with expulsion of the ה, as מֵרַח, זָהַר (*to fly*) Js. 17, 11; טוּב, בְּרוֹשׁ, אֶזְרַי (*to be light*) Gen. 44, 3. 1 Sam. 14, 29; from רָעַת (*jaculari*) Gen. 49, 23. On the contrary, the imperf. takes *a* for *e*, before which that intransitive *i* (*e*) is so much the more retained¹⁾ as the *a* in the first syllable in forms like נִקְדַל = נִקְצַל is even for euphony sake changed into *e* §. 214. In a strong stem the *i* at the beginning cannot indeed be distinguished from the *i* of the active pronunciation, so that the *a* at the end makes the only characteristic: יָגַד, וָנָסַד; קָטַן, וָפָטַן; but with a gutt. as 1st rad. there can still be a distinction at the beginning, as גָּחַךְ, וָכָחַךְ, גָּחַץ, וָכָחַץ (in the new signification *grassari* Ex. 9, 23. Ps. 73, 9) in which the pure *i* has remained contrary to §. 77; so also always from צָר: צָרַם (*to be narrow*, צָרַח *to straighten* Js. 11, 13), צָרַח, וָמָרַח, צָרַח, וָמָרַח,²⁾ and also from, רוֹשׁ, לָרַח (*to blush* perf.) from יָבוֹשׂ u-a being changed into a-u = ô §. 92, 2, although *a* usually remains here at the beginning, as רָאָה, וָאַה, רָאוּ, וָאוּ (*to below* Gen. 6, 3), קָוַשׁ (*to lay snares* Js. 29, 21. cf. perf. קָשׁ §. 250). —

- 1) Forms like **תְּחִלָּה רַבּוֹשׁ** certainly justify the conclusion that the *i* or *e* at the beginning is in itself significant and has not been only assumed as the nearest pronunciation.
- 2) Ps. 19, 14 **אֶתֶּם** written with a very long *e*. On account of the nearness of the sound, some adopt the formation of **עֵי** entirely, as **יְהִי** 1 Kgs. 1, 1. **יְהִי** Ez. 6, 6. — **יְהִי** to be gracious is resolved.

Even here, as in the perfect, the intransitive pronunciation is sometimes not quite distinguished from the opposite general, indefinite one, as יָשַׁבַּת and יָשַׁבַּת *to rest* Lev. 26. 35. 34. יָחַפֵּץ and יָחַפֵּץ *cupere*; hence too the perfect and imperfect of the same verb are not always both formed intransitively together, and *vice versa*, as יָבֵל, יָבֵל *to wither*; חָצַב, חָצַב *to lie*, יָחַזק, יָחַזק (*to be strong* Ez. 3, 14. 2 Chro. 26, 15) יָחַזק.

The imperfect in roots that begin with a vowel is of a peculiar formation; for as this vowel, coalesces with that of the prefix syllable in a long protracted vowel, the first syllable acquires such a heaviness that the last, in distinction to it, is pronounced with the nearest, shortest vowel only, that is, with *e* which on account of the tone may be changed into *a* accord. to §. 46, and at the utmost into *é* long by tone. There can be therefore no distinction of active or intransitive pronunciation. Thus *a*) from פָּרַע in which accord. to §. 53 *é* must arise at the beginning, as נָזַק, נִזְקָה *to suck*, cf. יִצָּר *to form*, יָטַב *to be good*, יָשָׁר *to be straight*, יָרָא pro-

perly an intrans. formation, perf. יָרָא to fear. — b) From פֿ one would consistently expect \acute{o} at the beginning from $a-u$, but if that were the case, the simple stem would be the same as Hif- ל §. 253; and since e at the beginning is rather the characteristic of the latter, the u of the first rad. is expelled and the i is prolonged in a simple syllable to \acute{e} accord. to §. 48. 97, which \acute{e} supplanting the \acute{o} in Hebrew is indeed a pure long vowel in value but is not written with י . In the last syllable we find \acute{e} long by tone, although with a guttural a remains. This formation, however, has only remained in a few roots, as גָּלַד from the perf. גָּלַדְתִּי , גָּלַשׁ , גָּלַח §. 228, גָּרַד , גָּרַח , גָּרַע , גָּרַעַת ; most roots follow the formation from a primitive פֿ , and בָּקַד , בָּקַח and even יָבַקַח 1 Sam. 18, 30. בָּקַד and יָבַקַח are in progress to it ¹⁾. In other respects a or e , as they are severally formed at the end of each stem, remain true to their sound here even in pause, as וִירָשׁוּ , וִירָשׁוּהוּ , וִירָשׁוּהוּ .

- 1) The 2nd pers. sg. fem. וִירָשִׁי Nah. 3, 8 is probably only used on account of the euphony §. 212 ff. for וִירָשִׁי .

On the other hand, if one of these roots, instead of doubling the vowel as 1st rad., doubles the *second* rad. accord. to §. 223, the pronunciation is thereby changed into the otherwise usual one of the 2nd rad., as יָצַר Jer. 1, 5 (else יָצַר) יָצַק to pour Gen. 28, 18, יָצַד to chasten Hos. 10, 10; יָשַׁר 1 Sam. 6, 12. to go straight.

- 272 It has remained customary from an early period to change the sound da in some roots צֹא , which would originally have arisen at the beginning, into $\acute{o} = d$ §. 50. After this long \acute{o} the last syllable has the same weak vowel, only that it changes here more according to its origin, in such a manner that \acute{e} is used instead of a in pause, as יָצַדְתִּי , יָצַדְתִּי , יָצַדְתִּי in pause יָצַדְתִּי , יָצַדְתִּי , and from $\text{לֵא$ at the same time יָצַדְתִּי , יָצַדְתִּי , \acute{e} is constantly found in יָצַדְתִּי ; it is rare for such an א that has ceased to be audible to be omitted in writing, as יָצַדְתִּי 2 Sam. 20, 9. 19, 14. Some stems fluctuate between this formation and the usual guttural pronunciation, as יָצַדְתִּי and rarely יָצַדְתִּי , אָהַב as the 1st pers. sg. only, and in the other persons יָאֲהַב etc.

The same is very rarely found in other verbal forms, as נִצַּחְתִּי Nif. Num. 32, 30. Jos. 22, 9, at the same time in another signification (*to hold for oneself* = to take possession), נִצַּחְתִּי as the pure passive *to be seized*; אָבַדְתִּי Jer. 46, 8 and אָבַדְתִּי Hos. 11, $\frac{1}{2}$ both 1 pers. sg. imperf. Hif. from אָבַד , אָבַד , and precisely in this 1st pers. do $\acute{a}-a = \acute{a} = \acute{o}$ come together most strongly; moreover, יָאֲהַב together with יָאֲהַבְתִּי in which א appears to be primitive, v. §. 216.

- 273 The roots פֿ regularly resolve the 1st rad. in the imperf. accord. to §. 113, as פָּשַׁע , פָּשַׁע ; it is only rarely and rather

according to poetical licence that *z* remains unresolved in some roots as in the perfect, as *יָצַר* Prov. 2, 11 and *יָצַר* 3, 1. *יָבֵשׁ* Js. 58, 3 and *יָבֵשׁ* Dt. 15, 3; unless it is followed by a guttural §. 227, when *z* remains according to rule, as *יָבֵשׁ*, and is only exceedingly rarely resolved before the hard *ח*, as it is in *יָחַח* Jer. 21, 13. But as the first syllable of the contracted forms becomes very like those of *בִּי* and *בִּי*, accordingly, that short *a* §. 371 begins to intrude into the last syllable here also, as *יָבֵשׁ*¹⁾ together with *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ* Prov. 23, 22 with *יָבֵשׁ* Koh. 10, 11; *a* is always found in *יָשַׁק* (although 1 Kgs. 19, 20 *אָשַׁקָה* §. 293) *יָשַׁל*, besides the guttural roots, in which it is in itself necessary, as *יָשַׁע*, *יָשַׁע*, *יָשַׁע*; in the very frequent and attrited *יָשַׁע* to give that *é* has even fixed itself immoveably, *יָשַׁע*; before Maqqef however we find *יָשַׁע* Jdgs. 16, 5.

1) Always after Vav consequitivum only §. 296.

The roots with double sounds which bring forward the reduplication into the 1st rad. accord. to 217 *b* are not to be confounded with these: *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*, and with *ā* in the last syllable on account of an intransitive signification or gutt., *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*. An example of an *עֵץ* going over into *עֵץ* is *יָבֵשׁ* Ez. 24, 11. cf. *יָבֵשׁ* Prov. 29, 6.

In the very common root *לָקַח* to take, *ל* is contracted in the same way as *נ*, as *יָלַח*. But this imperf. Qal and §. 258 excepted, it always recovers and retains its *ל* in new formations, as *יָלַח* Nif.

2. In *Piel* and *Hif-il* no important change of vowels 274 can take place in the last syllable, because they already have *e* in the perf. as a distinction from the passive *a*. On the other hand, the tenses are distinguished by a regular and uniform change of vowels, in such a manner, that the original *a* remains for the imperfect, and in the perfect is weakened into *i*: *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*; *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*.

1) In *Piel* in strong roots the last syllable also sometimes gives occasion for a more delicate distinction. In the perf., the *e* here can remain in its extremest shortness after the first firm syllable, so that even *é* may sometimes remain, as *יָבֵשׁ* Lev. 13, 6. *יָבֵשׁ* 4, 20. and regularly in the common *יָבֵשׁ* to speak, accord. to §. 46 *a* is often found instead, as *יָבֵשׁ* Mal. 3, 3. *יָבֵשׁ* 1 Kgs. 21, 3. and *é* is only always necessary in pause. In the imperf. on the other hand, there is always the longer *é*: *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ* etc. When the last rad. is a gutt. however, the *a* is still always found out of pause even in the imperf. as *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ* Ex. 3, 20. 4, 21. Gen. 38, 17, and *é* in pause only, *יָבֵשׁ* Js. 45, 13. Before *N* on the other hand there is *e* always accord. to §. 85, as *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*. In the same manner *יָבֵשׁ* (*יָבֵשׁ* in pause) *יָבֵשׁ*.

The stems corresponding to *Piel* follow the same formation, as *יָבֵשׁ*, *יָבֵשׁ*; when the last rad. is a gutt. the *i* even remains before the gutt. for the stronger distinction of the tense, contrary to §. 77, as

שֶׁשֶׁ Js. 11, 8, וְשֶׁשֶׁשֶׁ, and hence before N perf. שֶׁשֶׁשֶׁ 14, 23, the N being quite mute §. 85. — In the forms קִנְיָן no such change of vowels can take place in the first syllable, merely on account of the *ô*.

- 275 2) In Hif-il, the prolonged *i* in the last syllable hinders any further distinction; but so much the more characteristic is the *i* for the *perfect* in the first, so that it remains, and for that reason, pure with the gutt. ה and is only rarely changed into *e* accord. to §. 79, as הִבְלִיתָ 1 Sam. 25, 7. only frequently in roots לִה (1), as הִבְלִיתָ often for הִבְלִיתָ. Yet where the 1st rad. also is a gutt. *e* intrudes into the perf. on account of it, as הִתְהַרְרִים, הִתְהַרְרִים; הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר; הִתְאַבֵּל, הִתְאַבֵּל (2). From הִתְהַרְרִים, הִתְהַרְרִים *e* appearing thus in a simple syllable in the perf.; in like manner from הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר in which the short vowel of the last syllable is treated pretty nearly as in Piel; in the perf. often *a*, הִתְחַסֵּר, before gutt. always *a*, as in Piel, הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר, but in pause הִתְחַסֵּר, though also הִתְחַסֵּר perf. accord. to §. 133. Js. 18, 5. Example of change into *e*, הִתְהַרְרִים Js. 33, 1. Examples of reduplication carried forward, הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר, with a gutt. for 1st. rad. הִתְחַסֵּר with weak reduplication accord. to §. 120, in this case at the same time to distinguish the signification *desecrate* from הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר to *begin*; then with a perfect change into the usual formation of this last syllable הִתְחַסֵּר Jer. 49, 20. הִתְחַסֵּר Koh. 12, 5 a very late way of writing for הִתְחַסֵּר. — Only in הִתְחַסֵּר or הִתְחַסֵּר has *i* of the perf. not established itself in distinction from the *a* of the imperf., because the prefix syllable does not stand so alone here, but its original *a* has always coalesced with the first radical in a firm diphthong: הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר; הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר.

- 1) According to a property of the roots which shows itself on some other occasions also, by which they cause the sound *e* (*i*) which is often lost at the end as 3rd rad., to be sounded at the beginning instead of another sound, *a* or *i*; cf. below הִתְחַסֵּר §. 310, הִתְחַסֵּר §. 282, הִתְחַסֵּר §. 382, הִתְחַסֵּר §. 425. Hence also הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר contrary to §. 269.

- 2) Yet it is seldom that the sound *e* accord. to §. 76 has so established itself in N that it remains throughout and the roots פִּי become like פִּי even without N being written: הִתְחַסֵּר 3 pers. pl. perf. Js. 21, 14. but also imperat. Jer. 12, 9, and הִתְחַסֵּר part. Prov. 17, 4.

From פִּי, both here and in all similar cases in which פִּי stands at the end of a firm compound syllable before a firm radical, contraction is the rule, and the contrary the exception, as הִתְחַסֵּר Ez. 22, 20; on the other hand before gutt. הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר.

- 276 3. In Nif-al, the perf. has the lightest possible pronunciation of the stem: הִתְחַסֵּר. A guttural at the beginning receives the sound *e* for euphony §. 214, as הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר, for הִתְחַסֵּר; hence too the *a* can intrude into the beginning when the pronunciation of the last syllable is altered (1). — From פִּי and פִּי the one single pronunciation from פִּי is always formed, as הִתְחַסֵּר, הִתְחַסֵּר. — From הִתְחַסֵּר for הִתְחַסֵּר according

to §. 91, 2, the sound which stands alone at the beginning taking *a* in this case, as is usual throughout the formation of stems, according to §. 37. In the same manner from ע"ל: נָסַב Ps. 112, 10; nevertheless the *a* here before the properly double sound can be also lengthened into *e*: נָסַב Ez. 21, 12; but often also with a carrying forward of the reduplication into the first radical²⁾, as נָסַב (always), and with a gutt. with semireduplication accord. to §. 120, as נָסַב Ez. 25, 3. Mal. 2, 5. — In פ"ל there is always contraction on account of the double נ, as נָפַשׁ, yet before a gutt. נָפַשׁ; although contraction is also often found here contrary to the rule, as נָפַח, נָפַח (not 'be confounded with that נָפַח above which is from נָפַח).

- 1) As in the participle נָפַח, infin. abs. נָפַח Est. 8, 8. 9, 1. Especially frequent in נָפַח, as נָפַח, נָפַח pl. נָפַחו.
- 2) An instance of the reduplication of the first radical of an ע"ל is נָפַח Nif. from נָפַח or נָפַח, cf. §. 299.

The נ of the stem is always resolved in the imperfect²⁷⁷ into the first radical after the prefix; for the *n* which forms the stem might either be pronounced with a short vowel preceding (*hīn*) or following it (*nī*). In the *perfect*, it draws the first rad. into a syllable with itself and takes the vowel after it, as נָפַח, the shortest possible pronunciation; in the *imperfect*, the pronunciation is founded on *hīn*, the נ of which is resolved, and the *h* is always expelled after the prefix of the imperf. whereby the shortest, firmest form possible here arises, נָפַח for נָפַח. The change of vowels is shown in the last syllable, in which we find *e* for *a*; the first radical being left alone assumes the *a* of the foretone accord. to §. 268 and 41, so that the imperfect here, as is also usual elsewhere, has a somewhat longer pronunciation than the perf. From 1st rad. gutt. נָפַח, נָפַח without reduplication of the first rad. accord. to §. 120; 2nd rad. gutt. נָפַח, נָפַח; but 3rd rad. gutt. נָפַח, נָפַח, in pause נָפַח. — From פ"ל, the פ must now become consonant accord. to §. 93, as נָפַח, and then פ is sometimes changed into פ, as נָפַח Gen. 8, 12. 1 Sam. 13, 8. Ex. 19, 13. — From ע"ל, נָפַח, the נ being simply resolved, but no change of vowels at the end being possible. In the same manner from ע"ל: נָפַח, נָפַח in which *e* can never occur at the end for *a* after the first firm syllable; but they often assume the sound of ע"ל, as נָפַח and on account of 1st rad. gutt. נָפַח, נָפַח. — From פ"ל it is formed completely נָפַח; nevertheless, where the sense admits it, Hof-al is sometimes used for it as a lighter form, נָפַח, and Qal in an intransitive sense, as the perf. Nif. נָפַח, נָפַח are

commuted with the imperf. Qal יָשַׁב יָהֵא cf. §. 246. 258. יָהֵא Ex. 34, 19. is a perfectly unusual pausal form.

278 All other rarer and more remote stems have no change of vowels, as Hitpacl and Hitpalel, the pure passive forms Pual and Hofal, moreover the intensive forms שָׁמַן רָצַן §. 233, and the quadriliteral roots שָׁרַץ §. 230 in which a is still in the first syllable of the perfect for this reason. All this has remained undeveloped.

279 Lastly all roots ל"ה follow peculiar rules in this change of vowels, because their vocalic termination does not suit the usual shadings of the vocalization of the last syllable. They rather retain their original final ae , attrited to \acute{e} , throughout, and only suffer the \acute{e} to be changed in the perfect into a for a general distinction of that tense from the imperfect, as a originally distinguished the last syllable of the perfect in all stems. And this simple change then goes indeed through all stems without exception, so that even the stems which are not developed in the other roots distinguish their perf. and imperf. in these, but it also absorbs all other usual distinctions even those of the active or intransitive Qal. Thus: גָּלָה , וּגָלָה , Piel גָּלָה , וּגָלָה , Hif. וּגָלָה , וּגָלָה , Hitpalel וּשְׁתַּלֵּחַ , וּשְׁתַּלֵּחַ . And yet the a has only intruded into those persons of the perf. which end in the radical sound; in the middle, before persons with consonants, the original ae has been firmly retained. §. 288.

In Aramaic on the other hand the usual change of vowels in the stems has been regularly admitted in these roots also, so that Hif-it would sound וּגָלָה accord. to §. 53. This Aram. mode is found according to the Masoretes in וּגָלָה Js. 53, 10 and וּגָלָה Jos. 14, 8 which would be Hif. 3 pers. pl. aramaic formation.

Roots whose second and third sound is ר or י have always so accommodated themselves to the usual formation, in the verb, that the third rad. is treated like these ל"ה §. 227; only for וּרָה perf. Qal do we still find וּרָה according to the formation of the ל"ז , as כָּב . but it is rare and (except 2 Sam. 12, 21) only in the Pentateuch, and only in this third pers. sg. perf. Qal.

280 The roots ל"ז are indeed originally distinct from these ל"ה ; but as like these they end in a mere vowel, their formations approximate very closely to those of the ל"ה in all cases in which the ל"ה end in the sounds \acute{e} or \acute{a} ; for where they end in other vowels, they depart more from the sounds of the ל"ז and can have no influence upon them. These endings in \acute{e} and \acute{a} are most frequent in the verb, and, in it, intrude very much in the ל"ז . Many of these anomalies crept in at an early period and have now become predominant (v. §. 283) others gradually and later;

also in some roots more particularly. Thus קָרָא , קָרַע perf. for קָרֵא , קָרַע . On the contrary a קָרַע also adopts the formation of a קָרֵא ; but this is more isolated and singular, as קָרַע , קָרַע in the signification *to meet* (קָרַע , קָרַע) commuted with the more frequent verb *to call*; קָרַע for קָרַע Dt. 33, 2; קָרַע *Hif.* Hos. 13, 15; sometimes too there is a mere commutation of the קָ and קָ in the writing (§. 153) as קָרַע imperf. *Piel* Job 8, 21 for קָרַע , קָרַע imperf. *Qal* for קָרַע and this last for קָרַע 1 Kgs. 17, 14. Ps. 119, 117. קָרַע imperf. *Pual* for קָרַע Koh. 8, 1. cf. Prov. 11, 25; although then before קָ é easily intrudes instead of é as being more suitable, as קָרַע for קָרַע imperf. *Qal* Jer. 3, 21 f. קָרַע for קָרַע §. 272. Prov. 1, 10.

II. *Signs of the persons.*

1. In the *perfect* 1) in the *third* person as the nearest 281 the *ms. sg.* has remained without any characteristic of person according to §. 209. The *fem. sg.* lengthens itself by -á or á (הָ ¹); the hardening of this termination into át הָ according to §. 209 is very rare if the last radical is a strong one (Dt. 32, 36 a poetical license, Ez. 46, 17 in the later period) but very near and frequent if it is a soft vowel-sound, to which the t is more easily attached, v. §. 286. — The sign for the *plural*, in which the *fem.* is not yet distinguished, is regularly -ú ²), shortened out of the ancient plural of the pronoun *hūm*³), and lastly out of *ūn*, which is still found in הָ only Deut. 8, 3. 16.

1) Instead of which, á is written according to §. 153, only Ez. 31, 5.

2) á , rarely á accord. to §. 154, Js. 28, 12 where, however, the final sound ú has a particularly long sound from contraction, Jos. 10, 24.

3) For in the *singular* of this nearest person, the influence of a personal pronoun is not to be thought of, though reasonably in the *plural* as in all kinds of the second and first person.

2) In the *second* person, h is the firmest and most characteristic pronominal sound, by the terminations of which gender and number are distinguished: a) *msc. sg.* הָ which has become toneless, hence we seldom find the fuller orthography הָ according to §. 153. — b) *fem. sg.* הָ the vowel at the end having fallen away; the etymological orthography הָ (from the original *ti*) which is more faithfully preserved in Aramaic, is chiefly found in the later writers only. Jerem., Ezech., Ruth 3, 3. 4, 5 (and Mich. 4, 13 where the Masoretes have הָ). — c) *pl. msc.* הָ as a full compound syllable always with the tone; d) *fem. pl.* usually distinguished from the preceding by הָ ; the longer, original form הָ is rare Am. 4, 3.

3) *First pers.* a) In the *sg.* the abbreviation from הָ

I should be יָי; but after the weak י of this termination was lost, and the *i* alone remained as essential, the language compensated for the consonant which had fallen away by the stronger ה from the many forms of the *second* person in which it occurs, so that the regular termination is יָה, without the tone; according to §. 152 the toneless *i* also at the end was regularly written by י; the mode of writing יָיָה is very rare, Ez. 16, 59. Ps. 140, 13. Job 42, 2. 1 Kgs. 8, 48 where the authors appear to have written and read merely *t* shortened for *ti*, as we actually find יָיָהָה for *dixi* Ps. 16, 2. — *b*) in the *pl.* always יָהָה from יָהָהָה *we*, without the tone.

282 2. *For the Imperfect.* Since the pronouns are put before the verb, they are shortened, as the prefixes in general are more rapidly pronounced, to one vowelless consonant which is the *first*, or the *strongest* and most characteristic of the prefix. But as the complete signification of the persons is thus impossible on account of their number, the further distinctions must be denoted by *postfixes*, in such a manner that the person is indeed denoted at the beginning by its firm sound, but the more accurate distinction of number and gender follows at the end. At the same time the formation of the imperf. shows itself here also (§. 268) as less abridged on the whole; hence among others the י of the terminations יָיָה, יָיָה, which is almost entirely lost in the perfect, has often been preserved in the imperf. e. g. in Joel.

1) *Third pers.* *a*) The *sg.* is not left here without a pronominal affix as it is in the *perf.*; the *msc.* has יָי *j'*, which has arisen according to §. 93, from *o*, *u*, which would remain from the pronoun *hú*; on the other hand *b*) יָה has prevailed for the *fem. sg.*, from the termination at §. 209. — *c*) In the *msc. pl.* the above mentioned method of separation must be introduced: יָיָהָה or יָיָהָה, the י as in the *sg.* being from the pronoun, but the plural being denoted by a termination as in the *perf.*, the form with י is even in prose not rare Gen. 18, 28–32. Js. 8, 12. — *d*) In the *fem. pl.* יָיָהָה should arise according to the same plan, which form is also, though rarely, found Gen. 30, 38. 1 Sam. 6, 12; but instead of the י of the *fem. sg.* the ה which is also usually the characteristic of the *fem.* is almost universally adopted: יָיָהָה. The *msc.* יָיָה is nevertheless still found for the *fem.* e. g. Job 3, 24; and twice Jer. 49, 11. Ez. 37, 7 hence the extraordinary form יָיָהָה, in which the ה is from the *fem.*, but י is the general termination of this *pl.*

2) *Second pers.* The ה, which remains at the beginning as the strongest and most characteristic consonant for the pronoun of this person, is sufficient for the *msc. sg.* but all

the other forms must be necessarily separated: *fem. sg.* הִתְּ or הִתְּ, the form with ך is not rare even in Prose 1 Sam. 1, 14; *misc. pl.* הִתְּ (Gen. 32, 5) or הִתְּ, and *fem. pl.* הִתְּ. The *misc.* forms, however, are still found for the characteristic feminine ones, though it is rare, as Js. 57, 8. Hos. 14, 1. 7.

3) *First pers.* The *sg.* אֲנִי *I* has lent its nearest sound א, and the *pl.* אֲנַחְנוּ or אֲנִי its equally near consonant נ as characteristics, so that by this distinction of the prefixes א (for א according to §. 70) and נִּ, there is no need of post-fixes ¹).

- 1) By this means the forms of some persons, which, as some still certain traces in part prove, must have been originally distinct, have become identical; for in the language as we now find it we have the *nisus formativi* of different periods. The identity of the 3 *fem. sg. imperf.* with the 2 *msc. sg.* is especially disagreeable; hence הִתְּ from the two feminine forms *pl.* is sometimes appended to הִתְּ as 3 *fem. sg.* to distinguish it from the 2 *msc. sg.* Ex. 1, 10. Jdgs. 5, 26. Js. 28, 3. Job. 17, 16.

III. *Consequences of the attachment of these signs* 283
of the persons to the verbal stems: 1. *of the prefixes in the imperf.* On account of the different beginnings of the verbal stems as to pronunciation, the prefixes do not always remain in their vowelless and separate pronunciation: 1) in all stems in which the first radical has a necessary vowel, the prefixes may remain in their nearest pronunciation, therefore especially in *Piel* and *Pual*, as הִתְּ, הִתְּ — 2) In all stems which begin with an externally attached ה, *Hif.*, *Hof.*, *Nif.* and *Hitp.*, that aspirate is elided between the succeeding vowel and the preceding vowelless consonant, partly on account of the close attachment of the prefixes, and partly because ה is an *external* affix (§. 82); so that

הִתְּ, הִתְּ, הִתְּ, הִתְּ.

always become הִתְּ, הִתְּ, הִתְּ, הִתְּ. — 3) In *Qal*, the first radical, because it is in itself vowelless, forms one syllable with the in itself equally vowelless prefix sound, so that according to §. 45. 66 *z* is pronounced after the first sound in a closely shut syllable (§. 212), as הִתְּ ²). But if the prefix sound stands by itself before the root, as it does in the peculiar class of roots לָ and לָ, it is then pronounced ³ accord. to §. 37: הִתְּ, הִתְּ, yet also הִתְּ accord. to §. 270. Concerning הִתְּ see §. 292 note.

- 1) the first pers. *sg.* אֲנִי etc. accord. to §. 70. It is very rarely that the sound *e* intrudes instead accord. to §. 70: אֲנִי Lev. 26, 33. account of the peculiarities of the roots לָ §. 275 *nt.*; and with a more firmly established אֲנִי Zach. 7, 14 accord. to §. 70, 2.
2) In the 1 pers. *sg.*, however, *z* is always pronounced accord. to §.

79 for *z* in all stems which have *z* in the first syllable, that is, in Qal, Hitp. and Nif'al, as אָזַח, אָזַח, אָזַח 1 Kgs. 2, 8; in Nif'al, however, *z* frequently returns again or account of the medial syllable §. 47, *c*, as אָזַח 1 Sam. 27, 1, and always does so in אָזַח on account of the *z* before which the *z* would be still heavier, as אָזַח.

1 pers. sg. אָזַח, אָזַח accord. to §. 156; אָזַח Hif. Job 32, 11 for אָזַח §. 84, 1.

284 In the coarse and relaxed language of the later periods however, the *z* of Hif-il is sometimes left to remain again, just as the similar *z* of the article after a preposition. Yet this resolution is only found (except Ez. 46, 22 where the *part.* אָזַח occurs) in some weak roots אָזַח, which, besides the shortening at the beginning §. 206, are also without Qal and, therefore, more irregular in Hif-il: אָזַח Ps. 45, 18, אָזַח 116, 6. 1 Sam. 17, 47. אָזַח Js. 52, 5. Even earlier does the language begin to treat the *z* of the 3 pers. sg. msc. in אָזַח as inseparable from the first sound of the stems *ae* or *e*, as if in compensation of the first radical consonant, so that the signs of the persons are placed anew before this *z*, this is most frequent in the perfectly isolated Hif-il אָזַח to wait, as אָזַח, אָזַח, אָזַח Jer. 48, 31; besides this, once אָזַח Hif. Job 24, 21 and in Qal אָזַח Ps. 138, 6.

285 2. The end of the verbal stems is much more strongly affected by the *postfixes* of the perf. and of some persons of the imperf., because they are most closely attached. And since the verbal formation in general, as distinguished from the noun, is a very short and shortened one, all these terminations, except a few, have become almost always quite toneless. Hence in these formations it depends partly on the nature of the last syllable of the stem and on its vowels, partly on the nature, beginning, and compass of the postfix; and in the last respect the two chief classes of postfixes must be distinguished into those that begin with vowels, and those that begin with consonants:

1) The postfixes that begin with vowels are for the most part merely vowels, since *-ān* and *-in* for *-ā*, *-i* have become rare in the imperf. As they draw the last radical consonant to their syllable, they always receive the tone if the vowel in the preceding syllable is not strong enough to remain (§. 60), but they become toneless as soon as ever this preceding vowel resists and maintains itself, only that ^{the} general laws of the tone do not even in that case permit the long terminations *ān* and *in* to be toneless §. 34.

a) The first case happens in most stems, since the greater number have a short, or merely accented, *ā* in the last syllable; viz. *ā* of the last syllable is so raised, as אָזַח:

פָּתַחְתָּ: פָּתַחְתָּ; moreover *e* (§. 46) as פָּתַחְתָּ: imperf. Nif-al וּפָתַחְתָּ: וּפָתַחְתָּ; intrans. Qal וּפָתַחְתָּ: וּפָתַחְתָּ; lastly *o* §. 46, as imperf. Qal וּפָתַחְתָּ: וּפָתַחְתָּ; intrans. Qal וּפָתַחְתָּ: וּפָתַחְתָּ. It is only very seldom that this obscure, firmer vowel maintains itself, being changed into *u* §. 48, as וּפָתַחְתָּ before the pause, Ru. 2, 8 and, as is still easier, with the tone at the same time retracted וּפָתַחְתָּ Ex. 18, 26 (§. 197). From 2nd rad. gutt. וּפָתַחְתָּ Ez. 16, 33 from the imperf. Qal וּפָתַחְתָּ, whereas we always find וּפָתַחְתָּ because the *o* is no longer preserved in this root וּפָתַחְתָּ. — These are remarkable, וּפָתַחְתָּ Prov. 1, 22. the 2 pl. msc. imperf. Qal for וּפָתַחְתָּ accord. to §. 73. From וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ are formed וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ accord. to §. 269, the sound *e* disappearing in the new formation by means of affixes at the end accord. to §. 76. And even from the intrans. וּפָתַחְתָּ §. 270 now וּפָתַחְתָּ. In the 1 pers. sg., however, *e* always remains on account of the *s*, In the pause, however, the tone returns and again introduces the vowel of the last syllable of the stem, and lengthens it (§. 131), as וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ.

b) A strong, resisting vowel is only found in the ordinary roots in Hif-al, as וּפָתַחְתָּ: וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ; וּפָתַחְתָּ. But in two classes of weak roots this must occur in all stems except the intensive ones, viz. first in the *u* in which there is always an immutable long vowel in the place of the 2nd rad., as וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ, but וּפָתַחְתָּ. Secondly in the similar *u*¹⁾, because the short vowel also of the last syllable here is supported by the reduplication which becomes perfectly audible before the new syllable, as וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ from וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ; the last vowel which is lengthened by the tone often becomes short again before distinct reduplication, as in the perf. Hif-al and Nif-al וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ more frequently than וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ Ez. 26, 2. From gutt. with weak reduplication accord. to §. 120, וּפָתַחְתָּ perf. Qal, but on account of וּפָתַחְתָּ, וּפָתַחְתָּ, imperf. intrans. וּפָתַחְתָּ Ez. 24, 10 f., and with וּפָתַחְתָּ perf. Hif. Nevertheless the last syllable is sometimes found with the tone in the perf. Qal, Jer. 4, 13. Ps. 3, 2. 55, 22. 2).

1) The simple form i. e. the perf. Qal, is however not unfrequently found resolved, as וּפָתַחְתָּ; just as without termination וּפָתַחְתָּ. But rarely any other form, as Hif. וּפָתַחְתָּ Mich. 6, 13. Ez. 3, 15. and the poetical וּפָתַחְתָּ.

2) So also with וּפָתַחְתָּ, though rarely, Gen. 26, 22. 40, 15. Num. 13, 32; but the Mss. vary.

¹⁾ bringing forward of the reduplication into the 1st rad. §. 217, *b* usually ceases before postfixes: yet it also remains not unfrequently in such a manner that the 2nd rad. is then either doubled at the same time, as the imperf. וּפָתַחְתָּ Hif., וּפָתַחְתָּ Hof. intrans. Qal Num. 14, 35, or

gives up this reduplication, as *רָחַם* Ps. 102, 28, *רָחַם* from *רָחַם* imperf. Hif. Dt. 1, 44, *רָחַם* Hof. Job. 19, 23. *רָחַם* perf. Nif. Cant. 1, 6. Since then the imperf. Nif. and the intrans. Qal are often thus identical in sound, accordingly, both these verbal stems in general are very fluctuating and convertible in many of these roots (§. 246), as *קָלַח* and *קָלַח* to be light, *נָחַח* and *נָחַח* to be terrified, *נָחַח* and *נָחַח* to be desert, *נָחַח* imperf. *נָחַח* accord. to §. 277 and *נָחַח* pl. *נָחַח* and *נָחַח*. It is much rarer, on the other hand, for the short vowel (as in an ordinary root) to be resolved without any trace of the original reduplication of the 2nd rad., without the reduplication coming forward into the first rad., but in that case a full syllable must always go before as a support for the voice, and it happens for the most part in Nif., if it rather isolates itself and appears to become a simple verbal stem like *בָּחַח*, as *נָחַח* fem. sg. (§. 240) Ez. 41, 7, *נָחַח* to loathe and also *נָחַח* Job 10, 1, *נָחַח* to be poured out Js. 19, 3, *נָחַח* to melt Jdgs. 5, 5, *נָחַח* to spread Gen. 9, 19, instead of which *נָחַח* pl. 10, 18, as this appears to be the easiest method before *ā*; very seldom in the imperf. Qal, as *נָחַח* let us confound accord. to §. 293 from *נָחַח*, and *נָחַח* from *נָחַח* Gen. 11, 6 f. Cf. on the other hand in pause Js. 64, 1 f.

- 286 c) The whole of this formation, however, must be particularly modified in the roots *ל"ה*. In the genuine Hebrew formation the last sound *é* or *a* falls away here without a trace before the vowel of the postfixes which press upon it (§. 222), as *גָּלַה* 3 pl. perf. Qal from *גָּלַה*, *גָּלַה* 3 pl. msc. and 2 fem. sg. imperf. Qal from *גָּלַה*, *גָּלַה* 3 pl. perf. from *גָּלַה*. The 3 fem. sg. however would not be distinguished by the mere termination *ā*, for which reason the hard *t* is attached to the vocalic ending *ā* of the stem §. 209, as *גָּלַה* not with an immutable long *ā* in the last syllable; but the *ā* which usually forms this person in Hebrew has generally attached itself a second time to this feminine formation, so that a distinct double feminine formation comes together (cf. §. 367), as *גָּלַה*, *גָּלַה* ¹⁾, and the simple *גָּלַה* is very rare (except before suffixes §. 310) Lev. 25, 21, 26, 34. Jer. 13, 19. 2 Kgs. 9, 37 *Ktīb*. — Together with these genuine Hebrew formations, however, we find a mode of formation produced by the influence of Aramaic, only rarely and in poetry, by which the *ae* (ai) returning as 3 rad. and resisting the final vowel receives the tone (§. 222), *āeu* therefore becomes *āju*, as *שָׁלַח* imperf. Qal Job 12, 6; also 3 sg. fem. perf. *שָׁלַח* ²⁾; before *-ān* the tone yields, yet the *ā* can still remain before *ī* if only a light syllable goes before *הַבְּשִׁיחוֹן* Qal Js. 21, 12. 33, 7 cf. *יִרְדְּגוּ* Dt. 8, 13, but not so *יִרְדְּגוּ* *Piel* Js. 40, 18.

1) Sometimes the roots *ל"ה* imitate even these peculiarities as well in the attachment of the simple *ת*. as *קָרְחַת* Js. 7, 4. Jer. 44, 23. Gen. 33, 11 (which is once imitated even by a *ret* ending in

ה, as נִשְׁכַּחְתָּה *Nif.* Js. 23, 15) as also in the repetition of the feminine termination, in which case we do not find קָרַאֲתָה like גָּלְתָה, but, because א still makes its sound heard, קָרַאֲתָה, as the weakened form קָרַאֲתָה returns beforehand into the more living and full קָרַאֲתָה or קָרַאֲתָה again, and to such a form the repeated ending *a* must now attach itself *toneless*; thus נִפְלְאֲתָה *Nif.* 2Sam. 1, 26 with a short vowel accord. to §. 60, הִחַבֵּאֲתָה *Hif.* Jos. 6, 19 with a long vowel at a small pause. — Besides מָלַךְ for מָלְאָךְ accord. to §. 280 a late form Ez. 28, 16. Jer. 8, 11.

- 2) In the same manner the very ancient הָיָה *Ex.* 1, 16 from הָיָה §. 279 for the usual הָיָה. For this formation is properly the primitive one in Hebrew, though not preserved in the ordinary language.

The tone rests on all final syllables in pause, if the third radical is expelled; only rarely does the tone retreat even here, as פָּלַי in pause, following פָּלַי, for the sake of variety in words of the same sound Ps. 37, 20. cf. §. 132. The form גָּלְתָה however, as it is perfectly equal to the normal one בָּתְּתָה, is always changed into גָּלְתָה; we find נִקְתָּה *Nif.* even in a smaller pause Js. 3, 26.

- 2) The postfixes which begin with *consonants* (הָ, תָ, נָ; 287 הָם, תָּם, נָם; הָיָה, תָּהי, נָהי in the perf., and נָה in the imperf.) are most closely attached to the stem without any sound between, and they have therefore all become toneless (except the two heavy ones הָם, תָּם) as the tone can remain upon the *unseparated* final syllable of the stem, as בָּתְּתָה. It depends upon this close attachment, however, that

a) the vowel in the preceding syllable cannot any longer extend itself freely, but is strongly compressed. The *o* indeed must remain *ó* in tone according to §. 45, as קָטַנְתָּה, and only becomes *õ* out of tone, as קָטַנְתָּם. But the *e* does not remain long as in the final syllable, but contracts itself into a shorter sound; but that according to §. 46 is not *ě* but *ǣ* because the tone falls in most persons upon the second syllable, and *ě* according to rule is not accented. Thus בָּתְּתָה, בָּתְּתָם from Piel בָּתַב, also תָּבַצְתָּה, תָּבַצְתָּם from the intrans. תָּבַץ; in the imperf. Piel, where the sound *e* is in general more constant accord. to §. 274, the *ě* can nevertheless remain even with ר before the single termination תָּה which however begins with a soft sound, as תָּרַבְּרָתָה *Iob* 27, 4; on the other hand *Nif.* תָּאֲבָלְתָה *Jer.* 24, 2; and Qal תָּלַדְתָּה from תָּלַד §. 271; always possible in pause with *a* (§. 133) in *Nif.* and Piel, as Js. 13, 16. 18. 28, 3 (on the contrary *ě* in Piel Prov. 24, 2). נ as last rad. coalesces with the postfix נָה, as תָּקַנְתָּה *Ez.* 32, 16; the reduplication is however often wanting here

as at the end of a word (§. 118) especially in pause, as **הִתְקַלְקַל** Ruth 1. 13 and **הִתְאַסְסָה** pause Js. 60, 4 both Nif.; Ps. 71, 28 in many editt. (The reduplication very seldom ceases in this way in **עָלָה** as **הִתְקַלְקַל** 3 pl. perf. Hif. accord. to many editt. for **הִתְקַלְקַל** 1 Sam. 3, 2). — Even the *i* of Hif-il is not found here, but Hif. shows its original resemblance to Piel in having *a* also in the penult, as **הִתְקַלְקַל**, **הִתְקַלְקַל**, but *e* in the imperf. as **יִתְקַלְקַל**; but on account of gutt. **תִּתְקַלְקַל** from **נָבַע** Ps. 119, 171. — From **נָא** on the other hand *e* is always found instead of this *a*, because in them the sound *e* becomes at once lengthened before *n* and forms a simple syllable (§. 85), as **יִרְאֶה** intrans. *Qal*, **יִרְאֶה** *Piel*, **יִרְאֶה** *Hif.* — From a gutt. as 3 rad. **יִתְקַלְקַל** *Qal*, **יִתְקַלְקַל** *Hif.*, **יִתְקַלְקַל** always closely attached; the guttural pronunciation is only resolved before the soft *n* in a syllable losing the tone. as **יִתְקַלְקַל** with suffix §. 74. But before the termination **ִתְ** of 2 pers. sg. fem. as a hard sound, the hardest guttural can even remain without a vowel, as **לִקְהֶתָּהּ** 1 Kgs. 14, 3. Jer. 13, 25; we usually find **יִתְקַלְקַל** even Dag. lene remaining contrary to §. 173, as the *a* is hardly heard; yet **יִתְקַלְקַל** without Dag. lene also belongs here Gen. 30, 15. 20, 16; with **נָא**, **קִרְאֶהָ** or **קִרְאֶהָ** §. 165.

b) But there are stems in which there is an originally long, immutable vowel before the last rad., viz. most of those from **וָ** in which this vowel is radical (§. 218). Since then this vowel first strongly resists being shortened, a foreign vowel intrudes between the two syllables which hinders their violent collision, and to which the postfixes are attached, as they are, in other cases, to the last syllable of the stem. This vocalic ending appears to have been *a* originally, but has now so varied on account of the distinctions of the vowels of the tense exercising an influence here also (§. 268), that *o* is found in the perf. and *e* in the imperf. Yet the language has already accommodated itself to a *shortening* of the radical vowel in many cases, so that these separation-vowels find no place; this formation is indeed more in uniformity with that of the other verbs, but is a later method, and is manifestly only commencing in Hebrew. Particulars are as follows:

1) In the *perf.*, the vowels of *Qal*, the lightest and most used form, have been regularly shortened, to which is to be added that the prevailing vowel here, *a*, is from its nature most easily shortened: therefore **קָם**, **קָמָה**, **קָמָה**, **קָמָה** etc. from **קָם** (§. 85) **קָמָה**, **קָמָה**, seldom written without *n* 1 Sam. 25, 8; the intransitive stems also, as **בָּזַח**, **בָּזַח**, but **בָּזַח** as the *o* now loses the tone; **בָּזַח**, **בָּזַח**, **בָּזַח** (§. 143) *a* being used instead of *e* in the tone, as above in the ordinary *Piel* and *Hif-il*, but in a toneless syllable the not only intransitive but at the same time radical vowel is again heard distinctly, as **בָּזַח** Mal. 3, 20. **בָּזַח** however is of a totally different kind §. 245. — In *Hif.* on

the other hand the sharp *i* regularly maintains itself unshortened, *ô* therefore is interposed; nevertheless the *i* descends sometimes to *é* before the *ô* (§. 48) Ex. 19, 23, as הַקִּימָה, הַקִּימָה, rarely הַקִּימָה, etc. ¹⁾, cf. farther §. 289. The usual formation is indeed found and without this insertion of the *ô*, but under great limitation; viz. in forms in which a ת or נ as last rad. endeavours to unite with a ת or נ as sign of a person (§. 116) as הַקִּימָה, הַקִּימָה, in which *a* in the penult is for *e* again on account of the tone, hence out of the tone הַקִּימָה; in this case even הַמִּיתָ (or with suffixes הַמִּיתָי) is sometimes written, as if the long vowel which was just compressed out of הַמִּיתָה endeavoured to maintain itself still 1 Sam. 17, 35. Moreover in לֹא, as א easily loses its power as consonant and becomes mute after the vowel (§. 85), as הִבִּיאַתְּ, הִבִּיאַתְּ (oftener than הִבִּיאַתְּ) הִבִּיאַתְּ, for הִבִּיאַתְּ, in which the vowel *e* must at once appear even in the tonesyllable because it is long in a simple syllable. Besides these cases it is very rare in Hif. without Qal, as הִנְפַּתְּ Ex. 20, 25; the latter however is more frequent in a new formation which is more favourable for shortening §. 299. — In *Nif.* on the other hand there is as yet no beginning of this shortened form, and the *ô* of the stem often sinks to *u* before the inserted *ô* (§. 48) apparently always immediately before the tone, as נִסְוֹגַתְּ, נִסְוֹגַתְּ Js. 50, 5, on the contrary נִפְצַחְתָּ Ez. 11, 17. 20, 34. 41, 43.

1) הַשְׁבִּיתָי is remarkable on account of its going over into the formation of פָּי Zach. 10, 16 for הַשְׁבִּיתָי v. 10.

2) In the *Imperf.* the *e* which is always accented before the single ending תָּ becomes sharpened to *é*, like the *é* of the roots לִי, to whose standard it conforms its pronunciation and orthography (§. 288); hence some edit. write the נ twice after the sharpened vowel Ez. 13, 19. Zach. 1, 17. Moreover, the inserted vowel maintains itself much more constantly in the imperf. than in the perf.; it is regularly found even in Qal, as תִּקְרַמְנָה or תִּקְרַמְנָה also תִּקְרַמְנָה; only תִּבְאֲנָה as in the perfect with a mute א; *Hif.* תִּקְרַמְנָה Mich. 2, 12, instead of which however we find the remarkable תִּקְרַמְנָה Jer. 44, 25. contrary to §. 63, as though the *e* falls away the syllables are yet not closely attached, this is assisted by the soft נ; otherwise the shortened form in Qal must be תִּקְרַמְנָה, and in Hif. תִּקְרַמְנָה Job. 20, 10.

The stems of the ט, whose last syllable ends in a properly double consonant, arrive by another way at the same insertion of the *ô* ¹⁾ in the *perf.* and *é* in the *imperf.* For the 2nd and 3rd rad. here form a thick mass ²⁾, a reduplication of the sound, which at the end of a word indeed is not distinct enough, but which is always prominently audible before postfixes. It would not, however, be at all audible if the postfixes beginning with a consonant were closely attached, and therefore a firm vowel intrudes between the adverse syllables by which also the mass of the double sound becomes audible. *ā*, *ĩ* and *ũ* (the last two accord. to §. 47, c) are always found as toneless vowels before the reduplication according as the pure sound *a* or *i*, *u*, lies originally in

the formation of stems. Thus Qal, כָּבַדְתָּ (כָּבַד, imperf. כָּבַדְתָּ from כָּבַד, קָבַד; *Hif.* הִכְבִּידְתָּ, imperf. הִכְבִּידְתָּ from הִכְבִּיד, נִכְבֵּד; *Nif.* נִכְבְּדְתָּ from נִכְבֵּד or נִכְבֵּד §. 276. An example of an intrans. Qal is הִצְלִיחַ 1Sam. 3, 11 which is indeed formed from הִצֵּל, but in such a manner that the intrans. sound *i* intrudes instead of *a* §. 270. The omission of the reduplication and, therefore, of the inserted vowel also is only found in cases where the reduplication is brought forward accord. to §. 217 *b*, as נִהַדְתָּ *Nif.* Jer. 22, 23, though the reduplication of the 1st rad. is wanting there, as it is a gutt. It is especially frequent in intrans. Qal as הִצְלִיחַ Jer. 19, 3, and הִתְחַנֵּן 49, 2. הִתְחַנֵּן Zach. 14, 12 which proceed through Nif-al first to intrans. Qal accord. to §. 246, from נָצַח, נָצַח, *to burn*, נָצַח, נָצַח, *to languish*. Very rarely without reduplication at the beginning, as הִתְחַנֵּן Num. 17, 28.

- 1) Only Mich. 2, 4 נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה *Nif.*, perhaps to imitate the sound of lamentation more nearly.
- 2) For it is very seldom that the double sound here resolves itself into its parts, by which the formation becomes regular and does not require the inserted vowel, as הִתְחַנֵּן Dt. 2, 35.
- 3) It is to be observed that the termination תִּי of the 1st pers. sg. perf. can nevertheless recieve the tone, as נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה Dt. 32, 41. Js. 44, 16. Ps. 116, 7, נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה 2 pers. sg. msc. Ps. 90, 8 has also the tone at the end.

נ as last rad. is only lost in the very much used נָתַן *to give* in the ה of the signs of the persons §. 113, but in this root regularly, as נָתַתָּה ¹⁾ נָתַתָּה.

- 1) We even find נָתַתָּה for it once 2Sam. 22, 41, cf. the entire form Ps. 18, 41. This great mutilation is precisely in this root least remarkable, cf. §. 273.

288 c) The roots ל"ה have still preserved their original vocalic ending *ae* entire before the postfixes beginning in consonants in both tenses alike §. 279; nevertheless there are many peculiarities in particulars: 1) the *long* sound *é* = *ae* still indeed prevails in the *perf.* but has also very often been reduced to the simple *i* accord. to §. 149; viz. regularly in the most used and attrited form, in Qal, as אָלַיְתָּ, אָלַיְתָּ, not so often in *Piel*, *Hif.*, *Nif.* and *Hitp.*, as אָלַיְתָּ and אָלַיְתָּ and not at all in the rarer forms *Pual* and *Hof-al*, as אָלַיְתָּ, אָלַיְתָּ Js. 14, 10 ¹⁾. — In the *imperf.*, before the single softer termination תָּה the *e* which is always accented here is always compressed into a sharp *é*, as אָלַיְתָּ, hence י is sometimes omitted in the writing Job 5, 12 (which is very rare with the long vowels of the *perf.* in an accented syllable) and נ may be even doubled after the sharp vowel Mich. 7, 10, cf. §. 287 *b*.

- 1) But from שָׁלוֹ *to rest* §. 222 we still have שָׁלוֹתָי Job 3, 26; nevertheless the 3 pl. שָׁלוּ Lam. 1, 5, because two *u* or *γ* come together here and nothing separates them §. 53. 91. The *imperf.* however follows the usual form, רָשָׁלָה, pl. רָשָׁלוּ.

In this very respect the ל"נ imitate the ל"ה most easily and frequently. The persons of the *imperf.* which end in נה always do so, as תִּקְרָאֲנָה *Qal*, rarely even without *n*, as תִּשְׁנָה *Qal* from נָשָׂא Ru. 1, 14; the mode of writing תִּמְצָאֲנָה for תִּמְצָאֲנָה *Nif.* shows the transition, Jer. 50, 20 (*Q'rt*¹). Moreover, the *perf.* *Nif.* regularly takes *e* in the last syllable for *a*, as נִמְצָאָה compared with the 3 pers. sg. נִמְצָא without termination. Other transitions are rarer and later in date, as בָּלֵאֲתִי *Qal*, where *n* has still remained in the writing Ps. 119, 101, and הִתְנַבֵּיִתָּה *Hitp.* 1 Sam. 10, 6.

- 1) Even applied to a gutt. ה, as תִּתְנַבֵּיִתָּה Ez. 16, 50, but it is at the same time favoured by the assonance, as also in בָּאֲנִינָה *imperat.* for בָּאֲנִינָה together with רָאִינָה Cant. 3, 11.

It is a remarkable sign how the very short stems try to lengthen themselves again (§. 206) that instead of תִּבְאָ 3 fem. sg. *imperf.* *Qal* and תִּבְאִי 2 fem. sg. תִּבְאָה may be used even with the personal terminations of the *perf.* (whence probably תִּבְוֹאָהּ with Suffix Job 22, 21) or with the toneless *dh* §. 293 תִּבְאָהּ from תִּבְאָה Dt. 33, 16; תִּבְאָהּ 1 Sam. 25, 34 (*Q'rt*). The only thing like it is תִּרְנָה (*she calls*) for תִּרְןָה poetical Prov. 1, 20. 8, 3.

3) In all verbal forms in which the tone is retracted by means of 289 these or other postfixes, the foretone vowel also disappears §. 36 ff. Thus: תִּסְבִּינָה, וְסָב; וְקָמְנָה, וְקָמָה; פָּתַבְתָּה, פָּתַב. In תִּקְרָאֲנָה *perf.* *Hif.* *e* is often retained as fleeting vowel (§. 70) before the strong *i* and for the distinction of tense, as תִּקְרִינָה, though also תִּקְרָאֲנָה; while in לָצַח *a* is always found, תִּסְבִּינָה from תִּסְבָּה. If this ה of *Hif.* however comes in this manner before a gutt. as 1 rad., then instead of the fleeting *a* full short *a* is used with weak reduplication of the following gutt. (accord. to §. 70, 1), as תִּתְנַבֵּיִתָּה as these roots are disposed to lengthen themselves at the beginning.

If the vowel is dropt in this manner from י as 1 rad., its soft sound is so drawn back upon the following consonant which has lost the tone, that *z* is rather sounded with it than *a*, which *z* again becomes *e* in a simple syllable accord. to §. 48, as יִרְשָׁתָה, יִרְשָׁתָהּ, יִרְשָׁתָהּ (the last three with suff.) Ps. 2, 7. 69, 36 from יִרְשָׁה, יִרְשָׁהּ, in pause יִרְשָׁהּ; very rarely does *a* remain Ez. 35, 10. In the same manner *n* as 2 rad. takes the weaker *e* (§. 70) instead of *a* when it loses the tone, which *e* can be further changed in a compound syllable into *z* accord. to §. 47, *a*; this is regularly found in the verb שָׁאַל (in pause שָׁאַל), as שָׁאַלְתָּ 1 Sam. 12, 13; and with suff. שָׁאַלְתָּהּ *Hif.* שָׁאַלְתָּהּ 1 Sam. 1, 20. 28. Jdgs. 13, 6; in a simple syllable with suff. שָׁאַלְךָ Gen. 32, 18.

The only cases in which the foretone vowels remain are: *a*) in the form יִרְדְּקִי 3 pl. perf. Qal, because the short vowel of the last syllable rather disappears before the short accented terminations of the perf. *d*, *z*, and that form in *an* is exceedingly rare. — *b*) In the imperf. *Nif*, the *a* of the foretone has become heavier, because *Nif*. in general as a reflexive and passive form has not so much lightness; it remains even before heavy terminations, as יִשְׁבְּדֶנָּה Dt. 4, 26. Ps. 37, 9, and before suffixes in the same way, as יִשְׁבְּדֶנָּהּ inf. Ez. 21, 29.

According to §. 41 f. the vowel which disappears as foretone before the light *u*, *i*, may remain in a simple syllable before the heavy terminations of the imperf. *uu* and *iu* for *ü* and *i* (and the suffixes like these), and indeed *a* and *e* generally remain, as יִקְרָאֵנָה , יִתְקַלְלֵנָה , יִאבְדֵנָה Qal; יִבְתְּבוֹנֵנָה *Nif*.; but seldom out of pause, cf. יִתְבַּרְכֵנָה without pause Gen. 32, 20 with יִתְבַּרְכֵנָה Ps. 58, 2, and even in pause never in Piel (on account of the strong emphasis at the beginning) before suffixes, as יִתְשַׁלְּחֵנָה Num. 5, 3. Seldom too (and never before suffixes) does the *o* of the imperf. Qal remain, as יִקְצֹרֵנָה Ruth 2, 9. Jos. 24, 15.

NEW MODES FROM THESE TWO VERBAL FORMS.

290 I. *Jussive, imperative, and cohortative, from the imperfect*, cf. §. 266.

1. The *jussive* is the emphatic expression of the will that something be done. It is therefore distinguished from the imperf. only by a shorter, more hurried pronunciation, the stress of the voice being rather withdrawn from the end, and the end of the form being therefore shortened. The particular effects of this, however, are only partially observable, and in Aramaic have been progressively lost entirely:

1) In the many persons which end in the 3 rad., the shortening must show itself in the stem itself. But in a strong verb, in which two compound syllables generally come together and in which the vowel in the last syllable is very simple, the rules for the tone §. 34 and those for the accented vowels §. 45 ff. do not permit any further shortening of the last syllable whatever; in *Hif*. only is the *i* §. 252 regularly reduced to the short sound *i* which on account of the tone §. 46 becomes *e*, as יִשְׁבֶּנָה *let him make to dwell!* יִבְרִיחֵנָה *let her bring forth!* Gen. 1, 10. 24. Ps. 7, 6. Job 11, 14. In weak roots, however, the shortening is for the most part much easier and more regularly distinguishable; for

a) a greater distinction can be at once established in the roots with 3 rad. gutt. by the *e* of the last syllable being regularly changed to *a*, as יִבְרִיחֵנָה *Hif*., יִשְׁלַחֵנָה *Piel*. יִבְרִיחֵנָה is probably Qal for יִבְרִיחֵנָה ; Dag. lene still remaining, Ps. 7, 6.

b) The very long and at the same time radical vowel of the last syllables of לִי in Qal, Hif. and Nif., can be so shortened that the tone falls upon the penult, because it is a simple syllable, as אֶל-הַשֵּׁב Hif. from הָשִׁיב (*ne reduc!*) 1 Kgs. 2, 20; this great shortening, however, is not the usual one, especially if no close syllable goes before on which the retracted tone can rest, as אֶל in the example above (cf. 297); unless the tone is retracted on account of a closely attached word at the end accord. to §. 198, in which case this great shortening is always possible, as הָשִׁב-נָא Qal from הָשִׁיב 2 Sam. 19, 38. Job 22, 28. In general, the tone remains on the last syllable, and with it the tone vowels, which are nevertheless shorter than the radical ones; thus Qal יָקַם from יִקְוֶה, in some places יָקַם Gen. 27, 31. Jdgs. 6, 18. 2 Sam. 19, 38 (1 pers. sg.) Prov. 9, 4. 16, which is not so much shortened (but still written without ו) and is usually found where the form is more independent, but occurs even without that condition; Hif. יָקַם from יִקְוֶה. From בִּיא accord. to §. 85 always יָבֵא, יָבֵא; but from יוֹסֵף §. 246 still shorter יוֹסֵף Prov. 30, 6, in pause הוֹסֵף Job 40, 32.

c) The distinction is most uniformly sensible in all stems of לִי, for here the final *é* of the last syllable easily admits a distinct shortening. As the tone is withdrawn, the final *é* first loses its sharp sound and becomes a common *e* in a simple syllable i. e. *é* accord. to §. 48, and secondly this *é* having become quite powerless easily falls away entirely. The former of these two possibilities seldom occurs here, as אֶל-הַתְּהִי Jer. 17, 17; the second is prevalent, as הָבֵס from הִבְסָה, הִבְסָה Ps. 141, 8, Prov. 22, 24 from הִתְהַדָּה accord. to §. 120, Piel; Qal, קָרַב Gen. 1, 22 from קָרְבָה, the *e* still retaining the tone in the sudden shortening accord. to §. 46, though we also find קָרַב in which it is changed into *e*; with 2nd rad. gult. יָשַׁע, יָהֵס; before a gult. as 1st rad., *ā* intrudes for *i* accord. to §. 78, so that Qal and Hif. are of the same sound, as הִתְהַדָּה, הִתְהַדָּה, הִתְהַדָּה from הִתְהַדָּה in the last of which the full forms of the imperf. in Qal and Hif. are also alike; the *i* only remains before the harder ה of some roots accord. to §. 80, as יָהֵס (in which even the Dag. lene still remains §. 173), יָהֵס, יָהֵס, while the full form יָהֵס in Qal is the same as that of Hif.; from לִי at the same time, יָהֵס and יָהֵס accord. to §. 98 from יָהֵס, in pause יָהֵס accord. to §. 131, cf. farther §. 297; יָהֵס once Gen. 41, 33, *a* attracting the tonevowel accord. to §. 73; Hif. יָהֵס Gen. 9, 27, יָהֵס accord. to §. 29. 127, יָהֵס (§. 78) Neh. 13, 14; Nif. הִתְהַדָּה from הִתְהַדָּה Js. 47, 3. יָהֵס from יָהֵס Lev. 9, 6 2). From פָּלַח at the same time, יָהֵס Qal from יָהֵס, יָהֵס Hif. from יָהֵס, root קָטַח. It is not seldom however that the entire form

is again found, as the language gradually looses this distinction; this is especially frequent in the 3rd pers., as *תֵּרָאֵה* *let it appear!* Gen. 1, 9 *תַּעֲשֵׂה* *let him do* 41, 34. Job 3, 9. But where the shortened form occurs, and does not arise from this cause or from the one explained §. 296 f., there the weak vowel *e* is lost by apocopation, this is especially easy in *תֵּרָה* for *תֵּרֶה*, but is still very rare. Gen. 49, 17.

- 1) This *e* is regularly changed in Aramaic into *i* (§. 49) which change begins to appear in Hebrew also in the late periods: *תֵּרֶה* with the tone drawn quite back in pause, Jer. 18, 23; cf. *תֵּרֶה* 3, 6. and *תֵּרֶה* as *imperat.* *Qal* for *תֵּרֶה* Js. 26, 20. — *תֵּרֶה* also Jos. 9, 24 may be explained accord. to §. 296 f.; otherwise *e* is very seldom found for *e*, Gen. 26, 29 (where however *if* goes before) and Dan. 1, 13.
- 2) *תֵּרָה* Ps. 109, 13. 14 (cf. Gen. 7, 23), appears to be shortened from Nif. *תֵּרֶה* in such a manner that the *e* which has only arisen as foretone has been also shortened at the same time.

2) The persons which end in *תֵּרָה* or *תֵּרֶה* drop the *ה*; only in Heb., because the nasal is very frequently dropt even without this cause §. 282, this is no longer a prominent distinction. In the persons which end in *תֵּרָה*, no further distinction of the jussive is possible, except that the *ל* attach the *תֵּרָה* to their shortened forms, from which it follows at the same time that the inserted vowel, §. 287, *b*, then falls away, as *תֵּרָה* *Qal* Ez. 16, 55. *תֵּרָה* (§. 245) Ps. 48, 12; although even this gradually ceases.

291

2. The *imperative* is the highest intension of the jussive, the shortest expression of the will that something be done. It stands therefore abruptly, as interjection, at the beginning of the sentence; and so little capable is it of being subordinated, that the subjective negation *אַל* (*μὴ*, *ne!*) is never attached to it, but always with the jussive itself, as *אַל-תֵּרָה* *ne sis!* *אַל-תַּעֲשֵׂה* *ne fac!* It is moreover only developed for the *second person* as the nearest one to which an immediate command can be addressed; and therefore not yet in the pure passive stems Pual and Hof-al ¹⁾, as the pure passives in general are remoter in use §. 251.

- 1) The *imperat.* from Hof-al is only twice attempted in the later period, in the passages (which are in other respects also remarkable) quoted 239. The *imperat.* is very frequently formed from *Nif.* and *Hitp.*, however, and in every signification.

The form therefore proceeds entirely from the jussive; the stem has the same shortening at the end, which here only has established itself in many cases more strongly and powerfully; the proper characteristic is the casting away of the sign of the person *ה* at the beginning, by which the word becomes as

short and emphatic as possible; the derivation from the imperf. remains nevertheless distinctly evident by the internal vocalization of the imperf. §. 269 being preserved unaltered, and gender and number are still sufficiently distinguished by the verbal terminations which are retained. In particulars, however, many new changes are produced by this greatest shortening:

1) In the stems in which ה is prefixed without close attachment §. 283, 1, it falls away again without any further consequences; thus *Piel* בָּהֵב (from תְּבַהֵב); *ā* is, however, sometimes found in the last syllable for *é*, and with other than gutt. as בָּלַג Ps. 55, 10. בָּקַר Ez. 37, 17, although we still have בָּרַךְ, בָּרַר always. The pl. בָּרַכְתֶּם etc.

2) In all stems which begin with an externally attached ה, this aspirate, which was before expelled after the signs of the persons (§. 283, 2), always returns again; thus *aHif.* הִבְהִיב; from שָׁרַח, הִקְטִיב, הִבֵּא, but *pl.* accord. to §. 290, 2 is הִבְהִיבוּ, הִקְטִיבוּ, הִבֵּאוּ, the nasal only having fallen away from *-ān*. Before gutt. הִבְהִיבְתָּ, *pl.* הִבְהִיבוּ. — *b*) *Nif.* הִבְהִיבְתָּ, gutt. הִבְהִיבְתָּ; but the tone is sometimes entirely drawn to the penult, as הִשְׁמַרְתָּ Ex. 23, 21. 2 Kgs. 6, 9, which formation is easily possible according to the laws of the tone, but for which the jussive has become too torpid ¹⁾. — *c*) *Hitp.* הִתְבַּהֲבְתָּ; with regard to the last vowel, cf. §. 257.

1) There is a remarkable, still greater shortening of this imperat. by which even the ה at the beginning falls away and the stem is reduced to the most rapid pronunciation (§. 277); this however is only found in the *pl.* הִתְבַּהֲבוּ *assemble yourselves*, for הִקְבְּצוּ Joel 4, 11. Js. 43, 9. Jer. 50, 5.

3) In *Qal*, there is no further difficulty in shortening the *msc. sg.* and *fem. pl.*, as בָּהֵב, בָּהִיבְתָּ from תְּבַהֵב, תְּבַהִיבְתָּ, intrans. גָּדַל, גָּדַלְתָּ from תִּגְדֹּל; from 1st rad. gutt., עָנַד (§. 70) even if the full syllable had *é*, as יָחַד from תַּחַד, *e* only in אָהַב, where א stands before a gutt., and אָמַר; all that is new and remarkable is that the roots which end in a gutt. can shorten the termination תָּה to the mere consonant *-n*, because the gutt. (§. 70) itself easily assumes the weak vowel with which the *n* must be pronounced (§. 29), as שָׁמַעְתָּ Gen. 4, 23 shortened from שָׁמַעְתָּה, and hence קָרָאָן Ex. 2, 20 for קָרָאְתָּה, קָרָאָן, since א in such a concurrence more easily takes the vowel entirely to itself accord. to §. 75, and in that case its *e*; in which, however, the short *é* again characterises the verb. and the imperat.

But in the *msc. pl.* and *fem. sg.* there arises an important difficulty in the formation here, because, after the casting away of ה at the beginning e. g. from תְּבַהֵבְתֶּם, the first two consonants of the word are left without a vowel. First there-

fore a weak *i*, the nearest vowel-sound, is pronounced with the 1st rad. accord. to §. 66, as בָּהֲבִי, בָּהֲבִי and in the same manner from the intrans. בָּגְדִלָּה; and many traces prove that this *i* is very hurried, as a vowel-sound only assumed from necessity, for the syllable remains open, and it is very rare for Dag. lene to follow (Js. 47, 2. Jer. 10, 17); a gutt. as 1 rad. takes *i*, contrary to §. 79, as הִרְדֵּי, הִגְרֵי, הִבְלֵי, אִסְפִּי (very seldom *e*, as הִשְׁפִּי Js. 47, 2); from 2 rad. gutt. we find even שִׁתְּרֵה once, Job 6, 22 with *i*, usually שִׁתְּרֵי, שִׁתְּקֵי, שִׁתְּבֵי, שִׁתְּלֵי always with open syllables §. 168; but א takes *e* before ה, as אֶהְבֵּה, אֶהְלֵה, though beside the last אֶהְיֵה Ru. 3, 15, the *o* of the 2 rad. in אֶהְיֵה making itself again heard; from 3 rad. gutt. שִׁלְחֵה, שִׁבְחֵי, and with א fear ye 1 Sam. 12, 24 for יִרְאֵה accord. to §. 82, which rapid pronunciation is just suited for the imperat. Only rarely does the original active *o* of the 2 rad. endeavour to preserve itself in such a manner that it appears again with the *first* rad. instead of the nearest vowel (§. 66), as fem. מְלִיזִי, מְלִיבִי from מִלֵּה, מִלֵּב Jdgs. 9, 10. Zef. 3, 14. אֶקְסְמִי §. 169.

The פֿ in going from the imperf. to the imperat. lose their first rad. entirely, because it is already lost in תִּרְדֵּי, תִּלְהֵי (§. 271), as יִרְדֵּי, יִלְהֵי; yet י as 1 rad. has often been preserved in the imperat. from the form תִּיבֵּק in which the sound of the 1 rad. has maintained itself much stronger as *i*, thus יִרְאֵי, יִרְשֵׁי Dt. 33, 23, but we also find רִשֵּׁי 2, 24, and רִשֵּׁי in פֿו from an earlier form רִישֵׁי (cf. inf. const. רִשֵּׁה) 1, 21. יִצְקֵי 1 Kgs. 18, 34 and יִצְקֵי 2 Kgs. 4, 41. The *pl.* of all these יִרְדֵּי, יִלְהֵי, fem. sg. יִרְדֵּי; on the other hand, if the 1 rad. is preserved, יִצְקֵי; fem. pl. יִצְקֵה, the *e* maintaining itself in the shorter word contrary to תִּשְׁבְּחֵה §. 287. — From the פֿ on the other hand which have *o* in the imperf. accord. to §. 272, the imperat. is derived anew accord. to strong formation, as אֶבְלֵי, אֶבְלֵי beside אֶבְלֵי, אֶבְלֵי.

- 1) יִרְדֵּי Jdgs. 5, 13 cannot be imperat. accord. to the connexion of this passage; the *perf.* alone suits the sense, and one may either read יִרְדֵּי or consider יִרְדֵּי as the shorter pronunciation (contrary to §. 231) for יִרְדֵּי.

The פֿ which may still retain their 1 rad. in the imperf. or at any rate only resolve it without suffering the form to be further mutilated, always retain the פֿ in the imperat., as יִצְרֵי, יִצְרֵי, *pl.* נִשְׁטַעֵי, נִדְרֵי, נִפְלֵי; but the more constantly they resolve the פֿ and become like the פֿ by pronouncing the last syllable with *ā* or *e* instead of *o* (§. 273) the more rarely can פֿ return in the imperat.: יִשְׁלֵי, יִשְׁלֵי, *pl.* יִסְעֵי, יִסְעֵי, fem. sg. יִסְעֵי Ez. 37, 9; instead of יִשְׁעֵי we have יִשְׁעֵי Jos. 3, 9 with the vowel striving to go back (§. 197). And still

more extraordinarily we find נָשָׂא Ps. 10, 12. In the same manner קָה from לָקַח accord. to §. 273, but also לָקַח again Ex. 29, 1.

From קָלַל *Qal*, הָחֵל *Hif.*, הִבִּיז *Nif.* In the same manner from הָקַם *Hif.*, pl. הִקְיִמוּ f. without inserted vowel הִקְמִינָה, sometimes too still shorter הִשָּׁב Ez. 21, 35. *Qal* however does not sound קָב as we would expect from הָקַב, but the short word extends itself somewhat again and becomes קָבָה Jos. 7, 10 or is even written קָבָה, בָּהָה. In the same manner קָיַם, קָיַם from the roots described §. 245. Pl. fem. קָיַמָּה always without the inserted vowel; it is also sometimes formed from that *sg.* קָיַמָּה Js. 32, 9. — Fem. *sg.* קָיַמָּה Mich. 4, 10, 13; the second has *ô* instead of *â*, for euphony.

The formation of the לָה is already clear from §. 290, c: 292 but the relation of the two formations which are possible accord. to §. 290, c varies somewhat here. In the longer stems, the utter falling away of the final vowel is indeed possible: viz. usual in *Hitp.* and *Nif.*, as הִתְהַוָּה Dt. 2, 24, also frequent in *Hif.* and *Piel*, as הִזְלָה accord. to §. 79, 2. Ex. 9, 1. from הִזְלִיל, הָטָה from הִטָּה *Hif.* from נָטָה, צָרָה from צָרָה, but not regularly, as הִנָּחָה *Hif.* from נָחָה Ez. 6, 11. צָנָה קָנָה Ps. 44, 5; in *Qal* on the other hand, the last vowel never falls away because the word would become too short and indistinguishable; there remains therefore הִנָּחָה, הִנָּחָה, so that הִנָּחָה is even formed anew. although the imperf. and juss. are always הִנָּחָה and הִנָּחָה. From הָיָה *to live*: הָיָה, fem. הָיָה; from הָיָה *to be*: indeed also הָיָה, but also accord. to a more ancient pronunciation הָיָה poet. Gen. 27, 29 ²⁾. — From אָפַק at the same time, אָפַק *pl. bake ye* Ex. 16, 23 for אָפַק, the א here easily assuming a full vowel in the effort of the tone to go to the beginning (§. 70), and אָפַק *come ye* accord. to the poetical form §. 286 Js. 21, 12, 56, 9, 12.

1) הִשָּׁע *imperat. Hif.* Ps. 39, 14 for הִשָּׁע from הִשָּׁע §. 70.

2) ה is always preserved as second rad. in this root in Aramaic; and hence in later Hebrew, הִהָוָה *imperf.* for הִהָוָה Koh. 11, 5, a strongly Aramaic pronunciation, the 3 rad. ה having been changed accord. to §. 280 into א, the root therefore may be now formed like הָוָה, as הָוָה; the indistinct vowel-sound at the beginning instead of the *â* of the foretone is also Aramaic. — Also הִהָוָה *part.* in the later period.

3. The *cohortative* is a peculiar kind of the jussive and 293 imperative, in which the *effort* of the mind, the *direction* of the will to a special object, is rendered emphatically and very externally prominent. For it attaches to itself the *â* אָ, which in a noun denotes the direction to a place, and which

expresses in this mode of the verb the direction of the will. The cohortative is most frequently and properly used in the *first person only*, in which in fact the effort which results rather from deliberation, which urges on one's own tardy will, is more appropriate than the short, quick command ¹⁾, as *אֲזַמְרָה* *let me then sing!* *נֵלְכֶה* *let us then go!* This form is very rare in the other persons, and is only occasionally used in third pers. by the Poets, as *הַבֹּיָאָה* *let it come!* Js. 5, 19. Ps. 20, 4; rather oftener with the *imperative* to make it more urgent, but even in it seldom in the longer stems, as *בִּפְתָּךְ* *Piel pray tell!* 2 Kgs. 8, 4. cf. Job 33, 5, more in Qal, as *אֶזְכָּרָה* Num. 11, 16, but even in Qal most frequent and in part constant in very short imperatives of weak stems only (§. 206), as *הָשִׁיבָה*, *שָׁקָה* Gen. 27, 26, *הָתֵבָה*, cf. p. 162; *שָׁבָה*, *רָדָה* see page 163; also *קִיַּמָה*, *שָׁיַבָה*; constantly in *לֵכֶה* *go!* and *הָבָה* *come on!* which are used as interjections.

- 1) Hence the same longer, extended form is also used in the first person imperative in Sanscrit (for there is a great resemblance between it and that form in Hebrew) in distinction to the 2nd and 3rd pers., to express ones own determination and urging oneself, as *bôdhāni*, *bôdha*, *bôdhatu*. — In Arabic the modus emphaticus corresponds to it.

294

This vowel -*ā*, as an added, external termination, is generally *loosely* attached to the word, not so strongly and close as the terminations of the persons §. 285; but the merely accented vowels of the last syllable are too short to remain, and as *ā*, *e*, *o* thus disappear, that *ā*- takes the tone, as *אֲזַמְרָה* from *אָזַר* §. 272, *אֲזַמְרָה* from *אָזַר* *Piel*, *אֲזַמְרָה* from *אָזַר* *Qal*, and *נִפְתָּרָה* from *נָפַתַר* cf. §. 168, although also *אֲזַמְרָה* from *אָזַר*, *אֲזַמְרָה* from *אָזַר*; the *o* however sometimes maintains itself in a fleeting sound (§. 58), as *אֲשַׁקָּה* 1 Kgs. 19, 20, and before a gutt. Js. 27, 10 ¹⁾. In the imperative Qal, a new vowel must be thus pronounced with the first rad., usually indeed *i*, as *שָׁבָה* from the intrans. *שָׁבָה*, *שָׁבָה*, *שָׁבָה* Job 33, 5 from *שָׁבָה* or rather *שָׁבָה* on account of the *r* as gutt., but the *o* which has disappeared regularly returns at the beginning again accord. to §. 68, as *הָתֵבָה*, *הָתֵבָה* Jer. 49, 11 from *הָתֵבָה* ¹⁾, and it never happens that a closely shut syllable is found here to go before (§. 173). In pause, the vowel which is accented returns as in §. 285, *a* to its place again, as *אֲזַמְרָה*, *אֲזַמְרָה*, *שָׁבָה*, *שָׁבָה*, *הָתֵבָה*. — A longer, firmer vowel however remains against the termination which thus becomes toneless as in §. 285, *b*, as *אֲזַמְרָה*, *אֲזַמְרָה*; and although such a vowel was shortened in a *compound syllable* on account of the jussive or imperative accord. to §. 285 f. yet the original vowel now returns at once

in a simple, accented syllable §. 57. 64; even in the imperat. Hif. with strong sounds, as הִכְתִּיבָהּ, הִגִּידָהּ from הִכְתֵּב, הִגֵּד. — From נָבֵאָה : עָצָה Qal, but also more rapidly נִבְּאָה accord. to §. 285; imperat. קָבָהּ, qóba-, אָרָהּ, óra-, the loose -á being attached to קָבָהּ qób (before Maqqef for קָב) without any further change (§. 162, 2) Num. 22, 11. 17; 6. 23, 7.

- 1) According to the *K'tib*, however, the full *ó*, that is, with the tone, sometimes maintains itself, as אֶשְׁקֹטָה Js. 18, 5; instead of which the *Q'ri* will have אֶשְׁקֹטָה. In the same way in the imperat. מִלְּיָדָה *K'tib* Jdgs. 9, 8.

On the other hand, where *o* has been regularly changed on account of the gutt. into *a*, *o* cannot return at the beginning, as שִׁלָּה (send, active Qal), and מָכַרָה (sell, act. Qal) as the shorter מָכַר also was permitted in the early language instead of מָכַר; the same rule holds even in other cases, as קָרָאָה *pl. imperat.* (call ye) and in pause קָרָאָה, imperf. וַיִּשְׁלָהּ; whereas *e* returns in such cases because it is nearer to *a*, as צָמֵאָה.

- 2) It is to be observed, however, that these and other vocalic terminations (§. 285, *b*) of the short imperat. Qal from עָצָה and עָצָה sometimes, and especially in poetry, occur with the tone again, viz. in hurried diction, as שִׁבְּרָה, *fem. sg.* שִׁבְּרִי Ps. 6, 5. 7, 7. 116, 7; *pl.* רָבֵר Js. 44, 23; even alternately, first more hurriedly עָרִיר, then more composedly עָרִיר Jdgs. 5, 12. On the other hand in prose Ru. 4, 1.

The לָא never attach this -á to their vocalic termination *e*, because two so similar vowels are not compatible close together, and this -á is moreover too weak to expel the radical *e*; in the forms of the first person for this cohortative the simpler *e* disappears accord. to §. 290, *c*, and the sharp ending *e* again returns, as אָגִלָּה, אֶשְׁפָּטָה etc. The singular אֶהְיֶה Ps. 77, 4 is formed according to the peculiar poetical form §. 286; and only in Js. 41, 23 do we find נִשְׁתַּעַבָהּ *Hitp.*, -á being actually attached without the tone to the jussive נִשְׁתַּעַב v. 10. In the לָא in the same way the cohortative has no external form; only as an exception do we still find רָפָאָה imperat. Qal Ps. 41, 5, the א taking the vowel before the vowel accord. to §. 70 ¹⁾, and once Jdgs. 9, 29 צָאָה in pause, in all other places צָא imperat. Qal from יָצָא. But אָבִוּאָה can be formed from אָבִוּא, because an immutable vowel goes before. — Lastly, this -á cannot be attached in this way to any other persons than those which end in the 3rd. rad., because all others end in a vowel, as פָּתְחִי, פָּתְחִי *imperat. fem. sg.* and *pl. msc.* cannot take this postfix.

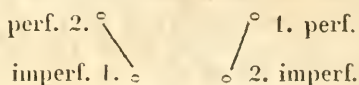
- 1) In the same manner רָאָהָה 1 Sam. 28, 15 accord. to §. 296 *f*, in which the *e* weakened out of this *d* is also to be observed, this is seldom found, Ps. 20, 4.

295 From a general survey of these three modes there is yet this important conclusion to be drawn, that these three different shades of the same mode are particularly distinguished according to the nature of the three persons. The *jussive* prevails for the third person only; it is only used in the second, where the imperative is excluded for particular reasons, and very rarely in the first ¹⁾; the *imperative* only for the second; the *cohortative* chiefly and properly for the first only. This distinction goes so far, that in the first person, where the first verb only of a series has that affixed *-d* (and it is very often sufficient for it to be used once at the beginning) the other verbs follow in the simplest form, i. e. in the simple imperfect. The syntax, however, must teach the individual use of these three closely connected modes.

1) As מָוֶתֶנִּי 2Sam. 19, 38, which, however, only means, *that I may die*; in the same way Js. 42, 6; also 41, 23 מָוֶתֶנִּי where the Masoretes, however, wish to read מָוֶתֶנִּי .

II. The two tenses with *Vav* consequitivum.

296 The copula ו *and* is prefixed to each of the two tenses in such a manner that this union forms a new whole, and two new forms accordingly arise. This, the *and* before the event and the tense, is still the simplest connexion according to the general character of the language (§. 16): but even these two simple elements are more closely bound together in a new idea and form, so that the one cannot be without the other; both only give the full idea when united. That which is really peculiar in this is, that the copula connects the opposite tense to the preceding one, i. e. that which is conceived as finished or past, as already existing, is followed by that which is conceived as unfinished and being done, and *vice versa*; the imagination therefore advances from what is done to what is doing, and from what is doing to what is done. For what is actually past, assumed as a beginning, advances to ever new progressive development; that which not yet exists, however, when once admitted ascertain, advances, at least in thought, to what exists and has come to pass. On the one hand, the imagination sets out from what is distant and past, descends into the present and beholds the ever new consequences, the ever new progress of the past, and, as it were, accompanies the successive moments as they proceed out of the past; on the other, it sets out from what is near, what is unfinished, mounts up into the distant reality and calmly anticipates their consequences as sure and certain. Thus:



The copula, however, is the indispensable intermediate member without which the connexion would be indistinct; and thus it appears that the two tenses, thus closely connected by the copula, express indeed the successive *consequence of the act, of the time* (or, which follows from that, of the *sense*) and always refer to a prior beginning, but that both refer to an opposite beginning and in an opposite manner. In all cases in which the beginning must be made or conceived with the *perf.*, the *imperf.* with this copula gives the successive consequence, and *vice versa*; and as various as the uses of the *perf.* and *imperf.* by themselves may be §. 260-266, so various can this successive consequence be in the *imperf.* or *perf.*, as the syntax must more minutely explain. It is equally clear from this that the imagination especially rules here, and that this *imperf.* is properly the imperfect. perfecti, this *perf.* properly the *perf. imperfecti*; in English: *thén — said* and *thén — says*. The language has also expressed this distinction of the two combinations, and the close connexion of copula and tense most distinctly and powerfully (although it be not universally so strongly sensible in the language as we have it) *by changing the tone of the whole compounded word*; this compounded *imperf.*, as going back into the present, drawing its tone very forcibly back from the end, but this comp. *perf.* as ascending into the distance, drawing its tone forcibly forwards to the end. Thus arise these forms which are perfectly peculiar to Hebrew and which undoubtedly arose before the language existed as a separate dialect, which disappear as too imaginative in the later languages of this stem, and even in Hebrew in the later period, as in Kohelet, are greatly on the decline ¹).

- 1) The Jewish grammarians have called this Vav, because it apparently changes the signification of the tense, *Vav conversivum*, a very inappropriate name; it were better to name it *Vav relativum*, or, as it will be called below *Vav consequitivum imperfecti et perfecti*. Concerning a third *Vav of consequence* see the Syntax §. 610. 618.

1. *Vav conseq. imperfecti*. The powerful drawing 297
back of the whole tone of the form from the end first causes the copula ו itself to have a very full and strong sound here, it takes ו and doubles the succeeding sound, the sign of the person, ו; and secondly it causes the proper tone of the word to fall on the penult, and the last syllable to be shortened as much as possible. There are however many obstacles to this in Hebrew on account of the laws for the tone of words §. 34; in general indeed the shortening is greater and more regular here than in the jussive §. 290, especially because the ו furnishes a firm support at the beginning: but

nevertheless the tone of the word can only be retracted a little in a strong verb, although it may be more so in a weak one. The most remarkable cases are the following:

1) In the persons which end in the third radical, in a strong verb, *Nif.* only can render its last syllable quite toneless, as *וַיִּקְרָא* although it does not always happen Gen. 25, 8. 17. 49, 33. cf. 32, 25; in the same way *Piel* and *Hif.* if a gutt. as 2 rad. has entirely lost the reduplication (§. 232) as *וַיִּשְׁרַח*, *וַיִּשְׁרַח*, *וַיִּשְׁרַח* Dan. 2, 1; on the contrary *וַיִּמְדָּק*. In *Hif.* the last syllable is shortened as in §. 290, as *וַיִּשְׁרַח*, *וַיִּשְׁרַח*, but the *i* returns again in a simple syllable before suffixes as in §. 294. Before 3 rad. gutt. *וַיִּבְרַח* *Hif.*, *וַיִּבְרַח* *Piel*, *וַיִּבְרַח* *Nif.* — From weak roots *a*) פָּ' and similar ones accord. to §. 271 f. *Qal*: *וַיִּלְךָ*, *וַיִּלְךָ*, *וַיִּלְךָ* Gen. 2, 7; 50, 26. 1 Kgs. 22, 35; *וַיִּלְךָ*, *וַיִּלְךָ*, but also *וַיִּלְךָ* with permanent *ā* Gen. 31, 15. 2 Kgs. 9, 34, *וַיִּלְךָ* too sometimes remains with the tone on the ultimate, Gen. 28, 16. 1 Sam. 18, 30 because such forms with *i* in the tonesyllable are against the general nature of the sounds §. 46; *Hif.* constantly, as *וַיִּלְךָ*, *וַיִּלְךָ*, *וַיִּלְךָ* Jdgs. 8, 16, *וַיִּלְךָ* as 1 rad. therefore is more easily mute, as *וַיִּלְךָ* for *וַיִּלְךָ* 1 Sam. 15, 51, *וַיִּלְךָ* Num. 11, 25; but *וַיִּלְךָ* 2 Sam. 22, 40 (*וַיִּלְךָ* Ps. 18, 40) is *Piel* — *b*) כָּ' accord. to §. 269 f. *Qal*: *וַיִּקָּם*, *Hif.* *וַיִּקָּם*, *וַיִּקָּם*; but *Hof.* *וַיִּקָּם* accord. to §. 254, though *וַיִּקָּם* may be used for it, *Hof.* being more simply changed into an intrans. *Qal* as if from *וַיִּקָּם* accord. to §. 246. In the same way from *כָּ' Qal*: *וַיִּסָּב* (but intrans. *וַיִּסָּב* Gen. 16, 4), *Hif.* *וַיִּסָּב*, *וַיִּסָּב*; but since these forms from *כָּ' become thus perfectly like those from כָּ', ā and ǐ are therefore retained in the former before the double sound which rather excuses it §. 47, but without the tone contrary to §. 46, as וַיִּסָּב Ex. 16, 20 (it became rotten) and Hif. וַיִּסָּב Jdgs. 9, 53 (it broke) in distinction to וַיִּסָּב from וַיִּסָּב to be high, and וַיִּסָּב to run. The shorter form here is also found from כָּ' which advance the reduplication into the first rad. as וַיִּסָּב from וַיִּסָּב, according to which manner we even find וַיִּסָּב Js. 64, 5. וַיִּסָּב 1 Chro. 20, 3 for וַיִּסָּב, וַיִּסָּב. If the last rad. is at the same time a gutt. *Qal* and *Hif.* are identical in form accord. to §. 78, as *וַיִּסָּב* from *וַיִּסָּב*, whereas *וַיִּסָּב* maintains itself, *Qal* from *וַיִּסָּב*. — *c*) From לָ' the last vowel very regularly falls away (§. 290, c) and indeed without any further changes in *Nif.*, as *וַיִּקָּר* from *וַיִּקָּר*, in *Pi.* and *Hif.* *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר*, but in *Qal* and *Hif.*, the final syllables with two consonants which thus arise may indeed remain in the nearest pronunciation if the last cons. is a mute, as *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר*, although *e* is often found for the *ǐ* of *Qal* accord. to §. 46, as *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר*; but in other cases the *ǐ* must be heard before the last cons. accord. to §. 29, which can also intrude before a mute, thus *Qal* *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר*, or rather (especially when without *י*) *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר* *Hif.* accord. to §. 45. From *וַיִּקָּר* *Qal* — from *וַיִּקָּר* or *וַיִּקָּר* *Qal* only 2 Kgs. 9, 33, every where else *וַיִּקָּר*, *Hif.* — from 1 rad. gutt. *וַיִּקָּר* *Qal* accord. to §. 209, c; from *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר* *Qal* and *Hif.* *וַיִּקָּר*, *וַיִּקָּר*.*

1 pers. *Qal* אָעֲנֶה, *Hif.* אֶעֱנֶה, but both shortened נָעַן; from אָהָה: *Qal* נִיָּאָה Js. 41, 25. cf. §. 75; from הִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה §. 236 נִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה §. 98 the short *a* remaining in the verb; — from יָהִיָּה: יָהִי, נִיָּהִי, נִיָּהִי as in §. 290, *c*; from 2 rad. gutt. שָׁעָה, תָּעָה, פָּעָה: *Qal* נִשְׁעָה, נִפְעָה, נִתְעָה, *Hif.* נִשְׁעֵת, נִפְעֵת; from רָאָה *to see*, *Qal* נִרְאָה, נִפְרָא, but the 3 pers. sg. msc. of this very common word is still more shortened נִרְאָה accord. to §. 85, on the contrary the rarer נִרְאָה from דָּאָה *to fly* remains; *Hif.* is the same in form as *Qal* נִרְאָה. The later writers only gradually restore the full ending הֶה in all לָהֶה, it is very rare in the early period 1 Sam. 1, 7. — On the other hand, א as 3 rad. always keeps the vowel lengthening it in a simple syllable and accenting it §. 85, as נִיָּאָה, נִפְרָא, נִשְׁעָה, נִפְעָה, נִתְעָה, נִרְאָה, נִפְרָא. — Concerning the pausal forms נִרְאָה, נִפְרָא see §. 133.

2) The terminations of the persons are shortened nearly in the same way as in §. 290, 2; הֶה and הֶה are almost always without הֶה, and in 1 Sam. 31, 2. Jer. 9, 2. *Hif.* is even still further shortened into נִרְאָה; the inserted vowels are generally wanting before הֶה, as נִרְאָה, נִפְרָא, נִשְׁעָה, נִפְעָה, and הֶה by itself is often written (and perhaps pronounced shorter) for this הֶה, which is otherwise very rare Ez. 3, 20.

3) The reduplication of the *v* of the 3 pers. msc. ceases if it has no vowel §. 119; hence this *v* can coalesce anew with the *v* which is 1 rad., as נִיָּאָה *Piel* for נִיָּאָה Nah. 1, 4. Lam. 3, 33. 53. But the א of the 1 pers. sg. never suffers reduplication, so that the preceding vowel becomes long in a simple syllable (§. 120), as נִיָּאָה. It is only very seldom that the verbal stem occurs just as much shortened after this הֶה as in the other persons, as נִרְאָה Nu. 23, 4: Gen. 24, 46: as after this very strong vowelsyllable הֶה the following one is seldom accented, the tone therefore remains on the latter of two succeeding syllables, as נִרְאָה *Hif.* Lev. 26, 13. Dt. 29, 4. נִרְאָה Jer. 32, 10. Jos. 14, 7, also נִרְאָה, נִרְאָה Gen. 24, 47. Dt. 10, 5. Jdgs. 6, 9. Zach. 4, 8 and נִרְאָה *Qal* 6, 1. 1 Kgs. 3, 22; nay the full form sometimes returns again in the last syllable, as נִרְאָה Ez. 20, 14. Dan. 8, 27 beside the more common נִרְאָה; and even the *d*, which is so often attached to the first pers. §. 293 begins to attach itself here ¹⁾, as נִרְאָה Gen. 32, 6, and more frequently afterwards. All this does not occur in the 1 pers. *pl.*; it exceedingly rare for that הֶה to be attached to this form also, as Gen. 41, 11 (as even to the *second* pers. in Ez. 23, 20).

- 1) Manifestly according to the connexion of the persons §. 295; but not because the whole form of the imperf. originally proceeded from the jussive and cohortative, but merely on account of the external relationship of the sounds; the הֶה too has an actually different force here, as it *refers* to the past, like the Greek augment at the beginning.

Only very seldom and in poetry is the imperf. thus modified as to form put alone without the הֶה, the Poet omitting the copula in exalted diction; thus נִרְאָה Ps. 18, 12 for נִרְאָה which is found 2 Sam. 22, 12; נִרְאָה (pausal form for נִרְאָה) Dt.

32, 18 (even placed after it) *Hif.* from שָׁוָה = שָׁוָה, תִּשְׁוֶה; השָׁוָה Ps. 90, 3. The Greeks use their imperfect in the same manner without the augment.

It is to be observed that בָּה may also produce the same shifting of the tone and consequent modification of the form as בֵּ, as בִּיה־יִגַּל Ps. 21, 2.

298 *Vav conseq. perfecti.* As the tone leans as much as possible to the end, the copula is pronounced here quite short, as ׀; but the change in the tone of the word can only be very weakly and irregularly expressed, for the tone can only descend lower in those forms which have an unaccented last syllable. Therefore 1) the toneless personal terminations which begin with *consonants* receive the tone; but the weaker ending ׀ of the 1st pl. is too weak to take it (Ex. 8, 23) so that this change only affects the 2nd msc. sg. תִּה and the 1st sg. דִּהי. The accented vowel of the penult looses the tone therefore, and if it was long by tone it is shortened, the foretone *á* in the third syllable (§. 65) remains nevertheless in this slight shifting of the tone. Thus וְכַחֲבֹהֶה, with intransitive וְכַחֲבֹהֶה from כָּחַבְהִי; on the contrary וְהִצְלִיחַ with a simple Vav without this power, Ps. 86, 13. In לָהֶּ and לָּא however the tone very often remains on the penult, because it ends in a strong vowel, and indeed it is regularly on the penult in *Qal*, as וְכַחֲבֹהֶה (cf. however וְהִצְלִיחַ Lev. 24, 5. וְכַחֲבֹהֶה Gen. 6, 18. 1 Sam. 20, 19) not so often in the longer stems, cf. however 1 Sam. 15, 30. Js. 8, 17. — The toneless personal terminations which begin with *vowels*, as תִּה 3 fem. sg. and תִּה 3 pl. receive the tone, but not constantly, as the vowel of the penult is often too strong; thus in *Hif.* of a strong verb וְהִכְתִּיבֶה or וְהִכְתִּיבֶה Ex. 26, 33 cf. Ex. 43, 24, especially in the לָהֶּ and לָּא accord. to §. 285 *b*, as וְנָהָה Js. 11, 2. 11. וְנָהָה Hab. 1, 8. — In pause וְכַחֲבֹהֶה, וְנָהָה etc. see §. 132.

299 This hurrying of the pronunciation at the beginning of a word also influences the change of the vowels themselves in some forms: 1) in *Hitp.* *i* may be used instead of the usual *a* in the penult which looses the tone, as וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתָ Lev. 20, 7. Ez. 38, 23; for it is manifest from §. 257 that *é* at least is primitively in this syllable. — 2) With gutt. *a* is more frequently sounded at the beginning for *e*; thus constantly in *Hif.* from 1 rad. gutt. in complete distinction to the simple perfect §. 275, and with a change of tone at the end, as וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתָ, וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתָ Ez. 35, 13. Ex. 8, 25, sometimes too without such postfixes at the end, as וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתָ Ps. 77, 2. 1 Sam. 2, 19. וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתָ Nu. 24, 17 where ׀ is considered as a gutt. as Nah. 3, 5; without such a cause, *a* is found in the simple perfect only in וְהִתְקַדְּשִׁיתָ Jdgs. 8, 19. This also occurs for the most part (see the contrary 2 Sam. 15, 25) in the *Hif.* of עָ, whenever the tone is shifted more toward

the end from any reason, as **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי**, **יְהִי קִנְיָתִי** (with suff.); and precisely here is the weakening of the *i* before the 3 rad. into *e*, mentioned §. 287, frequent, as **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי**, and the falling out of the inserted vowel is most easy here, as **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי** Jer. 16, 13, even **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי** *Nif.* from **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי** Gen. 17, 11 beside **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי** accord. to §. 228; as also the formation **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי** Jer. 49, 37 is singular in this kind, (*Hif.* from **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי**) in that, at the removal of the inserted vowel, the **י** as 3 rad. immediately coalesces with the **י** of the person.

ON THE PARADIGMS.

All forms of the language are not brought together in the Paradigms, which cannot be done in a small space on account of their great variety, but only the most important and frequent ones, from which the others may be easily supplied. In fact Paradigms should only serve for the repetition and review of the rules after they are already understood.

The weak verbal and nominal forms are severally arranged under the strong ones, to point out their relation to each other and to facilitate the view. By way of rendering their essential peculiarities and their points of difference more prominent, single forms of the varieties are often placed, from which the others may be very easily supplied:

Among the persons of the verb there are these distinctions as to external form and termination: I. in the *perf.* 1) the 3 sg. msc. as a pure stem form; 2) the personal termination which begin with vowels; in the same way as we form **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי**, so must we necessarily form **יְהִי קִנְיָנִי**; 3) the personal terminations which begin with consonants. If there is any thing further in these three classes which is remarkable or different, 2^b) 2^c), etc. are placed; the termination **יְהִי** also belongs to 3^c), — II. In the *imperf.* 1) the persons which end in the last radical. 2) the personal terminations which begin with vowels; 3) the personal terminations which begin with consonants. —

I. Strong

		Q a l			Piel
Perf.		transit.	intransit.		
sg. 3 m.	כָּתַב	¹⁾ כָּתַב	¹⁾ גָּדַל	¹⁾ קָטַן	¹⁾ כָּהַב
- - f.	כָּתְבָה	²⁾ כָּתְבָה	²⁾ גָּדְלָה	²⁾ קָטְנָה	²⁾ כָּהְבָה
- 2 m.	כָּתַבְתָּ	³⁾ כָּתַבְתָּ	³⁾ גָּדַלְתָּ	³⁾ קָטַנְתָּ	³⁾ כָּהַבְתָּ
- - f.	כָּתְבִיתְּ	^{3b)} כָּתְבִיתְּ	³⁾ גָּדַלְתְּ	³⁾ קָטַנְתְּ	^{3b)} כָּהַבְתְּ
- 1.	כָּתַבְתִּי	³⁾ כָּתַבְתִּי	³⁾ גָּדַלְתִּי	³⁾ קָטַנְתִּי	³⁾ כָּהַבְתִּי
pl. 3.	כָּתְבוּ	^{2b)} כָּתְבוּ	^{2b)} גָּדְלוּ	^{2b)} קָטְנוּ	^{2b)} כָּהְבוּ
- 2 m.	כָּתַבְתֶּם	^{3c)} כָּתַבְתֶּם	^{3b)} גָּדַלְתֶּם	^{3b)} קָטַנְתֶּם	^{3c)} כָּהַבְתֶּם
- - f.	כָּתְבִיתֶם	^{3c)} כָּתְבִיתֶם	^{3b)} גָּדַלְתֶּם	^{3b)} קָטַנְתֶּם	^{3c)} כָּהַבְתֶּם
- 1.	כָּתְבוּנִי	³⁾ כָּתְבוּנִי	³⁾ גָּדְלוּנִי	³⁾ קָטְנוּנִי	³⁾ כָּהְבוּנִי

II. Weak

1. פִּי	^{3c)} יִלְדָּהֶם				
2. עֵי	¹⁾ קָם	¹⁾ מָה	¹⁾ בוֹשַׁע		(Pilel
	²⁾ קָמָה	²⁾ מָתָה	²⁾ בוֹשָׁה		קוֹמִים
	³⁾ קָמָתָה	³⁾ מָתָה	³⁾ בוֹשָׁתָה		like Piel
	^{3c)} קָמָתָם	^{3c)} מָתָם	^{3c)} בוֹשָׁתָם		just so
3. עֵע	¹⁾ סָב		¹⁾ רָב		סוֹבֵב
	²⁾ סָבָה		²⁾ רָבָה		or
	³⁾ סָבֹתָה		³⁾ רָבֹתָה		קוֹלָקֵל
	^{3c)} סָבֹתָם				
4. לֵה		¹⁾ גָּלָה			¹⁾ גָּלָה
		²⁾ גָּלְתָה			²⁾ גָּלְתָה
		³⁾ גָּלִיתָ			³⁾ גָּלִיתָ, גָּלִיתָ
		^{2b)} גָּלָה			^{2b)} גָּלָה
		^{3c)} גָּלִיתָם			
5. gutt. pr. rad.	^{3c)} עֲמַדָּהֶם				
sec. rad.	²⁾ זָעַמָה				¹⁾ זָעַם
					²⁾ זָעַמָה
tert. rad.	^{3b)} שָׁלַחְתָּה	שָׁמַע, שָׁמַע			¹⁾ שָׁלַח, שָׁלַח
					^{3b)} שָׁלַחְתָּה
6. לֵא	¹⁾ פָּלַא	¹⁾ צָנַא			¹⁾ פָּלַא, פָּלַא
	³⁾ פָּלְאָתָה	³⁾ צָנְאָתָה			³⁾ פָּלְאָתָה
	^{3b)} פָּלְאָתָה	^{3b)} צָנְאָתָה			^{3b)} פָּלְאָתָה
	^{3c)} פָּלְאָתָם	^{3c)} צָנְאָתָם			^{3c)} פָּלְאָתָם
7. פִּי					

Verb.

Pual	Hitpael	Hif-il	Hof-al	Nif-al
פָּחַב ¹⁾	הִתְפַּחֵב ¹⁾	הִכְתִּיב ¹⁾	הִכְתִּיב ¹⁾	נִכְתַּב ¹⁾
פָּחַחָה ²⁾	הִתְפַּחֲחָה ²⁾	הִכְתִּיבָהּ ²⁾	הִכְתִּיבָהּ ²⁾	נִכְתְּחָה ²⁾
פָּחַחְתָּ ³⁾	הִתְפַּחֲחִיתָ ³⁾	הִכְתִּיבְתָּ ³⁾	הִכְתִּיבְתָּ ³⁾	נִכְתְּחִיתָ ³⁾
פָּחַחְתָּ ^{3b)}	הִתְפַּחֲחִיתָ ^{3b)}	הִכְתִּיבְתָּ ^{3b)}	הִכְתִּיבְתָּ ^{3b)}	נִכְתְּחִיתָ ^{3b)}
פָּחַחְתִּי ^{3c)}	הִתְפַּחֲחִיתִי ^{3c)}	הִכְתִּיבְתִּי ^{3c)}	הִכְתִּיבְתִּי ^{3c)}	נִכְתְּחִיתִי ^{3c)}
פָּחַחוּ ^{2b)}	הִתְפַּחֲחוּ ^{2b)}	הִכְתִּיבוּ ^{2b)}	הִכְתִּיבוּ ^{2b)}	נִכְתְּחוּ ^{2b)}
פָּחַחְתֶּם ^{3c)}	הִתְפַּחֲחֶתֶם ^{3c)}	הִכְתִּיבְתֶּם ^{3c)}	הִכְתִּיבְתֶּם ^{3c)}	נִכְתְּחֶתֶם ^{3c)}
פָּחַחְתֶּן	הִתְפַּחֲחֶתֶן	הִכְתִּיבְתֶּן	הִכְתִּיבְתֶּן	נִכְתְּחֶתֶן
פָּחַחוּ	הִתְפַּחֲחוּ	הִכְתִּיבוּ	הִכְתִּיבוּ	נִכְתְּחוּ

Verbs.

		B. הוֹלִיר A. הִיטִיב etc.	הוֹלִיר etc.	נִוִּלְד etc.
Polal קוּיַם Pual, just	Hitpalel) הִתְקוּיַם Hitpael so	הִקִּים ¹⁾ הִקִּימָהּ ²⁾ הִקִּימָהּ or הִקִּימָהּ, הִקִּימָהּ	הִקִּים ¹⁾ הִקִּימָהּ ²⁾ הִקִּימָהּ ³⁾ הִקִּימָהּ ^{3c)}	נָקַם ¹⁾ נָקַמָהּ ²⁾ נָקַמָהּ ³⁾ נָקַמָהּ ^{3c)}
סוֹבֵב or קָלַקַל	הִסְתַּבֵּב הִתְקַלְקַל	הִסָּב ¹⁾ הִסָּבָה ²⁾ or הִסָּבָה ³⁾	הִסָּב ¹⁾ הִסָּבָה ²⁾ הִסָּבָה ³⁾	נָסַב ¹⁾ or נָסַבָהּ ²⁾ - נָסַבָהּ ³⁾
נָגַלָה ¹⁾ נָגַלְתָּ ²⁾ נָגַלְתָּ ³⁾ נָגַלְתָּ ^{2b)}	הִתְנַגְּלָה ¹⁾ הִתְנַגְּלְתָּ ²⁾ הִתְנַגְּלְתָּ ³⁾ הִתְנַגְּלְתָּ ^{2b)}	הִגָּלָה, הִגָּלָה ¹⁾ הִגָּלְתָּ ²⁾ הִגָּלְתָּ, הִגָּלְתָּ ³⁾ הִגָּלוּ ^{2b)}	הִגָּלָה ¹⁾ הִגָּלְתָּ ²⁾ הִגָּלְתָּ ³⁾ הִגָּלוּ ^{2b)}	נִגָּלָה ¹⁾ נִגָּלְתָּ ²⁾ נִגָּלְתָּ, נִגָּלְתָּ ³⁾ נִגָּלוּ ^{2b)}
		הִעֲמִיד ¹⁾ הִעֲמִידָהּ ²⁾ הִעֲמִידָהּ ³⁾	הִעֲמִיד ¹⁾ הִעֲמִידָהּ ²⁾ הִעֲמִידָהּ ³⁾	נִעֲמִיד ¹⁾ נִעֲמִידָהּ ²⁾ נִעֲמִידָהּ ³⁾
זָרַח ¹⁾ זָרַחָהּ ²⁾	הִזְרַח ¹⁾		הִזְרַחָהּ ²⁾	נִזְרַחָהּ ²⁾
שָׁלַחְתָּ ^{3b)}	הִשְׁתַּלַּח ¹⁾ הִשְׁתַּלַּחְתָּ ^{3b)}	הִשְׁמִיעַ ¹⁾ הִשְׁמִיעָהּ ^{3b)}	הִשְׁמִיעַ ^{3b)}	נִשְׁמִיעָהּ ^{3b)}
פָּלַא ¹⁾ פָּלַאָהּ ³⁾ פָּלַאָהּ ^{3b)} פָּלַאָהּ ^{3c)}	הִתְפַּלֵּא ¹⁾ הִתְפַּלֵּאָהּ ³⁾ הִתְפַּלֵּאָהּ ^{3b)} הִתְפַּלֵּאָהּ ^{3c)}	הִפְלִיא ¹⁾ הִפְלִיאָהּ ³⁾ הִפְלִיאָהּ ^{3b)} הִפְלִיאָהּ ^{3c)}	הִפְלִיא ¹⁾ הִפְלִיאָהּ ³⁾ הִפְלִיאָהּ ^{3b)} הִפְלִיאָהּ ^{3c)}	נִפְלִיא ¹⁾ נִפְלִיאָהּ ³⁾ נִפְלִיאָהּ ^{3b)} נִפְלִיאָהּ ^{3c)}
		הִגִּישׁ etc.	הִגִּישׁ etc.	נִגִּישׁ etc.

<i>Imperf.</i>	Q a l		I. Strong Piel	
	transit.	intransit.		
sg. 3. m.	יִקְחֵב ¹⁾	יִקְדֵּל	יִקְחֵב ¹⁾	יִקְשֵׁן
- - f.	תִּקְחֵב ¹⁾	תִּקְדֵּל	תִּקְחֵב	
- 2 m.	תִּקְחֵב ¹⁾	תִּקְדֵּל	תִּקְחֵב	
- - f.	(יָ) תִּקְחֵבִי ²⁾	(יָ) תִּקְדְּלִי	(יָ) תִּקְחֵבִי ²⁾	
- 1.	אִקְחֵב ^{1b)}	אִקְדֵּל	אִקְחֵב	
pl. 3 m.	(יָ) יִקְחֵבוּ ^{2b)}	(יָ) יִקְדְּלוּ	(יָ) יִקְחֵבוּ	
- - f.	תִּקְחֵבְנָה ³⁾	תִּקְדְּלֵנָה	תִּקְחֵבְנָה ³⁾	
- 2 m.	(יָ) תִּקְחֵבוּ ^{2b)}	(יָ) תִּקְדְּלוּ	(יָ) תִּקְחֵבוּ	
- - f.	תִּקְחֵבְנָה ³⁾	תִּקְדְּלֵנָה	תִּקְחֵבְנָה	
- 1.	נִקְחֵב ¹⁾	נִקְדֵּל	נִקְחֵב	

II. Weak

1. פִּי	A. יִישֵׁב ¹⁾ תִּישְׁבִי ²⁾ תִּישְׁבְּנָה ³⁾	B. יִגְדֵּל ¹⁾ תִּגְדְּלִי ²⁾ תִּגְדְּלֵנָה ³⁾	C. יִאֲמַר (יִאֲכַל)	
2. כֹּף	transit. יִקְוֶם ¹⁾ יִקְוֶמוּ ^{2b)} (יִקְמוּ) ³⁾ תִּקְוֶמוּנָה ³⁾	intransit. יִבּוֹשׁ, יִבֹּשׁ ¹⁾ תִּבְאֵי ²⁾ תִּבְאִינָה ³⁾ (תִּבְאֵנָה)		(Piel) יִקְוֶמוּ like Piel
3. שֹׁב	יִסֵּב ¹⁾ יִסְבוּ ^{2b)} (יִסְבוּ) ³⁾ תִּסְבִּינָה ³⁾	יִבְקַל ¹⁾ תִּבְקְלִי ²⁾ תִּבְקְלִינָה ³⁾		just so יִסְוֶבֶב or יִבְקֻלֶּב
4. לֵה	יִגְלֶה ¹⁾ (יִגְלִינָה) ^{2b)} תִּגְלִינָה ³⁾			יִגְלֶה ¹⁾ תִּגְלִי ²⁾ תִּגְלִינָה ³⁾
5. gutt. pr. rad.	יִחַמֵּד, יִחַמְדֵּר ¹⁾ תִּחַמְדִּי ²⁾ (תִּחַמְדִּי) ³⁾ אִחַמְדֵּר ^{1b)} תִּחַמְדֵּנָה ³⁾	יִחַסֵּר יִחְסֹק ¹⁾ תִּחְסֹקִי ²⁾ (תִּחְסֹקִי) ³⁾ אִחְסֹקֵה ³⁾		
sec. rad.	יִחַלֵּשׁ, יִחַלֵּשׁ ¹⁾ תִּחַלֵּשִׁי תִּחַלֵּשִׁנָה ²⁾			יִחַרְוֶה יִחַרְוֶה ¹⁾ תִּחַרְוִי ²⁾ תִּחַרְוִינָה ³⁾
tert. rad.	יִשְׁלֶה ¹⁾ תִּשְׁלֶהנָה ³⁾			יִשְׁלֶה, יִשְׁלֶה ¹⁾ תִּשְׁלֶהנָה ³⁾
6. לֵא	יִפְלֵא ¹⁾ תִּפְלֵאנָה ³⁾			יִפְלֵא, יִפְלֵא ¹⁾ תִּפְלֵאנָה ³⁾
7. פִּי	יִבֵּשׁ יִבֵּשׁ יִבֵּשׁ	יִבֵּשׁ	like פִּי, not intransit.	

Verb.

Pual	Hitpacl	Hif-āl	Hof-al	Nif-al
יִכְתֹּב ¹⁾	יִתְּכַתֵּב ¹⁾	יִכְתִּיב ¹⁾	יִכְתֹּב ¹⁾	יִכְתֹּב ¹⁾
תִּכְתֹּב	תִּתְּכַתֵּב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב
תִּכְתֹּב	תִּתְּכַתֵּב	תִּכְתִּיב	תִּכְתֹּב	תִּכְתֹּב
(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ²⁾	(יִתְּכַתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ²⁾	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ²⁾	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ²⁾	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ²⁾
אִכְתֹּב	אִתְּכַתֵּב	אִכְתִּיב	אִכְתֹּב	אִכְתֹּב ^{1b)}
(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִתְּכַתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ³⁾
תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּתְּכַתְּבֶנָּה ⁵⁾	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה ³⁾	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה ³⁾	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה
(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ) ¹⁾	(יִתְּכַתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)	(יִכְתְּבוּ) (יִכְתְּבוּ)
תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּתְּכַתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה	תִּכְתְּבֶנָּה
נִכְתֹּב	נִתְּכַתֵּב	נִכְתִּיב	נִכְתֹּב	נִכְתֹּב

Verbs.

		B. יוֹלִיד A. יוֹלִיב etc.	etc. יוֹלֵד	etc. יוֹלֵד ¹⁾ etc. יוֹלֵד ^{1b)}
Polal יִקְוֶה Pual	Hitpacl יִתְּקַוֶּה Hitpacl	יִקְוֶה ¹⁾ תִּקְוֶה ³⁾ תִּקְוֶה ³⁾ (תִּקְוֶה) ³⁾	יִקְוֶה ¹⁾ תִּקְוֶה ²⁾ תִּקְוֶה ³⁾	יִקְוֶה ¹⁾ תִּקְוֶה ²⁾ תִּקְוֶה ³⁾
just	so			
יִסְבֹּב	יִסְתַּבֵּב	יִסְבֹּב ¹⁾ תִּסְבֹּב ²⁾ תִּסְבֹּב ³⁾	יִסְבֹּב ¹⁾ תִּסְבֹּב ²⁾ תִּסְבֹּב ³⁾	יִסְבֹּב ¹⁾ תִּסְבֹּב ²⁾ תִּסְבֹּב ³⁾
o r				
יִקְלַק	יִתְּקַלַּק			
יִגְלֶה ¹⁾ תִּגְלֶה ²⁾ תִּגְלֶה ³⁾	יִתְּגַלֶּה תִּתְּגַלֶּה תִּתְּגַלֶּה	יִגְלֶה ¹⁾ תִּגְלֶה ²⁾ תִּגְלֶה ³⁾	יִגְלֶה ¹⁾ תִּגְלֶה ²⁾ תִּגְלֶה ³⁾	יִגְלֶה ¹⁾ תִּגְלֶה ²⁾ תִּגְלֶה ³⁾
		etc. יִשְׁמֵר	etc. יִשְׁמֵר ¹⁾ תִּשְׁמֵר ²⁾ תִּשְׁמֵר ³⁾	etc. יִשְׁמֵר
יִבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ¹⁾ תִּבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ²⁾	יִתְּבַרֵּה יוֹצֵם ³⁾	יִבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ¹⁾ תִּבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ³⁾	יִבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ²⁾	יִבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ¹⁾ תִּבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ²⁾ תִּבְרֶה יוֹצֵם ³⁾
	יִשְׁתַּלַּח יִשְׁתַּלַּח	יִשְׁתַּלַּח ¹⁾ תִּשְׁתַּלַּח ³⁾		יִשְׁתַּלַּח תִּשְׁתַּלַּח
יִפְלֵא יִפְלֵא ¹⁾ תִּפְלֵא יִפְלֵא ³⁾	יִתְּפַלֵּא ¹⁾ תִּתְּפַלֵּא ³⁾	יִפְלֵא ¹⁾ תִּפְלֵא ³⁾	יִפְלֵא ¹⁾ תִּפְלֵא ³⁾	יִפְלֵא תִּפְלֵא
		etc. יִבְּשֵׁ	etc. יִבְּשֵׁ	etc. יִבְּשֵׁ

I. Strong

Q a l			Piel	
Jussive 3 sg. m.	transit.	1)	intransit.	1)
- 3 et 2 f. pl.		2)		2)
Imperat. sg. m.	כתב	3)	גדל	5) כתב, כתב
- - f.	כתבי, פתבי	4)	גדלי	4) כתבי
- pl. m.	כתבו, פתבו	4)	גדלי	כתבו
- - f.	כתבנה, פתבנה	5)	גדלנה	5) כתבנה
Cohort. 1 sg.	אכתב	6)	אגדל	6) אכתבנה
Vav cons. imp.				
3 sg. m.	ויתב	7)	וידל	7) ויתבנה
Vav cons. perf.				
2 sg. m.	ותבת	8)	וגדל	ותבתה

II. Weak

1. פ"י	A. יצק, רש; יצקי	B. גר, גרה 5)	לדי 4)	לדנה 5)	וגדר 7)
	ויצב; ויצר				
2. ע"ף and	יקם 1)	יסב			
3. ט"ע	יקמנה 2)	סב			
	קם 3)	סבי			
	קמני 4)	סבינה			
	קמנה, קמנה 5)	אסבה			
	אקמנה 6)	ויסב			
	ויקם 7)				
4. ל"ה	ירב, ירב; גלה 5)	יגל, יגל 1)	גלי 4)	גלה 5)	וגל 1)
	גלינה 5)	אגלה 6)		גלינה 5)	וגל 5)
	וגל, וגל 7)	like 1)		וגל	וגלית
	וגלית 8)				
5. Gutt.	עמד, אמר, חזק 5)				
1. Rad.	עמד, אמרי, חזק 4)				
2. Rad.	עם 5)	עמי 4)			
3. Rad.	שלח 5)	שלחי 4)			7) וישלח 5) שלח
6. ל"א	קרא 5)				1) ירא etc.
7. פ"ז	נצר, גש, חנ, חנה 3)				
	נצרי, גשי, חני 4)				

Verb.

Hitpacl
like Piel,
besides cf.
§. 29 1 ff.

Hif-il
1) יִכְתֹּב
2)
3) יִכְתֹּב
4) יִכְתֹּבוּ
5) יִכְתֹּבוּ
6) יִכְתֹּבוּ
7) יִכְתֹּב
וְיִכְתֹּב

Nif-al
1)
2)
3) יִכְתֹּב
4) יִכְתֹּבוּ
5) יִכְתֹּבוּ
6) יִכְתֹּבוּ
7) וְיִכְתֹּב, וְיִכְתֹּב
8) וְיִכְתֹּב

Verbs.

7) וְיִכְתֹּב; וְיִכְתֹּב	
1) יִכְתֹּב 2) יִכְתֹּבוּ 3) יִכְתֹּב 4) יִכְתֹּבוּ 5) יִכְתֹּבוּ 6) יִכְתֹּבוּ 7) יִכְתֹּב 8) וְיִכְתֹּב	5) יִכְתֹּב 4) יִכְתֹּבוּ 5) יִכְתֹּבוּ
1) יִכְתֹּב 2) יִכְתֹּבוּ 3) יִכְתֹּב 4) יִכְתֹּבוּ 5) יִכְתֹּבוּ 6) יִכְתֹּבוּ 7) יִכְתֹּב 8) וְיִכְתֹּב	1) יִכְתֹּב 2) יִכְתֹּבוּ 3) יִכְתֹּב 4) יִכְתֹּבוּ 5) יִכְתֹּבוּ 6) יִכְתֹּבוּ 7) יִכְתֹּב 8) וְיִכְתֹּב
8) וְיִכְתֹּב	
3) יִכְתֹּב	7) וְיִכְתֹּב
7) וְיִכְתֹּב 3) יִכְתֹּב	5) יִכְתֹּב
1) יִכְתֹּב etc.	1) יִכְתֹּב etc.

III. VERB WITH SUFFIXES.

300 As the object (the accusative) is put after the verb in the ordinary arrangement, the personal pronouns have accordingly very regularly attached themselves closely to the verbal persons when they follow as accusative; for these little words thus subordinated as to the idea, have also externally not maintained themselves independent, but have attached themselves so closely to the verb that *one* tone holds this new combination together, v. §. 211. These *suffixes*, however, are not so closely and necessarily attached to the verb as to the noun §. 420 ff.; hence they are not so much shortened as the latter. — Moreover, every suffix cannot be attached to every person; this connexion is only possible when the subject contained in the verb is different from the object. For if subject and object are the same person, reflexive verbs are formed §. 240. 242, or, when the object is to be rendered more prominent than it is in such verbal stems. שׁוּׁל *soul* = *self* is united with the personal pronoun, cf. farther the Syntax.

301 I. All suffixes, and those of the verb still more than those of the noun, are more loosely attached than the signs of the persons §. 281 ff. They are therefore shorter than the pronouns when standing alone, but are still so strong, that the tone, which leans originally to the end of the word §. 33, can never go back entirely from them to the verb. Very few, and in the verb especially, are shortened to a mere vowel; those however which begin with a consonant are never *closely* attached to the preceding syllable (as in §. 287) but always *loosely*, and therefore with an affix-vowel ¹⁾ which may, according to circumstances, be very much compressed, or more lengthened, and which may even become a full vowel §. 62. For when a weak suffix looses the tone, it, the tone, goes back upon this vowel sound which floats between the verb and suffix, by which a full vowel arises in that place.

This accented *intermediate sound* is originally indeed an *a-e* (i) that is, the affix-vowel which becomes a mere fragmentary vowel in Hebrew when without the tone, but, when with it, appears as a full vowel again; but the all powerful change of the vowels in the tenses §. 268 has still so great an influence at the end of the verb, that *a* only remains in the *perf.* but in the *imperf.* is changed to *e* ²⁾, after the same manner as these vowels change at the end of the stems of שׁוּׁל §. 279. This same change of vowels also takes place with other suffixes, where the vowel before the consonant is radical (שׁוּׁל, שׁוּׁל).

- 1) Every thing goes to prove that this union-vowel was originally \check{a} - \check{z} , as it is still found in the noun, though not so often as \acute{e} §. 406.
- 2) Yet very rarely e also in the *perf.* Jes. 8, 11 (Jos. 2, 18); moreover, on מִן see below.

Concerning another way by which the accented affix vowels lengthens itself by an inserted $-u$, see §. 306.

The suffixes are thus shortened:

1. *Third pers.* 1) *sg. msc.* from הָיָה it is always shortened 302 to הָיָ or הָיָ without the tone, but may be also contracted to הָי , \check{a} - u coalescing in \acute{o} with expulsion of the aspirate §. 54. 82; even הָיָ however may be written for this $-\acute{o}$ accord. to §. 153, and is frequently so found in certain, especially more ancient, passages, as Num. 23, 8. — 2) The suffix of the *fem. sg.* is derived from $-h\acute{a}$, concerning which cf. §. 449, but always toneless, הָיָ , הָיָ $\acute{e}ha$ with a sharp \acute{e} before the gutt.; instead of the concurrence הָיָ $\acute{a}ha$ however, הָיָ $\acute{a}h$ is used always without exception, and even sometimes for that הָיָ , which $\acute{a}h$ is a shortening of that original and general $\acute{a}ha$. — 3) In the *pl. msc.* and *fem.*, הָיָ and הָיָ are indeed the basis; but as the gutt. $ה$ easily becomes vocalic, they become first toneless, in such a manner that the affix-vowel accommodates itself to the gutt., as הָיָ , but this is then almost regularly contracted into הָיָ , fem. הָיָ (see §. 421). It is to be observed, however, that the Poets have often retained the more original form הָיָ for הָיָ on account of its sweeter cadence; only in Ex. 15, 5 הָיָ after \acute{u} , for $m\acute{o}$, in the word הָיָ 3 pl. imperf. Piel with the suffix.

2. כ is found as a firm consonant for ח in the *second pers.* of all suffixes, concerning which cf. §. 449; — 1) *sg. msc.* הָיָ more rarely הָיָ accord. to §. 153; still accented, but yet shortened once (Hos. 4, 6 *K'tib*, even written remarkably הָיָ) to $-\acute{a}k$, the vowel getting before the cons. §. 60, as constantly happens in Aramaic. — 2) *fem. sg.* הָיָ , but without the tone הָיָ which form is only found complete in the later writers Ps. 137, 6 cf. 2 Kgs. 4, 7. Jer. 11, 15. Ps. 103. 3. 4. 116, 19; the vowel at the end has usually intruded before the cons., as הָיָ §. 60. — 3) *pl. msc.* and *fem.* הָיָ , הָיָ , constantly with a very strong tone, so that the preceding fragmentary vowel is compressed as much as possible.

3. *First pers.* The suffix from the *sg.* הָיָ is always הָיָ , and from the *pl.* הָיָ always הָיָ , הָיָ both toneless.

From this are deduced two distinctions of all suffixes:

- 1) Suffixes which begin without a full vowel; הָיָ , הָיָ , הָיָ ; all others begin with a full vowel. — 2) But

being the original and important sound in it, is properly speaking nearer to these vocalic endings, and the *a* follows the example of those vowels, but merely carries the *t* along with it: the most important consequence of which is, that this *á* always endeavours to retain the tone, and only gives it up when forced to do so by heavy suffixes; and the next consequence is, that the intermediate vowel disappears here also, so that the suffix which otherwise attaches itself by this affix vowel, is now attached quite naked without it to that *át* which remains sharp and accented.

The verbs לָּ , as they end with vowels, form a peculiar class, concerning which see §. 310.

The weak vowel of the cohortative וָּ §. 293 f. never finds a place between the suffix and verb, so that this formation entirely ceases here. Its force may in a manner be expressed by the particle נָּ , concerning which see §. 448.

According to all this, the several suffixes are attached to 305 the several persons of the verb in the following manner:

1) *Suffixes of the third pers.* 1) וָּ *sg. msc.* is attached *a*) to the third rad. in the *perf.* without change, and in the *imperf.* is changed to וָּ ; the contraction וָּ or וָּ however is often found in the *perf.* whereas in the *imperf.*, which is generally partial to longer forms, it is much rarer, as וָּ Hos. 8, 3. Ps. 35, 8. 1 Sam. 18, 1 *Ktib*, 21, 14. Koh. 4, 12. — *b*) To vowel endings: וָּ , וָּ , וָּ , (Ez. 43, 20 in pause); instead of the last we often find וָּ contracted, and instead of the first וָּ , *u* attaching itself as a semi-vowel to the *i* with expulsion of the aspirate §. 55; but וָּ is never contracted, because *u-u* would become *ú* and thus all trace of the suffix would be lost. — *c*) To - *át* - equally without the tone without affix vowel, as וָּ , instead of which however we often find the lighter pronunciation וָּ accord. to §. 115.

2) Instead of the nearest form וָּ *fem. sg.* we always find *a*) after the third rad. of the *perf.* וָּ v. §. 302; in the *imperf.* on the other hand, where the affix vowel must be changed, we usually find וָּ , and it is only rarely that the same וָּ remains here too, as in Gen. 37, 33. 2 Chro. 20, 7 ¹). — *b*) To vowel endings, וָּ toneless, as וָּ , וָּ , but instead of וָּ we always find even here וָּ for euphony. — *c*) To - *át* -, constantly וָּ for וָּ accord. to §. 55, the וָּ being still written for distinctness, but being no longer heard as consonant.

1) וָּ is sometimes written וָּ without *Mappiq*, as Ex. 2, 3. Am. 1, 11, that is to say, its guttural pronunciation becomes lost.

3) וָּ and וָּ *pl. msc.* and *fem.* are attached *a*) in this nearest pronunciation to the third rad. in the *perf.* unaltered; in the *imperf.*, וָּ may indeed be used instead, as וָּ , but this is not regularly the case, cf. Ex. 2, 17, 29, 30. Ps. 74, 8. — *b*) The *a* of these suffixes

disappears after the sharp vowels *i*, *u* §. 56; but יָם , יָב are always found even for the *fem.*, because יָי , יָי in the verb would sound as the mere terminations for persons §. 282, cf. Gen. 26, 18. Ex. 2, 17. 1 Sam. 6, 10. With *d*, the vowels coalesce בְּהִתֵּם . — c) As - *ât* - endeavours to retain the tone, even the *d* of the suffixes is shortened by this effort §. 34, the accented *â* forming a simple syllable and becoming at once long, as בְּהִתֵּם .

2. *Suffixes of the second pers.* 1) יָי *sg. msc.* is attached to the third rad. without change; after vowels, it becomes toneless losing its affix-vowel, as בְּהִתֵּם , and is attached in the same way to - *ât* - without the tone and without a distinct fragmentary affix-vowel, as בְּהִתֵּם , thus in a small pause Jer. 22, 26. Ez. 28, 18, in a fuller pause בְּהִתֵּם Job 42, 5. Cant. 8, 5; yet the tone remains also on the *end*, therefore on the rather heavy suffix, out of pause, as בְּהִתֵּם Cant. 8, 5. Job 22, 21. 2) יָי *fem. sg.* is attached a) to the third rad. in the *imperf.* unaltered, as the *e* is at the same time suited to the vocalization of the *imperf.*, as בְּהִתֵּם , but in the *perf.* this *e* is changed for *â* Js. 54, 6. 60, 9 (and in the *participle* when used as the verb Ez. 25, 4) although *e* also remains in בְּהִתֵּם Jdgs. 4, 20, cf. §. 289. This vowel, however, is entirely lost b) after the vowels *i*, *u*, as בְּהִתֵּם , בְּהִתֵּם ; and c) becomes toneless and shortened after - *ât* - בְּהִתֵּם Js. 47, 10 just as בְּהִתֵּם above. — 3) יָי and יָי *pl. msc. and fem.* are attached in the same way as יָי , only that they must always retain the tone, so that this is the only case in which - *ât* - being deprived of the tone must become יָי .

3. *Suffixes of the first pers.* 1) יָי *sg.* is attached to the third rad. in the *perf.* unchanged בְּהִתֵּם , the *a* here before the liquid only appearing *sharpened* in the tone (like יָי above); in the *imperf.* יָי is used instead, though יָי is also sometimes found Gen. 19, 19. 29, 32. Job 9, 18; after *i*, *u*, toneless without affix-vowel בְּהִתֵּם ; but after *a* בְּהִתֵּם ; in the same way בְּהִתֵּם . — 2) יָי *pl.* precisely in the same way, only that, as being a somewhat heavier ending, it has not the sharpened *â* before it, but *â*; in the *imperf.* יָי , very rarely יָי (in Js. 63, 16 for the sake of the *assonance*).

Inasmuch as the *second pers. fem. sg. perf.* ends in *t* before suffixes, it can only be distinguished by the *sense* from the *first pers. sg.*, as Cant. 4, 9. Jer. 15, 10; but inasmuch as it proceeds in other places from בְּהִתֵּם , it becomes identical with the *msc.*, as Cant. 5, 9. Jos. 2, 17, 20, 2 Sam. 14, 10; יָי is still found in the *perf.* for יָי Jos. 2, 18.

The *imperative*, which follows the *imperfect* in all respects, follows it also here in regard to the suffixes.

306 The affix-vowel between the suffix and the verb, which is accented and lengthened to a full vowel, may be still further lengthened by a new development, that is, the mere vowel sound may be lengthened to the greater fullness of a sonorous nasal. The possibility of this greater lengthening

and extension between the two connected words, however, arises from the fact, that the suffixes in general are more loosely attached to the verb; for this lengthening of the intermediate sound has never become customary in the noun. It is also evident from this that *n*, as merely proceeding from the intermediate vowel, can never occur before suffixes which can never have an intermediate vowel, that is, before the heavy, accented כֶּכֶּן and כֶּכֶּן and also before the similar ones כֶּכֶּן and כֶּכֶּן . The true nature of this *n* is, that it is sounded כֶּכֶּן after the accented intermediate vowel, so that the toneless syllable of the suffix must be attached to it in the same manner as to the כֶּכֶּן of the *fem. sg.* §. 304, 3. And this is 1) most easy and near before the very weak suffixes of the 1 and 3 *pers. sg.* whose consonants are the weak *n* and *h*. Thus כֶּכֶּן 1 *sg.* where the two כֶּכֶּן which come together, coalesce, sometimes כֶּכֶּן , as *i* is more adapted for the reduplication, but becomes *e* in the tone §. 46 f. Gen. 27, 19. 30, 6. especially in pause Iob 7, 14. 9, 34. Jer. 50, 44; כֶּכֶּן , 1 *pl.* is possible, but is only found with particles, cf. below; but כֶּכֶּן 3 *msc. sg.* and כֶּכֶּן 3 *fem. sg.* (for כֶּכֶּן , כֶּכֶּן as above) are frequent, in which *h* has disappeared after the consonant in such close contact with it, but the consonant has been doubled in compensation accord. to §. 115. It is also to be observed that these and all other lengthenings by means of the nasal are more frequent in the *imperf.* than in the *perf.*, and still more so in pause, Gen. 42, 37. 44, 32. The suffix כֶּכֶּן with reduplication of the כֶּכֶּן is only found, in prose, for the pause, as of itself it is כֶּכֶּן in pause and therefore loses the tone, see §. 131. 134. — 2) The poets, however, go farther: some poets are especially partial to these fuller more sounding forms; they leave those contracted forms complete, as כֶּכֶּן (pause) Ps. 50, 23. כֶּכֶּן 72, 15. כֶּכֶּן (with Dag. len. in כֶּכֶּן) Jer. 22, 24. they attach the toneless suffixes with this *n* even to the vowel endings of the verbs, as כֶּכֶּן Js. 60, 7 (c. כֶּכֶּן §. 305, which is formed precisely so externally) כֶּכֶּן Prov. 1, 28. Ps. 91, 12, instead of which once כֶּכֶּן Iob 19, 2 with a shifting of the tone, in the flow of the sentence (for these poetical forms are usually found in the pause only) and pronounced as if the usual suffix was attached to כֶּכֶּן §. 282; and since כֶּכֶּן does not sound well after the termination *-ûn* (it is never found), *n* is even put here before the contracted and alway necessarily accented *-ô*, from *dhu* §. 302, as כֶּכֶּן Prov. 5, 22, besides which we once even find כֶּכֶּן (imperat. Qal, curse him) Num. 23, 13.

III. Effects of the attachment of these suffixes upon 307

the preceding syllable of the verb. As either a new accented syllable is added by the suffixes, or at any rate, a syllable receives the tone which had not it before, the vocalization of the verb undergoes various changes according to the laws of the tone, besides the general result that the foretone vowel §. 36 ff. always disappears and that the vowel of the penult, which was before long by tone, becomes short in a compound unaccented syllable, as רָבָהּ (a bold expression of poetry *potui* i. e. *vici eum*) Ps. 13, 5. from the intrans. רָבָהּ. These changes are for the most part the same as those produced by accented signs of the persons, and much that has been remarked §. 283-89 holds also here; there are, however, some peculiarities:

1. In the *perf. Qal*, the stemvowel remains before the full and strong syllable of the suffix accord. to §. 65, that is, it becomes long in a simple syllable, as רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ, although the latter is רָבָהּ without suffix, intrans. רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ, and even before the appoggiatural sound of the weaker הָ; as רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ, but before the compressed appoggiatural sound of the absolutely heavy suffixes, רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ,

308 2. The other *perfects* and all *imperfects* have an immoveable syllable before the last, so that the last syllable only can undergo changes ¹⁾; and even that only when it has mutable vowels. The short or accented vowel, namely, disappears here entirely before the full vowel which the suffix brings with it, as רָבָהּ from רָבָהּ or רָבָהּ *Piel*; *ó* however (from the imperf. *Qal*) maintains itself here still more than in §. 285, seldom as *ú* Prov. 14, 3, frequently in the shortest *o*, as רָבָהּ Jer. 31, 33. but always only in pause. The vowel before the appoggiatural vowel of הָ, however, does not always remain in a simple syllable after the firm syllable at the beginning (§. 62), so that the appoggiatural vowel is distinctly heard: the nearest sound *a* only is constantly separated, as רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ Job 38, 3. Cant. 8, 2 from רָבָהּ, seldom *e*, as רָבָהּ *Piel* Prov. 4, 8 (var. lect.) the rule is rather that *e* cannot maintain itself long, so that the appoggiatural vowel is compressed, as רָבָהּ Dt. 30, 3. רָבָהּ (*Jussive Hif.*) 32, 7, and still shorter רָבָהּ (v. §. 62) Job 16, 5; רָבָהּ *perf. Piel* with *a* accord. to §. 274 but *imperf.* always רָבָהּ; and constantly with *o*, as רָבָהּ from רָבָהּ; and before the heavy suffixes רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ the short vowels are always necessary, as רָבָהּ. If the first rad. is a guttural, not only the *a* maintains itself before הָ but also the *e* in a simple syllable, as רָבָהּ, רָבָהּ *imperf. Qal*, רָבָהּ *imperf. Piel*, as *e* can separate itself according to what is above stated; but as the vowels must become short before רָבָהּ, the guttural

changes the *ě* also in its syllable into *ǎ*, as אֲשַׁלְחֶם, אֲשַׁלְחֶם, but always with a loose syllable accord. to §. 168. As the suffixes are always much more loosely attached than the signs of the persons, the *נ* of נָהֵן is not contracted with the following mute as in §. 287, as נָהֵן; and in עָץ the thick mass of double consonants remains also unresolved before הָ (as at the end of the word §. 118) after the *o* or *e* which is of itself disposed to be short, as יִסְבֶּה from יִסָּב, in the same way קָבְנוּ §. 306. Such a double consonant must indeed become distinctly audible before a real vowel; but even then, *o* sometimes remains instead of *u*, contrary to §. 47, *e*, as סָבְנוּ from סָבָה imperat. Jer. 50, 26. Hab. 2, 8, and often in derivatives from הָן (to be gracious); the perfectly resolved form הִתְנַחֲנִי (be gracious to me) imperat. Qal is also sometimes found here, Ps. 9, 14. Jer. 49, 28, וְשָׁדַדְם (for וְשָׁדַדְם) imperf. Qal Jer. 5, 6, and in Ps. 118, 11 we find both forms together, where the second is manifestly more emphatic, as סָבְנוּ נִיבְסָבְנוּ they surrounded me yea they encompassed me about.

- 1) The vowel which was expelled in the last syllable in the imperf. Qal, however, sometimes presses forward to the preceding consonant in a remarkable way, and obtains there a firmer support. This only happens with *o*, the vowel which in general is most difficultly expelled §. 58. 62, and again only before הָ, the fragmentary vowel before the weaker suffix thus maintaining itself at the same time open and distinct, as יִהְיֶה (may he be gracious to thee) for יִהְיֶה Gen. 43, 29. Js. 20, 19. יִהְיֶה (he has fellowship with thee) for יִהְיֶה Ps. 94, 20; this only happens after a full vowel and, as it appears, only when a guttural goes before which easily attracts the vowel, as הִתְעַבְדָּם, where *o* has come altogether into the first syllable on account of the gutt., from תַּעֲבֹד Ex. 20, 5. 23, 24. Dt. 5, 9; on the other hand תַּעֲבֹדְם from pl. תַּעֲבֹדוּ. Here also belongs the new formation before suffix תֹּאכְלֶה t'ok-léhu Job 20, 26 from imperf. Qal, although without suffix it is תֹּאכַל.

The *a* which disappears may remain as foretone before a compound, or, which is the same in effect, an accented penult acc. to §. 41, and indeed even out of pause, as וְשָׁחַתְם 2 Kgs. 10, 14 from וְשָׁחַתְהוּ, sg. וְשָׁחַתְהוּ Gen. 19, 19 from וְשָׁחַתְהוּ; also especially before *a*, as we always find וְשָׁחַתְהוּ Gen. 37, 15. 17; and וְשָׁחַתְהוּ are to be remarked in which it always occurs, cf. the forced shorter pronunciation תֹּאכְלֶה §. 285.

3. The imperf. follows the imperf. in all respects §. 305. 309 In Qal, however, where the first rad. is vowelless, the *o* which is expelled from the 2nd always comes forward to the first §. 62, as פָּתְחִי, פָּתְחִי from פָּתַח, but הִבְלִי with *a* from הִבֵּל on account of the gutt. Prov. 27, 13; *a*, on the other hand, always maintains itself in its place accord. to §. 39 as foretone immediately before the tone, becoming long in a

simple syllable, as מְשִׁיחָה , שִׁמְעָנִי , אֶלְלֵה , אֶחָדְךָ from מָשַׁח etc. In the same way שִׁמְעָה , קָחְנָה , but תָּקַחְנָה from תָּקַח §. 291.

310 Lastly, the roots ל"ה have special peculiarities as to the attachment of these suffixes. Since their last syllable ends in a vowel, and indeed with the weak *é* and the easily expelled *a*, this vowel is lost before the suffix, whether beginning with a vowel or only with an appoggiatural vowel, just as easily as before the terminations of the persons which begin with vowels §. 286, as בְּרָכְנִי , מְרָכְנִי , אֶרְכְּךָ from בָּרַךְ , מָרַךְ , אָרַךְ *imperf.* *Piel* 1 Sam. 21, 14 and the 1st pers. *sg.* of the same אֶרְכֶּנִּי Ex. 33, 3, *e* intruding for *a* at the beginning accord. to §. 275 *nt.* ¹⁾; but since the suffix is always more loosely attached, and especially in the verb, than the termination for the person, that vowel still remains sometimes, so that the suffix is attached to it in the same way as to other vocalic endings §. 304; for this too the tense-vowels of ל"ה §. 279 suit very well to §. 301 at the same time; thus in the *perf.* בָּרַכְתָּ , מָרַכְתָּ , אָרַכְתָּ Jer. 23, 37 for בָּרַכְתָּ ; as רָחַם can certainly be shortened to רָחַם on a suitable occasion accord. to §. 302; *imperf.*, in which the *é* becomes long in a new simple syllable, רַחֲמֵנִי *Piel*, אֶרְחֶמְךָ *Hif.* Dt. 32, 26, רַחֲמֵנִי *imperat. Hif.* from רָחַם 1 Kgs. 20, 35 ²⁾. In the 3 pers. *fem. sg. perf.* the suffix is not attached to the longer form בָּרַכְתָּ , but to the shorter and older one בָּרַכְתָּ §. 286 whose last syllable follows the usual - *át* - in all §. 304 respects, as the vowel as third rad. always yields very easily, as בָּרַכְתָּ Job 33, 4.

- 1) It is to be observed that the suffixes may be attached without the tone to gutturals also in the same way as to vocalic endings; thus in the *imperat.*, which is generally prone to shortening, רַחֲמֵנִי *smite them* Am. 9, 1, קַחֲמֵנִי *take them then* Gen. 48, 9.
- 2) יִרְחֶמְנִי Job 3, 25 according to the rarer poetical formation v. §. 286; of this formation is also אֶרְחֶמְךָ *Piel* (*I wet thee!* fem.) Js. 16, 9 from רָחַם , *Piel* רָחַם or accord. to §. 93 רָחַם , the *a* of this *ai* easily retaining the tone accord. to §. 286, and the suffix רַחֲמֵנִי being able in case of need to become toneless here also as elsewhere; only a *h* has intruded before *e* instead of the second *h* of אֶרְחֶמְךָ according to a peculiarity of the roots ל"ה §. 222.

View of the Suffixes to the Verb.

I. to the Perf.

[illegible]

II. *to the Imperf.*[illegible]

a in the last syllable: וְהָיָה 1) וְהָיָה 2) וְהָיָה 3)
וְהָיָה; וְהָיָה 2) וְהָיָה 3) — *e* in
the last syllable: וְהָיָה 1) וְהָיָה 2) וְהָיָה 3);
וְהָיָה; וְהָיָה 2) וְהָיָה 3) — *i* or *it* in the last syllable:
Hif. 1) וְהָיָה 2) וְהָיָה 3) וְהָיָה; with gutt.
וְהָיָה, וְהָיָה.

SECOND SECTION.

FORMATION OF NOUNS.

1. NOMINAL STEMS.

311 The noun represents the idea not as in motion, active or passive, but as at rest and independent. This, however, may be conceived in two ways. The noun either represents the inert idea perfectly independent, as a mere idea, that is, as a substantive, which is the direct opposite of the verb, or as a predicable, i. e. predicating something of a thing, referring the idea of the action to it, which is therefore nearer to the verb and always proceeds from its idea. Proper names, however, that is, conventionally established names for concretes

e. g. *man*, *heaven*, *day*, are always borrowed either from a substantive or from a predicable.

Very many special distinctions and further developments ³¹² of the meaning may, however, be added to this fundamental distinction of nouns, as the noun in general, because it expresses an individual thing, ramifies into forms much more than the verb. The predicable may be conceived *a*) as predicating of a subject the pure idea of a verbal stem i. e. as *participle*; or *b*) more generally as attributive, *adjective*, either primitive or derived, in which there may be very many special distinctions; *c*) or as a *substantive* arising from an adjective, used of persons. The substantive may be conceived *a*) as *infinitive* expressing the mere idea of the verb, or *b*) as a definite neuter substantive distinct from the verb and independent, as *יְשׁוּעַ* *salvation*, *דְּבַר* *word*, or *c*) as an abstract derived from a verbal or nominal idea, as *יְשׁוּעָה* *salvation*, *צְדָקָה* *righteousness*. To these, many possible accessory modifications may be still added, as that of the intension of an idea, that of the diminutive, that of the instrument or place of an action etc.

So much does the internal formation by means of the ³¹³ different position and nature of the vowel and by the reduction of the radical sounds, predominate here also in Hebrew, that we find very few external affixes in the formation, and the external formation is added rather as the last complement of the internal one. The principal part of the internal formation itself, the change of vowels, runs through three stages: 1) the simplest and most primitive nouns, formed in such a manner from the simple stem that the vowel is after the *first* radical, as *יָקָח*, which, in direct opposition to the verbal formation, express the pure idea of the root as independent i. e. as substantive; compare the simplest nominal formations of the Sanscrit family of languages, as *vox*, *rex*, *fall*, *blow* etc. 2) Words with an originally accented *second rad.*, which therefore stand nearer to the verb, and are either predicables or substantives which are formed from the verb, as the nearest participles (adjectives) and infinitives (verbal substantives). — 3) The newest and last formation with an inserted *long vowel*, which is the strongest distinction for substantives and adjectives as well as for abstracts, and which proceeds from that second formation by a new power. Besides this, the termination of the *fem.* (and in some cases that of the *plural* §. 374) is not unfrequently used either to form the idea of the abstract or to render it more prominent, so that these feminine or plural forms are

also to be enumerated here. Lastly, all rules that hold of the simple stem, hold more or less of the augmented ones and of the roots of more than three sounds also.

314 Only a small part of the simple nominal forms, therefore, are directly opposed to the verbal forms §. 317: the greater part are derived from verbal forms, infinitives and participles standing nearest to them, but substantives and objectives being much more independent. As infinitives and participles in general, however, as intermediate forms between verb and noun, show many peculiarities, the special consideration of them must be reserved till afterwards. §. 348 ff.

315 The more firmly infinitives and participles retain the verbal idea, the more firmly are they connected to their verbal stems, so that the characteristics of the derived verbal stems are preserved in them. But the more they become independent nouns, the more easily are these characteristics lost, as the new formation of the noun becomes as simple as possible, as *עֲשֵׂה* *help*, although it is in the end derived from *הוֹשִׁיעַ* *to help*, *דְּבַר* *speech*, *קִלְקָלָה* *curse* from *קָלַל*, *שְׁבוּעָה* *oath* from *נִשְׁבַּע* *to swear* §. 240, *צִוְוָה* *command* from *צִוָּה* *to command*. Cf. something similar §. 357.

316 It is also dependent on the nature of the noun, according to which it designates what is at rest and permanent, that its vowels receive a greater lengthening; which is not only shown in the derivations of nominal forms from verbal forms, but also in the further flexion of all nouns. The word is not so light, moveable, and pliable here as in the verb, and this lengthening and immoveability increases the more a noun becomes a pure substantive; the infinitives and participles stand in this respect also nearest to the verb on account of their light vocalization. There is also a resemblance in this, that *reduplication* has often established itself in a consonant in the noun, which, however, may be produced by different causes, cf. §. 61.

I. Nouns of the simple stem.

317 1. *First formation of nouns*: its characteristic is the accented but originally short vowel after the first radical, so that the second is properly without a vowel, or only suffers an auxiliary vowel to be faintly heard; which form is the direct opposite of the verb cf. §. 231, and by which the idea of a pure *substantive* arises, whether for more general significations, as *רָצַח* *murder* (war), *הוֹלָה* *duration*, *עֲשֵׂה* *delight*, *גָּדַל* *greatness*, or whether the word is confined in the usage of the language to more definite objects, as *זָבַח* *sacrifice*,

עֶדֶר *herd* prop. row, to which class proper names may also belong, as מֶלֶךְ *king*, עֶבֶד *servant*, יָלֵד *child*, עָלָם *a youth*; a mere adjective, however, can never be expressed by this form, as בְּהִי *foolish one, a youth*, originally signifies *foolishness* as a substantive. This form, as the shortest nominal stem which expresses the mere radical idea as a substantive, may indeed be also simplified in certain words from older longer forms, as יִשׁוּעַ *salvation* from הִישִׁיעַ *Hif. to help*, יָלֵד *child* beside the older and rarer יָלַד Gen. 11, 30, which as adjective corresponds still more nearly to the etymology of the Latin *natus* and the German *kind*, which is from *kin* = *γενν-ω*, but it remains nevertheless the first and nearest nominal form, as to the structure of the language, which is independently opposed to the verb. — The feminine termination, however, is rare except where it has a physical sense by a special signification, as מַלְכָּה *regina*, יְלֵדָה *nata, maiden*, or in short words of weak stems (§. 206), as often in לָהּ.

The characteristic vowel after the first radical changes accord. to §. 205. 248: *á*, or instead of it *é* §. 318 is therefore the nearest, most generally prevalent vowel; *o*, which is by no means rare here, and *e* are peculiar to intransitive and passive ideas, as קִדְּשׁ *holiness*, גָּדַל *greatness*, כָּבֵד *heaviness, burden*, הִפְּעֵץ *delight* which have intransitive verbs corresponding to them; פָּעַל *deed*, אָכַל *food*, אָמַר and אֶמַר *word*, שָׁמַע and שָׁמַע *report* from passive ideas; that most general form is also sometimes found together with one of these two more definite ones, as חָסַר and חָסַר *want*, but usually with a difference of signification. יָנוּחַ *youth* from נָח *young person* is an instance of the derivation of an abstract by *o* from a substantive with *a* ¹).

- 1) The vowels in the termination -*án* §. 341 change in the same way, as יָנוּחַ *widower* and יָנוּחַ *widowhood* derived from it.

The three original forms therefore are בָּהֶב, בָּהֶב, בָּהֶב, *é* and *ó* being caused in the last two instead of *i* and *u* by the tone; these very common words, however, have so constantly assumed an auxiliary *e* in Hebrew accord. to §. 30, that those perfectly monosyllabic words have become very rare even in cases in which their sound would be permitted accord. to §. 29, as קֶשֶׁט *truth* poetical Prov. 22, 21, נָרַד *nard* not so genuinely Hebrew, אָרַד *proper name*. The pronunciations בָּהֶב accord. to §. 45. 127, בָּהֶב, בָּהֶב are used instead; but as soon as ever a postfix is added to the end, this pronunciation, which has arisen for the case of a word standing by itself, ceases, and בָּהֶב-, בָּהֶב-, בָּהֶב- are always found again before accented postfixes, only that *i* has become very prevalent for *a*, especially because the *a* is already changed to *e* in בָּהֶב; see a more particular statement below

- 381 1) *From third rad. gutt.*: פָּרַח, פָּרַט, גָּצַח, לָבַח, גָּבַח accord. to §. 78; the auxiliary *e* generally remains unaltered with א accord. to §. 85, as פָּלַח, הִשָּׁח (הִשָּׁחַ) גָּבַח, דָּבַח, though many begin to loose it, as הִשָּׁח does always; concerning גָּבַח and הִשָּׁח see a little below under the לָח. Before postfixes, א is again sounded as usual.

From *middle rad. gutt.* גָּנַח, שָׁנַח, בָּנַח, קָנַח, שָׁנַח, בָּנַח accord. to §. 78 β. 79, in which case therefore both forms בָּנַח and קָנַח become indistinguishable, as the gutt. expels the original *e* (*i*) after the first rad. also: a few words only with the harder ה still retain the *e* which is a shade of *a* and is always nearer to it, as קָנַח (קָנַח) Jdgs. 5, 30 for assonance), לָנַח; *o*, on the other hand, always maintains itself, as בָּנַח. גָּנַח, פָּנַח in which there is always *a* instead of *e* after the gutt., though we still find אֶתֶּן *tent* always. א however is too weak to support these two vowels on either side of it and to hold them apart, it rather takes the accented vowel to itself accord. to §. 76, and, as it is partial to *e*. *a* becomes *e* in this change, so that the first two forms are identical, as פָּנַח and בָּנַח always become פָּנַח, זָנַח, בָּנַח; *o* on the other hand remains here also, as תָּנַח, תָּנַח. In such syllables, however, א is often easily rendered inaudible accord. to §. 82, 2, so that the pronunciation becomes רָנַח, תָּנַח, though א is retained in the orthography; but we also find הוֹנַח, בּוֹנַח. This א has still continued more or less mutable before postfixes: the changed vocalization has become fixed in many words, especially where א has become quite mute. — It is very rare for the other gutt. besides א to attract the accented vowel to themselves in this manner, v. §. 319.

- 2) From לָח. According to §. 222 *c*, these stems almost always proceed from י or ו as third radical; י however is more frequent. But in this naked condition, where no vowel-sound follows י or ו, they cannot maintain themselves as consonants, but as י and ו, as vowels, sound *i*, *u* accord. to §. 98, the *i* draws the whole vocalization and the tone so strongly to itself, that the original vowel after the first rad. disappears, as פָּרַי for פָּרַי, שָׁנַי, only maintaining itself somewhat firmer, viz. constantly with gutt. as הִלַּי, גָּנַי, then in a very small pause (with the accents of members) as זָרַי and זָרַי Gen. 37, 25. cf. 43, 11 and Ez. 28, 7, seldom otherwise, as גָּנַי Ps. 83, 2; in the proper pause, they all again become פָּרַי, שָׁנַי (even in a smaller pause Ex. 25, 10) הִלַּי, זָרַי accord. to §. 131. The heavier and at the same time rarer ו, on the other hand, always remains toneless, so that we have שָׁנַח (*a* having maintained itself pure here), שָׁנַח

(proper name 1 Sam. 19, 22) בָּהוּ. Before postfixes, however, ה and ו can still become consonants, see below.

Very seldom are the formations derived from the more usual conformation of these roots which is mentioned §. 222, as בָּבְהָ like בָּרָא, only in Ezr. 10, 1 for בָּבְרִי *fletus*, קָצָה *end* Js. 2, 7.

Many words of obscure derivation or great apocopation have nevertheless entirely lost the last vowel which is particularly weak in these roots, and with it the third radical, without its ever returning in the derivations from the greater part of them; thus בָּל (usually בָּלִי) as particle, שָׁד (dual שָׁדַי *breasts*) זֶן *kind* (genus) with the shortest pronunciation; moreover with a rather longer one, בֶּן *son*, שֵׁם *name*, יָד *wood*, יָשׁ particle, רֵעַ *friend* (v. §. 409) אֵל *God*.

3) From עָו (and עִו): a) the form with *a* מָוֶה, מָוֶה, מָוֶה, in which *a* is retained before ו accord. to §. 96, but is lengthened, (not מָוֶה), as *a-u* agree better together than *e-u*, whereas, when the third rad. is a gutt. also, מָוֶה, מָוֶה, as the formation becomes strong again here §. 227; ו however often appears as second rad. here, as מָוֶה, מָוֶה, מָוֶה. It is not at all rare, however, for that form with *a-u* to coalesce regularly in *o* accord. to §. 54, as מָוֶה (קָל Ex. 4, 8), מָוֶה, מָוֶה, *leg*, מָוֶה *light*, מָוֶה, the others with *a-i* do not so often coalesce in *ae*, as מָוֶה poet. Js. 15, 1. 21, 11, מָוֶה or מָוֶה beside מָוֶה, מָוֶה, these do so always מָוֶה, מָוֶה, *lamp*, which *ae* or *e* may then be further reduced to *i* accord. to §. 49, as מָוֶה beside מָוֶה, מָוֶה only in 1 Sam. 21, 9, for מָוֶה particle; cf. מָוֶה *poverty* beside מָוֶה or מָוֶה. — b) The form with *o* (u) must necessarily sound מָוֶה, מָוֶה, *street* accord. to §. 53, as *u-u* would clash together. — c) The form with *e* (i) is not distinct here, and is probably identical with the others, for מָוֶה *judgment*, מָוֶה *song*, מָוֶה *strife* have been formed accord. to §. 245; probably *i* is primitive only in מָוֶה *trembling*, מָוֶה *exultation*, מָוֶה *brightness*, מָוֶה *lime*. — With לָא at the same time, when א becomes so much the more easily mute, מָוֶה with *a* for *ā* accord. to §. 96 (on the contrary מָוֶה), and מָוֶה, concerning which last see farther on. With לָי at the same time, מָוֶה like the form with *a*, in which therefore ו cannot draw the vowel of the word to itself, but becomes a vowel after *o* §. 227.

4) From עָו, always without resolution: a) מָוֶה with a primitive *a*; b) with a primitive *e* (i) מָוֶה accord. to §. 46, or somewhat longer מָוֶה; c) מָוֶה, מָוֶה *strength*, later writers only write מָוֶה instead. — We are not to confound with these many forms of עָו whose second rad. might easily be resolved with the 3rd in this formation acc. to §. 113: מָוֶה *nose* for מָוֶה, מָוֶה *palate*, מָוֶה *goat*, whose ו never returns in the progress of formation. מָוֶה *man* is lengthened

from שֵׁשׁ by a still greater deviation and with a complete loss of the original reduplication of the שֵׁ §. 48; its fem. however is still regular שֵׁשֶׁת *woman* with redupl. of the שֵׁ; in the more isolated *pl.*, however, the שֵׁ has been preserved אֶשְׁשִׁים: אֶשְׁשִׁים is only a late and rare *pl.* formed anew from that אֶשֶׁת Js. 53, 3, cf. farther §. 369.

י as 2nd and 3rd rad.: יָרָה or יָרָה acc. to §. 96; in the same manner from י in the nearest form with *a*, יָרָה *homage*, יָרָה *sufficiency*, יָרָה *water* whose plural only is found §. 374; this *ai*, although the *i* in it is originally double, has also been softened in others into *ae* and in tone to *é* after the manner of the יָרָה §. 95 f. 222, as יָרָה *small cattle*, יָרָה *mouth* 1), as also that יָרָה can not only be changed into יָרָה accord. to the above Zach. 14, 4 but also into יָרָה after this manner Js. 40, 4. Lastly, this *ae* (*é*) may be reduced to *i* acc. to §. 49. as is the case in יָרָה *ship* (on the contrary יָרָה *desert* for יָרָה §. 323), יָרָה *coast* (on the other hand יָרָה *howler*, proper name, for יָרָה) יָרָה *ruins* (for יָרָה see below §. 409).

1) Cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* I. §. 442.

- 319 Except the words which draw the essential vowel from the first to the second rad. on account of their radical sounds, there are only a very few isolated ones which *have the tone-vowel thrown back*, which is a poorer pronunciation and necessary in Aramaic: thus *a*) with *a* יָרָה as particle *a little*, the gutt. is also to be observed, יָרָה poetical, Ps. 18, 26 for יָרָה *man*, יָרָה (for יָרָה §. 96) *winter*, יָרָה from יָרָה accord. to §. 54 *ink*, יָרָה (*a bush*) accord. to §. 222 for יָרָה, יָרָה *sap*, יָרָה *marsh*; — *b*) with *é*, יָרָה *shoulder* in which *é* has remained in tone which is very rare against §. 46, יָרָה *honey* in which it has been changed into *à* §. 46, יָרָה *belly*; — *c*) with *o* יָרָה *cluster* in which *e* is assumed at the beginning accord. to §. 112; — sometimes in יָרָה, which may thus become resolved: יָרָה.

- 320 Very rarely is this shortest formation somewhat lengthened in this manner, that after the first rad. the second is pronounced with the nearest tonevowel, with *a*: thus in a word which has the, in itself, heavier *o* at the beginning, and gutt. at the end, קָרָה or קָרָה *helmet*, cf. 409.

- 321 2. *Second kind of formation*: whose characteristic is *the accented distinguishing vowel belonging to the second rad.* These formations show by this at once that they run parallel with the verb, as the accentuation of the second rad. distinguishes the verb §. 231; and in fact all the forms belonging to this class are most intimately connected with the verbal forms, and are rendered possible by them. And as the verb as tense always divides itself into two great halves, perf. and imperf., accordingly, from the *perf.* as the tense which signifies what is finished, existing, experienced, the noun *adjective* proceeds, which expresses what is visible

certain in things, their manifest qualities; but from the *imperf.* as the conception of what is unfinished, what is only *thought*, is derived the noun *abstract*, which gives the pure idea by itself as a thought; or, to speak more accurately, the *participle* is derived from the *perf.* and the *infinitive* from the *imperf.* The change of vowels which belongs to those two fundamental divisions of the verb §. 269, therefore, returns here again; but with this distinction, that the vowels become longer here according to the general nature of the noun §. 316, and especially in the adjective, which denotes the inherency and permanency of the quality; and secondly, that the noun is split even here into very manifold divisions, and ramifies into many possible forms.

1) The *adjectives* are formed not only with the accented *a*, *e*, *o* after the shorter vowels of the verb §. 249, but also with the immutably long *ā* and *ū* accord. to §. 48; which five possible forms have also at the same time nice distinctions of signification appropriated to them. The degrees of the length of the five vowels, however, according to the general relation of the vowels, are these, that *a* is always mutable before further flexion, *e* and *o* are more prone to be immutable, and especially *o*, and *ē* and *ū* are always immutable. The first radical in all these five forms has the foretone *a* without distinction accord. to §. 37 (see the contrary §. 325). They are as follows:

a) The form with *a* is originally, indeed, of the most general signification; but as a later more definite form has been appropriated to the adjectives of purely active signification or to the *part. act.* §. 326, accordingly, with the exception of a few remains of earlier date §. 327, this simpler form has the mere adjective signification, as *בָּסָל* *foolish*, *רָשָׁע* *wicked*, *יָשָׁר* *upright*, *חָדָשׁ* *new*, *רָחֵק* *distant* beside the substantives of the first formation *בָּסָל*, *רָשָׁע*, *יָשָׁר*; *חָלַל* *pierced through* cf. *חָלַל* intrans. verb, Ps. 109, 22.

b) The form with *e* is founded more definitely on intransitive ideas, whether the word be in use as a participle or not, as *צָמֵא* *thirsty*, *רָעָר* *hungry*, *שָׂבֵעַ* *satisfied*, *יָבֵשׁ* *dry*, *בָּשָׁל* *boiled*, *אָשָׁם* *guilty*, *אָבֵל* *mourning*, *הָזָה* and *עָרָה* *exhausted*, *רָגֵעַ* *weary*, *עָבֵל* *labouring* = *suffering*, toiling, *שָׁכַח* *obliviscens* (intrans. accord. to §. 250) and has rarely become a substantive, as *עָקֵב* *insidians* accord. to §. 250 = *insidiator* Ps. 49, 6.

c) The form with *o* is indeed founded in the same way on intransitive ideas, but is rather appropriated to adjectives of a *permanent* quality and is thus sensibly distinguished from

the preceding form. It is also in consequence of this signification of an fixed inherent quality and of the nature of the appropriately firmer vowel *o*, that the third rad. is doubled in most of these words before accented postfixes and the *o* thus remains firm before it; hence too the word is pronounced with a more compressed vowel and is written without *ו* even without such postfixes: *גָּזַל* (pl. *גָּזָלִים*) *round*, *נָכַח* *entwined*, *אָרַךְ* *long*, *נָחַק* *deep*, *הָשֵׁךְ* *dark*, *נָחֵק* *sweet*, *נָנֵךְ* *delicate*, *אָזַח* *terrible*, and adjectives of colour *אָזַח*, *גָּבוֹהַ* *high*, (is a rare and late form) *שָׁחַר* *black*, *נָכַח* *straight*. A much smaller number have a pure *o* without reduplication, which in that case becomes very strong and immutable and is generally written with *ו*: *גָּדוֹל* *great*, *קָטִין* *little*, *רָחוֹק* *distant*, *טָהוֹר* *seldom* *טָהוֹר* *pure*, *קָדוֹשׁ* *holy*, *חָבוֹץ* *cruel*, *הָאֲדָמָה* *haughty* Js. 1, 17. The corresponding substantives of the first formation have this *o* very often also: *נָכַח*, *הָשֵׁךְ*, *נָחֵק*, *נָנֵךְ*, *אָזַח*, *גָּבוֹהַ*.

323

d) The form with *û* has above all others the strictly passive signification, and is for the most part used as *pass. part.* of the simple stem, as *בָּחַיִּב* *written*, *מְשֻׁחָה* *annointed*; nevertheless, it sometimes is related to intransitive ideas also, partly as adjective, as *שְׁבִילִי* *childless* beside the intrans. verb *שָׁכַל* §. 249, *עָצִים* *mighty*, *שָׁלוֹם* *peaceful* 2 Sam. 20, 19, *עָרִים* *cunning*, and has already become substantive as *קָדוֹשׁ* beside *קָדַשׁ* *auceps* from intrans. verb *קָדַשׁ* §. 250, partly as participle, but only from the influence of Aramaic, in which the intrans. or reflexive and passive are not so strictly distinguished in the whole formation of the verb, as *בָּטְחָה* *confisus* Ps. 112, 7, *זָכוֹר* *mindful* 103, 14, properly reflexive like *amplexus* of the state with joined, firmly clasping hands, although it may again be immediately connected with an accusative §. 250 *amplexus gladium* Cant. 3, 8. ¹⁾

- 1) It is not necessary that the verb should always have the same development in all its parts; it is also easily explained, and especially according difference of dialect, how the active participles may exist beside those: *בָּטְחָה* *confidens*, *אִמְלֵךְ* *amplectens*. But *זָכוֹר* *always mindful* is actually fuller than *זָכַר* or *מִזְכִּיר* *remembering*.

e) The form with *î* is 1) a variety of this pure passive form with *û*, as this *û* can be changed into the softer *î* accord. to §. 43, as soon as a substantive is formed out of the participle, in which case the verbal derivation ceases to be so prominent, *נָשִׂיא* *prince* beside *נָשָׂא* *exalted*, *עָקֵר* *over-seer* beside *עָקַר* *appointed to overlook*, *נָצִיב* and *נָצִיב*.

together *stratum*, or if an adjective only is formed from a participle, as שׂוֹנֵא *hated* as *adj.* שׂוֹנֵא as *part.* Dt. 21, 15. This form, as substantive, is especially used to signify the seasons of the year according to the occupations prevalent in them, as אֶסְתִּיף *autumn* prop. the time when the fruit is gathered, cf. Cant. 2, 12. — 2) The *é* is formed by the greatest lengthening from *e* of intrans. ideas §. 322, as נִיחַם *pleasant*, זָהָק and זָהָק *bright*, יָגַע and יָגַע *weary*, פָּלַט and פָּלַט *fugitive* cf. §. 351.

These five forms are thus modified in derivations from 324 weak roots:

Before 3 rad. gutt. the long vowel is always preserved: קָרַע, קָרַע; שָׁמוֹעַ; קָרַע.

In ע"ר each of the five long, characteristic vowels maintains itself with expulsion of the ר, or with coalescing with it (with *it*), precisely as above §. 269 f., as קָם *high*, קָם *standing* cf. §. 326; יָדָר *arrogant*, יָלַץ *a mocker*; טוֹב *good*; כָּוַר *rejectus*; בָּרַח *a messenger* prop. *missus*.

From ע"ל: a) the form with *a*, which may be always shortened, compresses the vowel before the properly speaking double consonant, as in §. 254: לָלַץ *low*, הָלַץ *dismayed*, also הָלַץ *living*, all very different from the substantives of the first formation §. 318; yet some have nevertheless lengthened the vowel, as קָם, קָם, קָם, and others lengthen the vowel at least with disjunctive accents and with the article ¹⁾, as הָרַב (הָרַב) *many*, רַע *wicked*, פָּר *ox*, עַם *people*, צָהַר *enemy* prop. oppressor. — b) The forms with *ú*, *é* must separate the 2nd and third rad. accord. to §. 217, because these vowels are immutably long, as שָׁדַד, תָּמִיד. It is remarkable, however, that although we find these three chief forms with *a*, *ú*, *é* those with *e*, *o* do not at all occur in ע"ל, except only יָהַד or יָהַד *fat*.

- 1) Because a noun with the article is more complete, more perfect in itself; in the same manner, אֶרֶץ *earth* with the article becomes הָאֶרֶץ. — In the *adj.* רַע and רַע, however, *a* is only found on particular occasions.

In ע"ה, the first three forms with *a*, *e*, *o* are indistinguishable, and only make one single one in the same way as in the verbal formation §. 279, only that the only ending here is still the original *é* (from *ae*), as יָפָה *beautiful*, מָיָה *exhausted* Dt. 32, 24 ¹⁾. On the other hand, the immutable *ú*, *é* are distinguished here also, so that the formation is again founded upon ר or ר as third rad. accord. to §. 222. b and with a preponderance of the formation with ר: פָּלַח, קָשַׁח, very seldom קָשַׁח, ר remaining as 3rd rad. but coales-

cing with *ā* accord. to §. 53 Job. 15, 22. 41, 25; from *ī* always *נָקַר* *pure*, *כָּנַי* *bent*, *רָדַי* (Is. 24, 16 as neutr. *aegrum*) *i* coalescing with *ā* (2).

Shortened words (cf. §. 318): 1) The ancient words of relationship *אָב* *father*, *אָח* *brother*, *אָמָה* *father-in-law*, which when alone generally remain so short, but which almost always end in a long vowel *ā* or *ī* before postfixes; there is no doubt that they originally had a vowel at the end. e. g. *aba*, *abo* for the present *āb*, v. §. 201 *ut*. — 2) *יָד* *hand*, *דָּם* *blood*, *דָּג* *fish* for *יָדָה* etc. which continue so short even before postfixes; the first cons. of the former is therefore still equal to the first rad. of *יָשָׁר* before postfixes, but the latter are only equivalent to the second syllable of *יָשָׁר*.

1) The oldest pronunciation *ai* (*ae*) is still found in some words: *שָׁמַי* prop. *high*, but is only preserved in the pl. *heaven* §. 374; *שָׂדֵי* *field* beside *שָׂדֶה*, *שָׂרִי* proper name probably meaning *quarrelsome* Gen. 17, 15, cf. something similar §. 330. 339. Also *קָנַי* ancient form for *קָנַי*.

2) There is no passive formation *גָּלְהַי* or *גָּלִי* in Aramaic, but there is still simpler *גָּלָה* merely even for the passive participle, as the form *בָּהֶב* which may be contained in that, as intransitive, is near to the passive. According to this too very rarely in Hebrew; the fem. sg. *עָרִידָה* *nudata* Mich. 1, 11. *בָּרִידָה* *pinguefacta* Ez. 34, 20. Concerning the absence of the foretone vowel see §. 328 at the end

325 2) Abstracts are formed from the *imperf.* Qal, but in various ways:

a) As mere *infinitives*: and as the *imperf.* has two forms accord. to §. 269, so *בָּהֶב* and *גָּדַל* are possible forms here also, the latter from intrans. ideas, which forms are still closely connected with the verb, as the accented vowel is very short and the foretone vowel is altogether absent, as if they had proceeded immediately from *בָּהֶב*, *גָּדַל*. For more concerning them and concerning the derivations from weak roots, consult the section on the infinitives §. 353 ff.

b) As *substantives*, and not so much from active stems whose abstracts (very much as the participles §. 322, a) can be more clearly and firmly distinguished, as from intransitive ones. The mere feminine ending is first used here, as *רָשָׁעָה* from *רָשַׁע* accord. to §. 45. 66) differing from *רָשָׁע* as *adixia* from *adixor*, *שִׂנְאָה* *hatred*, *יִרְאָה* *fear*, *שִׁנְאָה* *sloth*, *חִזְקָה* *grasp*. But the abstract only becomes properly independent (substantive) by lengthening the accented vowel, which also produces a foretone vowel; and thus usually without feminine formation, although it can also exist at the same time: *רָשָׁע*

hunger, צָרָה *thirst*, אֲשָׁם *guilt*, whereas אֲשָׁמָה (with *a* at the beginning, at the same time on account of א) is still rather an infinitive, קָהָל *assembly*, שָׂבַר *reward*; צָרָה differing from צָדִיק §. 317 as *justitia* from *jus*, נָדְבָה *freewill*, שְׁמִינָה *desolation*: some few have lengthened the accented *a* to the immutable *ô*, as מַבְּרֹד *majestas*, שָׁלוֹם *salus*. These abstracts cannot be confounded with the adjectives of the same sound §. 322, for an adjective formed from the same root has always *e* (*i*), as אֲרֵב רָעֵב, אֲשָׁם (צָדִיק), נָדִיב, שָׁלוֹם, שְׂבַר; hence from עָנָף *ramus* the derivation רָמֹס *ramosus* Ez. 19, 10. They sometimes indeed come very near the substantives of the first formation, as שְׂבַר rare and poetical beside שָׂבַר *reward*; but their origin is different. It is to be observed, however, that substantives also from derived stems simplify themselves in this longer but yet simple form, as דִּבָּר *sermo* from דָּבַר *to speak*, קִלְלָה *curse* from קָלַל *to curse*, as also that the לָע are resolved in that rather later formation, as קִלְלָה, שְׁמִינָה, שָׁלָל *booty*, בָּדַד *solitudo*; in the same way צוּחָה and שוּחָה *cry*, the latter rarely shortened to שוּחָה; also from אֲרֵב לָח *abundance*.

e is sometimes found as foretone instead of *a*, which *e* is accord. to §. 270 properly a trace of intrans. derivation, as נֶכֶד *a foreign land*, and probably הֶמֶר *pitch*, שְׂבַר *sweetwine*, עֵנָב *cluster of grapes*, צֵלַע *rib*, שֵׁשֶׁר *hair*, לֵבָב *heart* beside the shorter לֵב belong here also. Cf.

in Arabic قَمَر.

3. *Third kind of formation*: whose characteristic is 326 an *originally immutably long vowel* newly inserted into the root: this is the strongest and last vocalic formation, which has proceeded from the former ones by new power; and the new strong vowel here so thoroughly governs the whole word, that the vowel of the other syllable, even the accented one, sinks before it to the weakest sound. Thus there arises on the one hand

1) the strongest active formation for adjectives with *ô* alter the first rad. (always changed into *o* from the more original active *â* accord. to §. 50 ¹), after which, the second syllable sinks, although accented, and has therefore originally *ê* (*î*) instead of which, however, *é* is used on account of the tone accord. to §. 46; while that *ô*, however, is absolutely immutable, this *é* is entirely dependent on the tone of the compound syllable and disappears as soon as ever the tone deserts it and the compound syllable is broken up. As the strongest active form, it is used as the *participle active* of the simple stem, as כוֹתֵב *writing*, although it may also be gradually derived with more freedom from any verbal

idea that is simple or is becoming so, as יָהָר as neutr. *remainder*, לָבַשׁ *putting on* a garment, only in Zef. 1, 8 usually לָבַשׁ *indutus*; but it is also frequently derived from an older noun and becomes a substantive, as כֹּזֵב *scribe* prop. one who busies himself with סֵפֶר *book*, שֹׁמֵר *keeper of the gate* from שָׁמַר *gate*, בָּרֵב *vinedresser* from בָּרַב *vineyard*.

The *e* in the last syllable is so essential here as a deep sound after the *ó*, that it even remains before gutturals: שָׁמַר, לָבַשׁ. — From גָּדָה: לָהּ, as every where else. — From טָעַ: טָעַב, the second and third rad. being obliged to separate accord. to §. 217. — From טָעַ, however, there are accord. to §. 218 no forms with such an immutable vowel yet developed; the older, more simple form טָעַב §. 322 *a*. which has been lost in other classes of roots, is used therefore here as *part. act.* thus טָעַב *stans*, טָעַב, טָעַב, טָעַב *coming*; and as this form cannot, therefore, serve so well for a proper adjective, the distinction of the adjective from the participle is effected, when necessary, by the form with *e* §. 322 *b*, as טָעַב *peregrinans*, טָעַב *peregrinus* Lev. 17, 12, טָעַב and טָעַב. Nevertheless, the later language sometimes has *ó* for this *á* even here, as טָעַב *stans* 2 Kgs. 16, 7. Zach. 10, 5. Js. 25. 7. concerning טָעַב, however see, §. 219. From לָהּ at the same time: טָעַב, טָעַב or later טָעַב cf. §. 292.

- 1) This *á* is only found in טָעַב *witness* Job 16, 19 borrowed from the Aramaic.

327 If a word of this kind is always a substantive, the vowel in the last syllable may be lengthened on account of that signification: *e* into *a*, which in the noun usually becomes *á* by the tone; thus הוֹלֵךְ *worm* beside הוֹלֵךְ which has been still preserved in the fem. הוֹלֵכָה, הוֹלֵכָה *seal-ring*, עוֹלָם *eternity* prop. what is *dark*, obscure, unlimited time.

The *ó* may even descend to *é* before this stronger *á*, as it appears in הוֹלֵכָה *hammer* prop. striker, in an active sense.

There is a definite substantive derived from this *part. act.* which signifies an actor with passion and constant toil, and is formed by the insertion of the long *á* or *ó* after the 2nd rad. before which the *o* in the first syllable is changed into *á* to avoid the coming together of two *o* accord. to §. 50 and 213, as עוֹשֵׁב *oppressor* Jer. 22, 3 compared with עוֹשֵׁב 21, 12, and again בָּחוּץ *prover* 6, 27. The express power of the substantive, as implying the permanency of the action in the agent, depends on that long vowel in the last syllable, and it is to be regretted that no derivation of this form with an accented postfix occurs (except. בָּחוּץ, *fem.* as proper name

for Juda Jer. 3, 7. 10 *faithless one* prop. hypocrite) that we might ascertain if the *ā* at the beginning is merely foretone or not, as, if it did remain, it would settle its derivation from the part. act. beyond a doubt. The form is moreover only found in Jeremiah; compare קטול chald. ^אקטול, ^אקטול which latter gradually became shortened into ^אקטול. v. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 144.

There are some other substantives, in which the *ō* or *ē* arise in a perfectly different way, which are not to be confounded with those of this origin. Thus ^אצלח *dish* (only in the *pl. fem.* ^אצלחות) beside ^אצלחת *sg. fem.* in which the sound *ē* (*ae*) proceeds from the loss of the reduplication §. 125; ^אדבג (in pause ^אדבג) *wax* (from ^אדבג = ^אדבג to melt, and lengthened ^אדבג, related to ^אדבג *idem* and to *τηξω* and *tabeo*;) which is an abstract formation arising accord. to §. 331; moreover, ^אגורל *la-pillus* (lot) and ^אגורל the *young* of larger birds, which appear to be ancient diminutive formations §. 346 *b*; concern. ^אמירג see §. 347 and concern. ^אהירבל §. 336.

2) *Abstract substantives* are formed by passive vowels after the second rad. and are therefore a new formation from the passive participles §. 323; that which has, or, which is imagined as having, happened, being conceived as an independent thing, as *divisio* prop. the being divided, from *divisus*, and similar formations in Indo-Germanic. This very long and always immutable vowel, however, has such a new, great power, that the first rad. which stands alone is pronounced in shortest manner e. g. in Hebr. *without* a distinct vowel, and the rules for the foretone §. 36 ff. are, therefore, not applicable here §. 322. Hence the nearest vowel here is *ū*, as ^אגבול *recompence*, ^ארכוב *chariot*, ^אכסוי *covering*, ^אלבוש *clothing*, ^אגבול *boundary*. This *ū* may be even changed on the one side for *i* accord. to §. 248, as ^אנציב *statua*, ^אפסול *graven image* (only used in the *pl.* beside the more simplified *sg.* ^אפסל) ^אכליא *prison*, ^אמקיל *mantle*; *ē* is very rare, as ^אקלל *wailing*, ^ארעה *terror*; — on the other side, it may be softened into *ō*, which is especially easy from an intrans. verb, as ^אהלוב *dream*, ^אבכור *first-birth* (of animals and man, in the latter case it is in sense equivalent to *first-born*, but the *pl.* is still generally ^אבכרות *fullness*, ^אכלור *rag*, and the poetical ^אשכול *orbitas*, ^אשהור *blackness*; this *ō* can then be changed into *ā* accord. to §. 50, but this is very rare in the early period, as ^אאכר *vow*, and only frequent afterwards, as ^אעבד *deed* Koh. 9, 1, ^אכתב *writing* (book) beside the older *fem.* ^אכתבת, poet. ^אקרב *war*, ^אאגל *strength* Ps. 88, 5.

Many words of this form which have *ā* as 1st rad. have assumed a

firmer vowel accord. to §. 70: אָפּוֹר, אָזוֹר, אָזוֹב, אָטוֹן, אָבוּס, אָמוֹן; for עֲבוֹר etc.

The derived abstract is so much characterised by this very long and always immutable vowel, that even some abstracts formed by means of external affixes, especially poetical and late ones, render their first consonant, which stands alone, quite as short: מִצָּד, מִתָּם, מִיָּז, מִתָּהִים, מִקָּים, מִנָּה from צוּד, תָּם, יָז, תָּהִים, קָים, נָה cf. §. 387.

Some few words also of the second formation §. 222 f. have no foretone vowel: they are, however, poetical words borrowed from Aramaic but with the poorer Aramaic pronunciation still retained: אֱלֹהֵי *God*, אָנוּשׁ *Man*, בָּכִיל *fool*; the adverb זָעִיר *a little*; and these which only occur late, תָּסִיךְ *strong* Ps. 89, 9, שָׁלִיךְ Jer. 49, 31. Also זָמַן *time* an original substantive accord. to §. 325 b, which also occurs in prose in the later period.

329 The signification of the abstract is often expressed here by the feminine formation at the same time, and this is a still newer; stronger abstract formation, while the lighter masculine form is often used even as proper name for more distinct, definite objects. The characteristic vowel *u-i* is often lowered before the *-ā* of the *fem.*, and indeed in such a manner accord. to §. 316 that the 3rd rad. is doubled, as this formation distinguishes substantives; this reduplication is, however, only frequent in a *liquid* and especially in *l*. Many of these formations too are only of later date or poetical innovations. Thus with *u*: קִבְּצָה *collectio*, מַגְדָּלָה and מַגְדָּלָה *magnitudo* Est. 1, 4. 10, 2; and even in the early period גְּאֻלָּה *redemption*, פְּעֻלָּה *opera*; with *o* תְּבִלָּה *pledge* Ez. 18, 7 beside תְּבַל v. 12, 16, בְּשָׂרָה *εὐαγγέλιον*; with *i* or *é*, עֲזִילָה *poetical deed*, תְּרִיסָה *eversio*, קְהָלָה *congregatio*, מַאֲתָלָה *mactatio*, יְרֵשָׁה *hereditas*. Many of these formations are also derived from older nouns, as מְלִיכָה *kingdom* from מֶלֶךְ, כֹּהֵנָה *priesthood* from כֹּהֵן *priest*, אֲבוּרָה *fortitudo* which is at the same time simplified from אֲבוּר *fortis*, *heros* with reduplication of of the 2nd. rad. accord. to §. 330.

But there is a still newer and stronger expression of the abstract sometimes found, and especially in derivations from earlier nouns, which consists in the use of the plural formation together with that *u* accord. to §. 374, as in the uniformly developed abstracts from names for certain periods of life, as זְקֵנִים *senectus*, עֲלָמִים and נְעֻרִים *juventus*, בְּתוּלִים *virginitas* from זָקֵן, עָלַם, נָעַר; very rarely from Qal, as תַּנְשִׂים *embalming* Gen. 50, 3.

Here also there is no form derived from טָף; the only example is קְנָוֹת *locks* Cant. 5, 2. 12. Nevertheless עֲרָל, אָרָל §. 219. The formations of the weak roots are clear from §. 324, and §. 345.

11. *Reduplicated or intensive stems.* They have been partly given already as verbs, and partly are only newly formed in the noun; but the attributive alone can be formed quite new here, and produces a great number of various derivations; the abstract either only proceeds from the verbal stem or from this attributive. The capability of formation, however, is by no means so great in these longer and rarer words as in the simpler ones, though the change of vowels has the same signification.

1. The new, independent, and frequent formation of *adjectives* which express the idea of an inherent, permanent, or stronger intrinsic quality, are produced by the reduplication of the simple participles and adjectives of the second formation §. 322 f., and have, in the same manner, the characteristic vowel accented after the second rad., but so that the simple active form accord. to the third formation §. 336 is not distinguished here. Hence a) the pronunciation with *a* is not only the generally usual one for adjectives here, as the simple one, as הָזֵשׁ *very weak*, חָרִי *sick* and the ancient proper name for God שֶׁדִּי prop. the *almighty*, רָעָה *always trembling*; but also, according to the more definite signification of *a*, for purely active ideas, as intensive form of כָּהֵן §. 326, as עָוֵל *wicked* from עָוֵל *wickedness*, סָלַח *forgiver* = forgiving much and readily Ps. 86, 5, and therefore especially denotes one who always occupies himself with something according to his manner of life, as סָבֵל *porter*, טָבֵחַ *cook*; it is often only derived from a noun, as צָדֵק *hunter* (which only occurs Jer. 16, 16, whereas Gen. 25, 27 צֹדֵד *(ידֵד צֹדֵד)* from צָדַד *hunting*, מַלְיָה *mariner* from מַלַּח *salt, the sea*. Hence the *a* in this new and rather strictly active form is longer here and tries to become immutable; whence חָרִי from חָה with an immutable *a* beside שֶׁדִּי which has been preserved from an earlier period. — b) The pronunciation with *u* is of passive origin, as אֶלֶף *friend* prop. always attached, עֲמֹד *pillar* prop. firmly fixed, or of intransitive origin with the accessory idea of permanency or abundance, as שָׁבוּב *robbed of young*, הַנוֹן, רַחֲמִים *full of grace, mercy*, קָשָׁב *always, readily, attending* Ps. 130, 2 beside קָשָׁב. This *u* is sometimes changed on the one hand c) into *o*, as יָבוּד *born*, not however as a simple participle, but as an independent adjective farther developed ¹⁾ Ex. 1, 22; moreover from intransitive ideas, as גָּבוּר *very strong* = *hero*, שָׁבוּר *drunken*, and with the accessory idea of passion יָסוּר *reproacher* Job 40, 2, קָנוּא *iracundus* beside קָנָא. — d) On the other hand, *i* is found beside *ü* where it is of passive origin, as אֶסִּיר *prisoner*, more than the mere participle *imprisoned*; in others from intransitive ideas, as צָדִיק *just*,

אָדיר *noble*, מְאִיר *mighty*, מְאִיר *exulting*. — e) The pronunciation is exclusively appropriated to adjectives which denote a personally permanent condition, in a material sense, as אֵבֶל *dumb*, מְאִיר *blind*, מְאִיר *having open* = *good eyes* Ex. 4, 11, מְאִיר *expiring*, *dim*, or even in an intellectual sense, as מְאִיר *perverse* = *false*, מְאִיר *proud*, מְאִיר *averse* to Jer. 13, 10, מְאִיר *doubter* Ps. 119, 113. This *e* has remained very short, partly in itself, and partly on account of the strong reduplication which goes before it §. 212; מְאִיר however as foreign proper name *rough* prop. hairy corresponds to this class.

The nearest vowel of the first syllable is indeed *a*, which remains unchanged, especially before the same sound *a*, and for the most part before *u* and *i* also; yet the thinner *ɛ* is also sometimes found here accord. to §. 45, as אָבִיר *husbandman* prop. *digger*, מְאִיר *very strong*, מְאִיר always learning = *scholar*; but *ɛ* is constantly sounded before the intransitive *ə*, as if the force of the intransitive sound had particularly established itself at the beginning; before *o* too we generally find *ɛ*, although מְאִיר beside מְאִיר. — It is to be observed in the formation from weak roots, that the gutt. in these somewhat later forms often looses the reduplication entirely contrary to §. 232, as מְאִיר etc., and that מְאִיר or even מְאִיר sometimes go through their formations uniformly, as מְאִיר, מְאִיר *judge* from מְאִיר, מְאִיר or מְאִיר Ez. 47, 10 *fisherman* from מְאִיר *fish*. Besides cf. above.

1) It answers exactly to מְאִיר.

- 331 No independent abstracts of this formation are found, since when an abstract is to be formed, one of these adjectives either becomes a simple abstract with loss of the reduplication §. 329, or renders the reduplication more prominent in a more emphatic way §. 332 f. Nevertheless some perfectly isolated originally lighter words have gradually been lengthened by reduplication of the 2nd rad. on account of the substantive signification (§. 316), as מְאִיר §. 329, before suffixes מְאִיר, מְאִיר *step*, before suff. מְאִיר. the nature of the *א* has also an influence here at the same time §. 70; on the contrary, the foreign word מְאִיר = *χίτων*, *tunica* doubles the 2nd rad. indeed when in stat. abs. and in the fluctuation of the firm vowel *o*, has assumed *o* twice §. 58, but when shortened at the end, it returns to the short pronunciation without reduplication and with a simple *o*, as it is originally quite short מְאִיר or מְאִיר.

Abstracts according to the third formation are, however, very commonly derived from *Piel*, as the pl. מְאִיר *dismission* Ex. 18, 2, מְאִיר *atonement*, מְאִיר *that wherewith a space is filled* generally in the pl. מְאִיר, מְאִיר *recompense*, מְאִיר *abomination*, also *an abomination* = *idol*; not so often *é* in the last syllable (accord. to 329), as מְאִיר Dt. 32, 35, מְאִיר *suffitus*, and the fem. מְאִיר *fullness*, מְאִיר *present* 2 Sam. 19, 43. or *ó*, as מְאִיר *chastisement* Lev. 19, 20. This form is sometimes, on account of its frequency, derived from Qal at once, as מְאִיר *command*, מְאִיר or מְאִיר *seeds*.

Here also we have \tilde{z} in the first syllable on account of the strong vowel of the third formation in the last, by which these forms are at the same time almost regularly sufficiently distinguished from the adjectives §. 330 ¹).

- 1) The reduplication of the 2nd rad. is even lost in some more attrited words, when the preceding vowel has become long, as it always endeavours to do in the substantive, צִינָק *confinement*, קִיטָר *smoke*, to which the proper name שִׁלָּה prop. *missio aquae* probably belongs. This does not easily happen to the adjective, as קִרְמוֹשׁ Hos. 9, 6 beside קִמְרוֹשׁ has become a substantive from an adjective, *nettle* §. 125.

This abstract formation, however, is found in a peculiar state in later writings from the influence of Aramaic, viz. always with an immutable \acute{a} (from \acute{o}) and with the feminine ending, and from that time is used as the prevailing infinitive form; the \tilde{a} of the first syllable, on the other hand, remains unaltered as the vowels loose their capability of formation in Aramaic. Thus בִּקְרָה Ez. 34, 11, קִלְצָה *derision* 22, 4, נִצְצָה *contempt* 35, 12; in the same way from *Hipalel* of a לָהּ הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה 2 Kgs. 5, 18 from הִשְׁתַּחֲוִיָּה §. 236, where ר must appear again as 3rd rad. after the immutable \acute{a} §. 222.

As this last formation is entirely proper to the infinitive in Aram., the substantive is rather developed as an abstract by the u entering the *first* syllable anew and very strongly, while that \acute{a} (\acute{o}) remains in the last; the reduplication of the second rad. easily ceases after the heavy u . This formation is, however, still very rare in Hebrew: סִבְרָה *prison* Ez. 19, 9 in which the last syllable has lightened its vowel, דִּבְרָה *wax* §. 326, בִּרְמִיָּה *pit* Koh. 10, 8, עֲרֹב and עֲרֹבָה a musical instrument prop. *loveliness*. הוֹבְמִיָּה *possession* Ps. 16, 5.

Moreover, all that is said of *Piel* in these abstract formations holds also of *Hif-ál* and *Nif-al* which are externally like it, as from *Hif.* הִמְלִיךָ *a melting* Ez. 22, 22, in which however \acute{e} is more frequent because its sound is already in the verbal stem, and thus the form coincides more with the common *infinitive*, as הִשְׁמִדָה *destruction* Js. 14, 23, הִשְׁמַד *doing good* Js. 1, 17, הִשְׁמִלָה *dominion* Job 25, 2; the ה of *Hif.* is then weakened to ח in the *fem.* זִכְרָה *remembrance-offering*, in which there is \acute{a} for \acute{o} . and אֲחָרָה *declaration* = charge which is a more simple feminine formation from הָרָה *Piel* = *Hif.*, infinit. אֲחָרָה = הִשְׁמִדָה , the *fem.* of which is אֲחָרָה accord. to §. 222; from *Nif.* in the *pl.* מִלְחָמָה *struggle* Gen. 30, 8 (the a at the beginning, though not originally wrong, is yet designedly retained here on account of the attempt at etymology, חַסְדִּים *compassion* Hos. 11, 8 from *Nif.* נָחָם , although it may also be formed from *Piel* and mean *consolation*, v. §. 258 note. From עָרָה *Hif.* הִתְעָרָה Est. 2, 18. הִתְעָרָה Lam. 3, 49.

2. Adjectives with repetition of third rad., a rather rare 332 formation, have for the most part verbal stems which corres-

pond to them §. 233, as שָׁאַן *tranquil*, רִנָּן *green*, חֲדָל *dark red*, פְּרָהָה perhaps *presumptuous* Job 30, 12 (without a known verbal stem to correspond to it); these have simply a lengthening of the vowel in the accented syllable for a distinction of the noun: in the adjective מְרִינָה *mournful* Neh. 3, 34 from מְרַנֵּן as verb §. 256, an immutable *é* from the intransitive idea however, intrudes into the penult, which is a new firmer formation strongly characteristic of the noun, like the one §. 326 in another manner.

Abstracts are formed in the third formation in *û*, sometimes in *ô* and *î*, and 1) from adjectives of lesser intension, by the strong vowel which intrudes in the last syllable of the new stronger abstract form separating the elements of the word and the stress of the reduplication falling on the third rad., as רִבְּוֹן *ridge* from רָבָן *rugged*, accord. to which מְרִינָה *hedge of thorns* probably from מְרַנֵּן *prickly*, גְּבֻרִית *guilt* from גָּבַח *guilty* prop. *woven*, (from the idea of a *net*) שְׂרָרִיר *ornament* from שָׁרַר *bright*. This abstract form, however, sometimes arises 2) in the same way from *Piel* also, especially if the 2nd rad. is a gutt. cf. §. 236: נֶאֱשָׁרְפָה in the *pl. adultery* Hos. 2, 4 from נָשָׂא, נֶחֱלֵל *pasture* from the verb נָחַל *to drive to pasture* (as *Trift* in Germ. from *treiben*). From verbal stems like קָיַם §. 234, 1, which are at least conceivable, are derived נִיחָה *satisfaction* from נִיחַה *to appease*, נִיצָר *spark*, the *ô* having been lowered before the new, strong *ô* and having been changed into *î* §. 213, roots נִיחַ, נִיצַ.

333

3. The adjectives with repetition of the *second* and *third* rad. are more frequent, and the force of the pronunciation is so divided in their greater compass, that the last syllable, although accented, has yet very short vowels; for *û* generally remains, besides which *o* sometimes occurs, but even this as little lengthened as possible §. 46. The form indeed also expresses general intension, as נֶפֶשׁ-נְפִישָׁה in the *fem. very beautiful* Jer. 46, 20, but the idea of continual, regular repetition without interruption is also especially expressed by the repetition of nearly the whole word, as מְתַקְלָק or מְתַפְפָּפָה *twisted, tortuous*, and the Heb. form as it were paints the many windings, מְתַקְלָל *perplexus* also in an intellectual sense Dt. 32, 5, in the same way מְתַקְלָק smooth-smooth = slippery; or the idea of *partition*, of that which continues with interruptions, according to which מְתַפְפָּרָה *fem. trumpet* (from מְתַפְפֵּר cf. §. 335) §. 244 would derive its name from the broken, crashing sound, and which, when used of colours, expresses the varying shades (as in a

shot silk), as אַרְמִיָּם reddish, יִרְקָק greenish, שְׁחֵרָה blackish.

An *û* merely or an immutable *ô* in the last syllable is also found here as an abstract, as אֶסְפָּסָר *a crowd collected from all sides, colluvies populi* Num. 11, 4; and also develops an abstract derivation from an intensive adjective to this longer form, as פָּקַח-קִיָּה opening or clear sight of the eyes from פָּקַח §. 330.

Further, the repetition in the root is so strong that it is sometimes found written by itself as a separate word: חֲפַר-פָּר, וּפַר-פָּר (as probably ought to be read Js. 2, 20) *digging much = mole*; in the same way פָּקַח-קִיָּה Js. 61, 1, קוֹרֶקֶר 18, 2. §. 334.

The roots ע' and ו' not unfrequently have the repetition of their last two characteristic sounds here also, as in the verb §. 235, whereas the lighter formation קוֹיָם §. 234 is only verbal. Thus with ע' עָרַר or עָרָר (Jer. 17, 6 the Mss. vary, Ps. 102, 18 does not decide the question) quite naked = *desolate, helpless*, and with an intruding *ô* קִנְיָן vilissimus Num. 21, 5 like אֶמְלָל §. 331, cf. the proper name עָרָר.

The abstract is indeed here also most distinctly formed after the third formation, i. e. with *û* in the last syllable, as הֶרְהַר fever prop. *inflammation*, and in the pl. accord. to §. 374 שְׁנֵשִׁיעַי *deliciae* from the verbs הִרְהַר §. 235. But there are also many lighter substantive formations here, first, by fem. or even plur. formation, as שְׁרָרָה *chain*, חֲתָחִית *terror* Koh. 12, 3, עֵינִי *dizziness* Js. 19, 14 from the sg. עִנְיָה, root ע' ו' *to be perverted*, and from הִלְהָלָה *great trembling*, הִלְהָלָה *a hurling*, which are distinguished by a greater lengthening of the vowel in the last syllable; with *e* in the last syllable, as גָּלְגַּל (where *û* is for *e* only on account of the tone §. 46) *wheel* prop. *roller*, from גָּלַל to go on rolling, moreover כָּלֶסֶל *basket* prop. *woven work*; or the short *ô* in the same way like the first formation §. 317, which then extends throughout the whole word, being sounded in both syllables, as קֶדְקֶד *vertex* prop. *separation, from the parting of the hair* (as *Scheitel* in Germ. from *scheiden*) in which the *ô* in the last syllable is only lengthened on account of the tone, and does not continue long before accented affixes, אֶלְגָּלָה fem. *skull*; lastly, with a stronger vowel-sound and somewhat drawn back אֶלְגָּלָה *rustling* (Dt. 28, 42 in pause אֶלְגָּלָה) which however immediately loses the foretone *a* before accented affixes and returns to the short אֶלְגָּלָה; cf. §. 347. קוֹרֶקֶר *great strength* is used quite simply as an abstract Js. 18, 2.

335 All these fullsounding intensive forms §. 333 f. often lose some of their sounds and soften their hard pronunciation if the etymology of a word which is used as a substantive becomes indistinct, cf. §. 237 *note*. Thus 1) most frequently by a softening of the final consonant of the first syllable into a vowel, namely after *a* into *ā*, from which *ō* is produced (or *ā*, as *טִזְזוֹל*), as *טִזְזוֹל* *star* prop. twinkling, for *טִזְזוֹל*, *pl. f. armlets* or *frontlets*, and *תִּזְזוֹל* §. 333; or even after *ā* into *ī*, from which *i* is produced, as in the abstract *תִּזְזוֹל* with the ending *on* §. 342 for *תִּזְזוֹל* *ignominy* Hab. 2, 16. — 2) By resolution of this final consonant into the succeeding one §. 113: *תִּזְזוֹל* *circle* from *תִּזְזוֹל*. 3) Not so often by casting away the final cons. of the *second* syllable, as *תִּזְזוֹל* *f. chain* from *תִּזְזוֹל*; in the same way *תִּזְזוֹל* Ex. 16, 14 *part. pass.* from *תִּזְזוֹל* shortened from *תִּזְזוֹל*.

336 III. *Formations with external affixes*, some of which are very rare in Hebrew:

Thus *תִּזְזוֹל* an adjective formation, in which the emphatic *a* added at the beginning denotes a permanent, active quality ¹⁾ and which external formation gradually occupies the place of the internal one with reduplication of a rad. §. 330. 332; it is still very rare in Heb. however and rather poetical: *תִּזְזוֹל* *hard, cruel*, *תִּזְזוֹל* *deceitful*, *תִּזְזוֹל* *constant*: *תִּזְזוֹל* probably belongs here also, *palace* prop. spacious, roomy from *יכל* = *כול* to contain. The *a* of the last syllable is the same as in the simple adjective §. 322 *a*.

1) So that, fundamentally, this is the same *a* or *ha* which forms the causative stem in the verb §. 238. Cf. besides EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 147 ff.

337 Substantives with a prefixed *ו* are also very rare; this *ו* is connected with the pronoun of the third pers. §. 282, and is founded on the third pers. of the *imperf.* in such a manner, that the idea of the *actor* is alone retained from the continuing action, and the last vowel is therefore lengthened according to the nature of a substantive ¹⁾. Thus *וְרִיב* (one who) quarrels = *adversary* from *ריב* §. 245; *וְיָצָהר* *oil*, prop. from *יָצָהר* (what) shines; *וְקָם* as abstract *whatever exists, substance*, from *קָם*, the pronunciation is accord. to §. 328.

1) As in Indo-Germanic *dator* as substantive differs from the participle *daturus*.

338 The three following are the most usual external formations:

1. A prefixed *m'*, as its pronominal origin also shows ¹⁾, always gives the idea of a substantial *who? what?* most intimately connected with an action, so that a word thus formed might be always resolved, at least as to origin, into a particular relative proposition. Its personal or adjective use, however, is very confined; namely, to certain participles of derived verbal stems §. 351; but it is very common as a *neuter*, and is then always most simply and closely attached to the

root in such a manner that the first rad. becomes vowelless §. 212²). This neuter signification may have very various applications in particulars: מן may 1) denote *that in which* anything happens, the place of the action (the so called Mem loci), as מְרִקָּה (*ubi pascitur*) *pasture*, מְאָרֶב *locus insidiarum*³), hence also in the same manner a *time* in which anything happens, as מוֹשָׁב *that which* the Israelites dwell in Egypt, i. e. the time of their abode Ex. 12, 40. — 2) *that by which* anything is done, the *instrument* of the action, as מִפְתֵּיחַ (*quo aperitur*) *key*, מְזַמְרֵה *fem. pruning-knife*; and lastly 3) more generally *that which* may result or be, from active verbs, as מְלָקוּחַ *booty*, prop. *what is taken*, מְרֻמָּס *what can be trodden under foot*, of the foot of men and animals, as from intransitive verbs, מְרָחֵק *what is far* = a distance, *distant land*, מְצָעַר *something small*; this formation serves in a more unlimited sense for neuter substantives generally, as מְסָפֵר *number*, מְזַמְרֵה *step*, and is so common that it even begins to be used instead of the more simple infinitive forms, as מְהַשְׁמֵד *destruction*, used precisely as the *infinitive* Am. 4, 11. מְשַׁאֲרֵה *to pull up* (concern. the ending cf. §. 354) Ez. 17, 9. The feminine formation is indeed possible throughout this neuter form, but is only frequent in the words for instruments and in the abstract forms.

When such words have a personal sense, they can only have it by a metaphor, for which all words are not suited, as מוֹדֵעַ *acquaintance*, מֵרֵד *friend*, prop. *acquaintanceship, friendship*; מְלָאֵךְ *messenger*, prop. *mission*, as a slave appears more like a thing; הַמְרָשָׁעִית *wickedness* once 2 Chro. 24, 7 emphatical for *the wickedest*, as *scelus* is used with similar emphasis for an individual.

- 1) It is related to מָה *what?* מִי *who?* The much more various endings in Indo-Germ. *ma, va, mant, vant, mânas* etc., are also of the same origin.
- 2) Hence it is formed in the same way even in short roots which are repeated like טֹאטֵט §. 235, as מְטַטֵּט *everriculum*, because the monosyllabic root nowhere occurs. In the same way מְהַחֲלִיחַ *deceits* accord. to §. 247. — Yet is to be observed that Chatef-vowels prevail with gutt., and that the firmer pronunciation is only rare with ה, and as an exception in מְעַבֵּר.
- 3) It is even derived from nouns in this signification, as the *pl.* מְרַגְלוֹת *what is at the feet, place at the feet*, and מְרֹאֲשֵׁת *what is on the head* Jer. 13, 18, instead which we also find it pointed מְרֹאֲשֵׁת, but perhaps only from an erroneous interpretation of 1 Sam. 26, 12.

The vowels are not quite constant in their changes in 339 formation. The nearest and most usual vowel in the last syllable is *a*, generally lengthened by the tone to *á*¹),

but very seldom immutable or changed to *ô* (נִבְחָר 2 Kgs. 19, 23 beside נִבְחַר Js. 37, 24) before whose high sound the vowel in the first syllable descends to *î* (§. 45), so that *a* only seldom remains here, as in מֵלָאֵךְ messenger, מַשְׁאֵב *water-trough*, in which however the *a* appears to be more firmly retained on account of the following *א*, *pl.* מִיְתָקִים *sweetnesses*, *ê* too rarely maintains itself in this fluctuation between *a* and *i*, especially before liquid consonants, as מִלְקָה, מִיְרְקָה and the *fem.* מִלְחָה, מִיְשָׁה Mich. 4, 8. There is a newer, sharper vocalization in which the clearer, stronger *a* is designedly retained at the beginning, so that the lower *i* is now rather sounded after it in the second syllable (in tone *ê* §. 46), as מִקְהֵל, מִיְמְהָ; *fem.* מִיְמְרָה, rarely is there an *î* before *ê*; as מִזְבֵּחַ *altar*, מִסְפָּד *lamentation*. There is indeed no strict distinction of signification observable between these two pronunciations, nevertheless the first form is more proper to simple substantives. Lastly, passive pronunciations are also not unfrequently found in the last syllable accord. to §. 329, before which the sharper *a* also remains in the first; thus with *û*, מִלְבוּשׁ *garment* for the older מִלְבוֹשׁ §. 329, מִלְבוֹר *bar*, מִיְבוֹעַ *fountain*; with a change into *ô*, מִלְקִיָּה *booty*, or *â* (immutable) מִיְדָה *deed* Job 34, 25 = מִדָּה §. 329, but also into immutable *ê*, as in the abstract *fem.* מִיְהָרָה *destruction*, very seldom *î*, as מִיְשָׁה *id.* Ez. 5, 16.

- 1) Very rarely *a* still without lengthening, as מִיְחָנֵק *suffocation* Job 7, 15, Js. 10, 6. מִיְחָד 1 Kgs. 7, 9; most easily when the form is used as *inf.* as מִיְחָד Dt. 10, 11. In the same way from other stems is formed מִיְרָק Jdgs. 6, 19 f. (where, however, the Mss. do not agree) accord. to §. 325, מִיְפָג Ez. 27, 17 acc. to §. 330.

These distinctions of the vocalization are still less discernible in the weak roots; the *a* constantly remains in the first syllable before a *gutt.* as first rad., very rarely with expulsion of the *א*, as מִיְסָרָה for מִיְסָס *fetter* Ez. 20, 37. — Also from פֶּ is the pronunciation with *a* in the first syllable the prevalent one, if contraction takes place, as generally does (acc. to §. 275), as מִיְפָל, מִיְפָט, מִיְפָק, only Zach. 9, 5 מִיְפָט with *e*, not yet with *i*, and מִיְפָה *fem. bed* in distinction to מִיְפָה *staff*. — The פֶּ and פִּ have originally merely *a* at the beginning in the same way, which remains in the פֶּ with coalition with the *u* into *ô*, and the last syllable has *a* or *e*, only not *o* or *u*, as מִיְפָק, מִיְפָט, מִיְפָה; the *û* of the abstract has, however, intruded into the abstract מִיְפָק *chastisement* instead. From פִּ with *a* at the end מִיְשָׁר *straightness*, מִיְרָה, whereas if *ô* establishes itself in the last syllable it depresses the vowel at the beginning, so that *î* is used, as מִיְשָׁר *plain*. With contraction of the י (cf.

§. 253) מַצֵּעַ flood a very old word, and later מִדָּע *consciousness* Koh. 10, 20, מִסָּד. From מִסָּד the form מִכְתָּב accord. to §. 272 מִסָּנֶן in *du. scales*, and מִסָּר *fetter* written without ס, Ps. 2, 7. — The usual form from מִסָּ is מִקְוֶה, מִבּוֹא, for מִתְקַן accord. to §. 91, and the form מִכְתָּב does not occur here at all; this *ó* also is changed as in §. 329 into an immutable *á*, though it is rare and chiefly in poetry and late in the language, and the consonant before this syllable looses its foretone vowel by this Aramaic pronunciation, as מִצָּד 1 Chro. 11. 7. *fem.* מִצְרָה *cave* from צָר; beside מִדּוֹן *strife* we find the *pl.* מִדּוֹנִים *Ktth* Prov. 21, 9. 19 and elsewhere) and מִדְּקִים Prov. 6, 19. 10, 12. Instead of the last there is, however, also found מִדְּרֶן formed in another manner as a new abstract derivation from דָּרן §. 245 (in the *pl.* Prov. 18, 18. 19, 13). An abstract form מִכְתָּב is found in מַעוּף *darkness* Js. 8, 22. — The מִטָּ have a short vowel for the most part before the properly double sound, and indeed *á*, as well for the original *a* of מִכְתָּב, as מִבְּרִי, מִבְּצָר (some read מִצָּר Ps. 118, 5) as also for *é* of מִכְתָּב on account of the tone §. 46, as מִכְּסָּב; the double sound, however, which is thus compact, is separated before accented postfixes; concern. *é* as foretone v. §. 217, *a* 2). Much seldomer has a long vowel established itself in the last syllable (and then there is *á* as foretone), as מִכְּסָּה *curtain* = מִכְּסָּה shield = מִכְּסָּה, and מִכְּסָּה *strength* = מִכְּסָּה; but there is no word with an immutable vowel. The reduplication is rarely brought forward (§. 217), as מִכְּסָּה *course*, cf. מִשּׁוּט from שוּט §. 228. Lastly, with the form of abstracts §. 328: מִכְּסָּה *something sound*, מִכְּסָּה *heap of ruins* from מִשּׁוּט §. 228. Lastly, with the form of abstracts §. 328: מִכְּסָּה *something sound*, מִכְּסָּה *heap of ruins* from מִשּׁוּט §. 228. — The מִכְּסָּה precisely as in §. 324: 1) מִכְּסָּה, מִכְּסָּה; 2) מִכְּסָּה, מִכְּסָּה; 3) מִכְּסָּה. Although even here מִכְּסָּה Ps. 140, 9 instead of 1).

- 2) As these forms have a very weak sound at the end, some of them have drawn the stress and the tone entirely to the beginning and have forgotten their origin and become perfectly like simple nouns of the first formation: מִכְּסָּה *bitterness*, מִכְּסָּה *fem.* מִכְּסָּה *nakedness*, from מִכְּסָּה; in the same way מִכְּסָּה, מִכְּסָּה according to the very similar formation §. 340.

It is very rare and in part new for such neuter substantives, which denote the object of the action, to be formed immediately from derived verbal stems, as 1) substantives of the place or instrument, מִכְּסָּה *fem. kitchen* from *Piel* to cook Ez. 26, 23, מִכְּסָּה *fem. libatorium, dish for recieving the blood of the victim* from *Piel*; *pl.* מִכְּסָּה 2 Sam. 6, 5 *sistrum*, which Latin word also signifies an instrument according to its ending *-trum*, from מִכְּסָּה §. 235. — 2) Substantives of the object of the action itself, מִכְּסָּה *object of*

abomination Js. 49, 7, and *מִסְתַּר מִפְּנֵי* *something* (or person) *from which we hide our face* = object of aversion, with complete verbal connexion, Js. 53, 3 from *Hif.* *הִסְתַּר* *to hide*.

340 A prefixed ה is very like this ה in signification and formation, in so far as it forms merely abstract substantives; which ה is originally the more definite external formation for this idea ¹⁾, though it is not so frequent in Heb. as ה. It seldom occurs with a perfectly strong root, as *הַמְּגוּל* *recompense* Ps. 116, 12, for the more ancient *הַמְּגוּל* §. 328, *הַמְּגוּשָׁה* *clothing* Js. 59, 17; but rather with weak roots which are disposed to assume a firmer sound §. 206, and even here especially in derivations from the longer stems, *Hitpaël*, whose prefix הִתְ is preserved in this ה, and *Hif-ël*, whose ה also seems to preserve itself in this harder ה. The feminine formation is very prevalent on account of the abstract signification. Thus 1) from *לָו* where the feminine ending is seldom wanting, as it is in the poetical *הִלָּו* (roaring) *flood* formed acc. to §. 328; on the other hand, the pronunciation with the abstract ה is usual before the fem. ending, as *הַשְׁיִבָה* *answer* Job. 21, 34, *הַעֲדָה* *testimony* both from *Hif.*, *הַקִּיבָה* *resistance*; and so great a favourite is this abstract formation, that it is even derived from similar stems, the stress of whose vowels is contracted into that ה after the first rad., as *הַרְפָּה* *healing* from *רָפָה* or *רָפָא* Qal; *הַקִּיבָה* *circuit*, *הַשְׁפָּדָה* *deliverance* from *Hif.* *הִשְׁפָּדָה* (זָקָה); there is a similar formation with ה, *הַשְׁגָּה* *error* from *Hif.* *הִשְׁגָּה* *to err*; and as this abstract ה can be changed into *ô, ð*, accord. to §. 328, *הַשְׁגָּה* *with immutable á* from *הַשְׁגָּה*, *הַשְׁגָּה*. — 2) From *עָלָה* *fem.* *הַעֲלָה*, *pl.* as abstract *הַעֲלָה*, all these derived from *Hitp.*; moreover cf. §. 339 note ² — 3) From *פָּו* *fem.* *הַפְּוָה* *passage out* in the same signification as *מִפְּוָה* which differs a little, *הַדּוּרָה* *doctrine* and *הַדּוּרָה* *thanks* also *fem.* derived from *Hif.* From *יָמֵן* *direction to the right* = *the south*, from *יָמֵן* *the right hand*, *Hif.* *to go to the right*, *הַבֵּל* *poet. for the earth*, from *יָבֵל* *to bear fruit*, like *tellus* from *tollo*. — Besides many derivations from roots with gutt., as *הַמְּגָה*, *הַמְּגָה*; and *הַמְּגָה* *hope* from *Piel* *הַמְּגָה*.

- 1) The origin of this ה is indeed obscure, yet it appears most reasonable to suppose it to be derived from a pronoun, as is the case with ה and ה. We should then have recourse to the Indo-Germ. abstracts in *-tis, tio*, (actio), *-tâ* etc. which are derived from the perf. part. pass. in *tâ*; this *-tâ* however seems to be related to the reflexive personal pronoun *sua* (tua), hebr. *אֵת* §. 212 note. The whole of this formation with ה is manifestly on the decline in Semitic and only preserved in isolated words, it is also no new

formation, but a primitive one. There appear to be still traces of an earlier personal use in תושב *inquilinus* prop. habitare factus, jussus, and תלמיד (in Aramaic and 1 Chro. 25, 8) *scholar* prop. passive, taught by others, *docendus*.

2. An *án* or *ón* (which change accord. to §. 50) added to the end, the first and oldest derivative syllable, has a twofold and essentially different signification; it forms *adjectives* and *abstracts*.

It is indeed conceivable that both significations should come together in the same termination after the example of בן- and תן- §. 338. 340; but originally there is always a nicer distinction at the same time. The adjective signification must be the nearest as it always is, and this -*án* appears to be related to the pronominal root *an* אן and the adjective ending -*na*, *an* in Indo-Germ.; the abstract signification is only derived from this as in §. 328, just as abstracts are also formed in Indo-Germ. in -*nd*, -*nus*, -*nam*. There is indeed no difference discernible in the ending itself now in Heb. (as in ἄν-ρος abstract, δν-ρός adjective), but perhaps -*án* was originally the adjective, and -*ón* denoted the derived abstract (at any rate compare נלמן and נלמן §. 317 nt.), and the adjective ending is even now less strong and sharp.

Moreover, there are some ancient traces of *n* being changed into *m*: in the adjective, always גירם, probably also אגלם; in the substantive סלם Gen. 28, 12. פדיום Num. 3, 49 (where the ם however appears to be supported at the same time by the following ב, cf. the contrary Ex. 21, 30, and in the same way in the verb גשגשום Js. 35, 1, for the usual גרן, on account of a succeeding ב) and in adverbs, words of primitive form, as תנם *gratis*, for nothing.

It is only in proper names that -*ón* is shortened to -*ó*, as שלמה, שלח or even written שלח; concern. the orthography with ה v. §. 153. The complete termination returns here again before postfixes, as שלמי accord. to §. 343.

1) To form adjectives, this ending is attached to any noun; yet it is not very frequently so used, there being a still newer ending which is more usual for this purpose §. 343. Thus אחרון *hinder* (western) from אחר *behind*, קדמון *anterior* from קדם *before*, ביכון *medial* from בנה *the middle*, חיצון *external*, ראשון *first*; נחשון *soothsayer* from a simple adjective נחש accord. to §. 330; derived from the fem. with feminine ending remaining, נחשת *iron* from נחשת, לווהן prop. *having* לווה *windings*, עקבון *crooked* from עקבה or עקבה *a winding*. Very seldom is it a simple adjective form, not first derived from a noun, as אביון *needy*, גליון *highest*, אלקון *viduus*, גירם *naked*. The sounds of the stems are not changed by this ending, further than that the long vowels *ó* or *ú* are lowered to *i* or *e* before *ón* acc. to §. 213, as תיבון, חיצון, ראשון (in which however the א is still retained, only seldom and late do we find רישון) from תוה, חוץ, ראש, in the same way

אָרְלִים *vestibule* is sometimes changed into אֲרָלִים, these lowered vowels are still perfectly immutable, and only עָרֵם *naked* from עָר can be shortened into עָרִם, pl. עָרְמִים, quite distinct from עָרֹם pl. עָרְמִים *wise, cunning* prop. *πυκρός*.

342 2) As an *abstract* formation, it is sometimes used to derive abstracts from more simple nouns, and is thus the first external derivation of an abstract from a pre-existent noun, as יִשְׁכִּיךָ the *desert* from the adjective יָשִׁים = שָׁמַיִם *desert*, עִוְרוֹן *blindness* with *d* as foretone from עִוֵּר *blind* §. 330. שְׁבֻתָּה *cessation from labour* from שָׁבָה *rest* ¹⁾, moreover also from more simple abstracts, as רָעָב *famine* from רָעַב *hunger* §. 325, even בִּשְׁאוֹן *deception* Pro. 26, 26 from a former possible substantive בִּשָּׂא §. 339. But frequently is an abstract derived even from the root itself by this ending, which external formation gradually supplants many more simple ones and is very prevalent in the later periods, although hardly without a slight difference of signification at the beginning, as בְּחֻזָּה *phantasm in a dream* Gen. 15, 1, זְכוּן *prophetic vision*, זִכָּר *remembrance* in general, זִכְרוֹן *memorial*. Such substantives from the simple root lengthen themselves, the emphasis of the tone being drawn indeed to the end, but the beginning of the word being always pronounced with a certain countertone: hence the sharp vowel of the first rad. often occasions a reduplication of the second §. 316. as זִכְרוֹן, בְּצִמְצוֹן, הִזְיוֹן, גִּרְקוֹן, which reduplication, however, disappears together with the foretone *a* §. 40. 392; very rarely is the stress at the beginning so thrown upon the second rad. that the third is doubled, as אֲבִדוֹן *destruction* poet. The shorter pronunciation, without foretone and reduplication yet, for the most part, still without close attachment of syllables, is found in only few early words, but becomes afterwards prevalent from the influence of Aramaic, and then the compressed *z* is the nearest vowel at the beginning accord. to §. 45, as בְּשִׁירוֹן, בְּהִירוֹן, בְּקִירוֹן, instead of which we find *a* with a gutt. אֲבִדוֹן (without *Dag. lene* Est. 9, 5), although *u* (*o*) the vowel still nearer to the abstract has also often intruded into the beginning accord. to §. 329. 338 ²⁾, as שְׁלֵהָן *table* (prop. *mat*) in which *u* has remained in a loose syllable contrary to §. 47, דֹּרְבָּן *door* §. 162, in the same way קִרְבָּן Ez. 40, 43, instead of which however, on account of the frequent use of this word, קִרְבָּן or קִרְבָּן with a close syllable, have become very usual, אֲבִדוֹן Est. 8, 6; after this *u*, *o*, then there is seldom *ôn* for *âu* in the last syllable (Koh. 12, 11).

1) This שְׁבֻתָּה, for whose reduplication there is no apparent cause and which cannot well be originally an adjective, appears to be so

changed accord. to §. 331 for שִׁבֶּת according to primitive frequent use.

2) Which is entirely prevalent in Syriac.

From שִׂשׂוֹן: שִׂשׂוֹן *gladness*, לִצְוֹן *mockery* with *a* in the penult as mere foretone for שִׁשׂוֹן; accord. to §. 213, the *ô* before this very strong ending -*on* has lowered itself so much that the weakest vowel-sound only, that is *a* accord. to §. 37, has remained.

From עֵט perfectly simple; סֵלֶם *ladder*, נֵצֶן *flower*; for a pronunciation like עֲבִירוֹן is very distant here, just as in the הָ the 2nd rad. does not so easily suffer itself to be separated and lengthened.

The לֵ"ה set out indeed from *h* as third rad., as the second has no vowel §. 222 c, as קִנְיָן *possession*, רִיעוֹן, הִרְיוֹן *pregnancy*, but the very strong and heavy vowel of the ending easily expels the weak *h* floating between accord. to §. 91, 3, so that the first rad., which would then stand by itself, receives *a* as foretone accord. to §. 37, as קִלְיוֹן, הִזְיוֹן, נִדָּן Ez. 16, 33; together with הִרְיוֹן we find, at least before accented postfixes, הִירוֹן, the vowel remaining accord. to §. 70 as before reduplication of the *h*. Much seldomer is the sound of the 3rd rad. preserved as a vowel *i* or *u* and thus elides the following *a* of the ending: קִבְּרָן prop. *decision*, authority, hence *prince*, דְּבָרָן always in the pl. *whoredom*.

It is only in a few words that the ending -*an* has lost its power and the tone on account of a preceding strong vowel which is either already there or which fixes itself there, as אֶצְפָּרָן *finger-nail*, shortened from אֶצְפָּרָן, with a carrying forward of the *ô*; and a new *fem.* thus formed, בִּשְׁמָה, *shame* Hos. 10, 6 from בִּשְׁמָן, root בִּשַׁם.

3. The vocalic ending *i* is the last and newest formation 343 for deriving an adjective from any noun whatever; this is always an external derivation before which the noun may remain perfectly unaltered, it is as it were a *relative adjective* i. e. it contains the idea, — *which is of* — and may be paraphrased by a relative proposition because it only denotes derivation, origin, and refers to the source mentioned ¹). This derivation is therefore most frequent and necessary from *proper names*, which admit of no internal formation, as עִבְרִי *Hebrew*, יִשְׂרָאֵלִי *Israelite*; but also from other nouns whose signification is more isolated, as רִגְלִי *pedes* from רֶגֶל *pes*, פָּגָרִי *paganus* from פָּגֻר *pagus*, זָבָרִי *a foreigner* from זָבָר = זָכָר §. 325, צָפוֹנִי *northern* from צָפוֹן *the north*, זָמִנִּי *timely* from זֶמַן *time*, even אֲנִימִי *anterior* from the pl. אֲנִימִים §. 361; moreover, from particles, as תַּחְתִּי *inferior* from תַּחַת, לִפְנֵי *anterior* 1 Kgs. 6, 17 from the stat. constr. לִפְנֵי *ante*, *i* being united to *ae* and thus *ai* being formed acc. to §. 54. This last and most definite adjective ending may be also attached to older adjective forms by way of rendering the idea of the adjective more promi-

ment, as אֲחָרִי and אֲחָרִי *horrid* (the latter prop. *horrible*). אֲחָרִי accord. to §. 328 and אֲחָרִי *foolish* Zach. 11, 15, and as the adjectives in -*an* §. 341 often assume this more definite ending in their change into the *fem.*, as רִאשִׁית Jer. 25, 1. רִהֲמָנִים Lam. 4, 10. In these instances especially, we discover a more recent, just arising continuation of the formation, as indeed many of these adjective formations generally belong to the later period of the language.

- 1) This is confirmed by the sound *-i*, which is evidently related to the pronoun *i*, *ia* which expresses the *relative* idea in Sanscrit; the adjectives in *-ja*, *-in*, *-ika* in Sanscrit, and those in *-ios*, *-izos*, *-idhs* in Greek, those in *-icus* in Lat. and those in *-ig*, *-isch* etc. in Germ. correspond to these last adjectives.

As an accented ending it causes the foretone vowels to disappear, אֲחָרִי from אֲחָרִי; אֲחָרִי from אֲחָרִי (which is shortened from אֲחָרִי) on the other hand אֲחָרִי as a long vowel must be sounded in a simple syllable before the tone. In some words the *i* has such an influence on the preceding syllable that the high *a* is used in preference to other vowels before it ¹⁾ §. 213, as דֶּמֶר dexter, שְׂמָאלִי sinister from דֶּמֶר, שְׂמָאלִי. Rare traces of shortening in the derivation of common proper names are found a) in בְּדָדִי beside בְּדָדִי Midianite Gen. 37, 36. 28. — b) The endings of *gender* and *number* sometimes fall away, as רִהֲמָנִי from רִהֲמָנִי. — c) In compound proper names the smaller part often falls away, as בְּנֵי-בִנְיָמִן and even בִּנְיָמִן alone Benjaminite from בְּנֵי-בִנְיָמִן 1 Sam. 9, 1. Ps. 7, 1.

- 1) As in Arabic. v. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 153.

There is a harder pronunciation of this ending, *di*, which is prevalent in Aramaic. It is found in Hebr. in proper names, as אֲדָמִי, אֲדָמִי, very seldom in other nouns; as *pl.* הַדְּמָאִים, *fem.* לְלִמְאֵה from *sg.* דְּמָא cf. §. 393. Moreover, הַקְּלָה faint, powerless, only in the *K'tib* Ps. 10, 8, 14, in the *pl.* הַקְּלָהִים v. 10; the form, which the Masoretes have not understood, is like הַקְּלָהִים.

- 344 Finally, by means of the *fem.* of this last derivation הִי, or more frequently הִי, the *last abstracts* are formed from any noun whatever, in which the form of the previous noun may remain perfectly unaltered, as פְּלִיָּה *judicium* from פֶּלִי *judex*, רִאשִׁית *beginning* from ראש *head*, שְׁאֵרִית *remnant*, גְּלִילִית a later formation like *activitas* Jer. 32, 19.

The more frequent this ending *-it* for abstracts becomes, however, the oftener is it changed in pronunciation into *-it*, *it* as the proper vowel of the abstract intruding here also, as הַחֲשִׁית and הַחֲשִׁית *sickness* even formed from חָשָׁה *sick*. This gradually becomes an external abstract formation instead of the earlier internal one, and supplants the earlier simpler stems more and more. Thus 1) from adjectives of the second kind of formation: בְּרִחָה *separation* from בָּרַח or rather

בְּרִיחַ *separated*, כְּבִדּוּת *gravitas* from כָּבֵד *gravis* which is used rather earlier, עֲקָשִׁיחַ *perversitas* from עָקַשׁ §. 330, גְּלוּבָה *gladness* from גָּלַץ, הִרְסוּת *destructio*, in the same way הַכְּלָלִית *dark redness* from חָכַל §. 332, מְבִלְיָה *hilaritas* Jer. 8, 18 from the part. *Hif.* מְבִלֶּה = *hilaris*, מְלָאכָה *message* from מָלַךְ §. 338 Hag. 1, 13, even אֲבֻרָה from אָבַר §. 343. — 2) simpler stems which have already of themselves an abstract signification may become still further distinguished by this ending, as אֲזִלּוּת *strength* Ps. 22, 20 beside אָזַל §. 329; and the *infinitives* of the derived verbal stems begin afterwards to be distinguished by this form, as הִתְחַבְּרוּת from *Hifp.* Dan. 11, 23, and with *d* before the last rad. at the same time accord. to §. 328 הִשְׁמָחוּת from *Hif.* Ezr. 24, 26. — 3) There are also found formations of the simplest kind in which the radicals only are placed before the ending *-ût*, partly from nouns of the first formation, as מְלָכּוּת *kingdom* a later formation from מֶלֶךְ *king*, partly by a simplification of the form, this form becoming a mere abstract form, as גְּבוּהָה *pride* from גָּבוּהַ *proud*, סְבִלּוּת *folly* from סָבַל *fool*, קְדָרוּת *deep mourning* from קָדַר. These forms often have *a* in the first syllable before *û* like מִכְתָּב, §. 338. 340 which have also an abstract signification, but with regard to the ending they are like the abstracts in *-ôn* §. 342, as the first syllable remains *loose*. From עָלָה: גְּדוּת, in which the vowel always remains long; but לְוָה Pro. 4, 24 has only the foretone *a* as לְצוֹן §. 342; concerning derivations from לָהּ v. §. 345.

The corruption of this *-ût* into *-ôt* accord. to §. 329 is very rare, but is found *a*) in חֲכָמוּת or חִכְמוּת *wisdom*, a new poetical formation for the simpler חֲכָמָה Ps. 49, 4, Prov. 1, 20. 9, 1. 14, 1. 24, 7; in the last place it appears to be used as a *pl.* and it is clear that this *-ôt* passes over into the ending of the *pl. f.*, and the *pl.* accord. to §. 360 suits the idea of the abstract very well; nevertheless the explanation of חֲכָמוּת according to this presupposition is not certain. — *b*) רְבוּת *Myriad* a late formation, a word in which the signification of the *sg.* and *pl.* appears to be indistinguishable in the same way (cf. Neh. 7, 65. 71. 72. Jon. 4, 11 with Ezr. 2, 69. Dan. 11, 12 where the *pl.* is also in a new form). This is also shortened to רְבוֹ, or instead רְבוּת accord. to §. 154, just as in Aram. the *ût* in stat. absolut. is always shortened to *-û*.

There is a still nearer use of the feminine formation as 345 being that of the *neuter* according to our languages §. 368, 3, by which it forms an abstract from any stem that has a personal signification, as 1) from a simple adject. of the second formation: נְבִלָה *folly* from נָבַל *a fool*, קְנָוָה *humility* from קָנָו *humble*; פְּלִיטָה *deliverance* from פָּלַט or פָּלִיט *escaping*, גְּזֵלָה *spoil* prop. in a passive sense *raptum*, beside which the *usc.* גָּזַל also occurs in the same neuter

signification; *smallness* from *צָעִירָה* and *right of primogeniture* from *צָעִיר* *little*, *בְּכוֹר* §. 328 = *firstborn* Gen. 43, 33. Of the third formation: *abomination* prop. *malum* as neuter of an adj., *גִּזְלָה* *captivity* from *גִּזְלָה* *captive*; and from the other participles, as *וָפֶלְאָה* *wonder* prop. *mirum*, *מְסֻבָּה* *a turning*, both from *Nif.* — 2) This formation is rather more frequent in adjectives whose second rad. is doubled §. 330, since they have no nearer abstract form, as *הַשָּׂאָה* *sin* (prop. rather *sinning*) from *הָשָׂא* *sinful*; the adjectives *בְּתָב* have then generally *a* at the beginning for *i*, accord. to a newer, somewhat stronger formation, as *עִבְרָה* *blindness* from *עִבֵּר*, *קִרְבָּה*, *גִּבְעָה*, by which these common abstracts are at the same time distinguished from the fem. which remains adj. *עִבְרָה* *coeca*; nevertheless *אֶפְלָה* *folly* from *אָפַל* = *אָפַל*. — 3) Especially remarkable, although rather rare and poetical, is the formation of the abstract from a passive participle of a derived verbal stem, which, however, is properly as *divisio* from *divisus* §. 328, only that the abstract here cannot be expressed by anything else but the simple feminine ending, as *מְשֻׁתָּה* (from the part. *Hof.* root *שָׁתָה*) prop. *the being extended*, *מְשֻׁבָּתָה* *desolation* from the part. *Pu.* *Nah.* 2, 11. Yet the nearest form may be also used here without feminine ending (as the idea of the neuter is not necessarily expressed by the *fem.* §. 364 ff.), as *מְשֻׁבָּתָה* *obscuratio* prop. *the being obscured*, from part. *Hof.* root *עִיף* *Js.* 8, 23. *רוֹמְמָה* *praise*, prop. *elevation* *Ps.* 66, 17, *pl. stat. constr.* *רוֹמְמָה* *Ps.* 149, 6.

The fem. is also used besides to render the idea of the abstract which is already in the stem, more prominent, as *חֵכְמָה* *wisdom* acc. to the first formation §. 317, *עֲזָרָה* and *עֲזָרָה* *strength*, *עֲזָרָה* and *עֲזָרָה* *help*; *נִקְמָה* and *נִקְמָה* *revenge* accord. to §. 325, and many words explained above. In cases also in which the fem. formation is according to this possible, but not very usual, it is more prevalent if the word suffers great shortening in the weak roots, cf. §. 354. Thus the formation *כְּתִיבָה* is usual from *כָּתַב* accord. to §. 328; but instead they have a greater proneness to feminine formations, as *דְּרוֹמָה* *silence*, *קִרְיָה* *a rising up*, *מִצְחָה* *entrance* *Ez.* 8, 5, in which at least the characteristic vowel of the abstract formation remains firm. Particularly from *כָּתַב* are there many feminines formed, as the fem. ending is easily attached to their vocalic ending, as *חֲזָה*, *מִצְחָה*, *שִׁבְחָה*, *תְּהִלָּה*, then *שְׁבוּתָה*, *בְּבוּתָה* *Gen.* 50, 4, which last form, on account of the resemblance of the sound to the abstract ending §. 344, is also easily changed into *שְׁבוּתָה*, *רְחוּתָה* *Koh.* 5, 10. The abstract formations with the ending *-it* or *-ūt* §. 344 are distinguished by the third rad. being lost before the ending, while the foretone *a*, supporting the force of the form, becomes immutably long, as *בְּכוּתָה*, *עֲלִיתָה*, *הִגִּיתָה*, *חֲזָה*, *חֲזָה*, *דְּלִיתָה*, *זָה*, cf. *זֶה*.

Inasmuch as the feminine thus expresses the idea of the 346 abstract, the idea of *species*, or *collectives*, may be also formed by it, by which all individuals of a class are comprehended in a higher whole. Thus partly actual feminine forms, as *עֲבָדָה* *servitium*, *familia*, the *household*, *אֹכֶלָה* *food* 1 Kgs. 19, 8 accord. to §. 329; partly feminines of adjectives, as *פְּלִטָה* that which *escapes* = the whole number saved, *אֶרְהָה* the *wandering* = company of travellers, Caravan; partly fem. of substantives or proper names, as from *דָּג* *fish* *דָּגָה* *piscium* genus. This relationship between the ideas of the abstract and the collective is very important and influential for the whole language.

Diminutive formations in Semitic have originally the characteristic of 346 broken vowels, as if the broken mutilated sound expressed the idea of what is small or unfinished. Thus in Arabic the sound of diminution is *u-ai* or shorter *ai*, and indeed, in accordance to the general nature of the formation of words, in the *middle* of the word; in Aramaic, however, it is *ân* (from *ôn*, *aun*) and has become an external syllable attached at the end and is seldom used. Hebrew also has lost the proper lightness and fullness of the diminutive formation: there is perhaps an ancient internal formation of this kind preserved in *גִּזְלָל*, *גִּזְלָל* (*ô* from *au*) §. 327, as also in the proper name *אֶמְנוּן* for *אֶמְנוֹן* 2 Sam. 13, 20; besides we find only *-ôn* or even *ân* as ending in proper names, as *זְבֻלֹן*, *יְדֻתָּן* (instead of which *יְדֻתָּן* Ps. 77, 1. 39, 1 *Ktib*) *שִׁלֹן*, and the poet. *יִשְׂרָאֵל* a new formation from *יִשְׂרָאֵל*, *Ἰσραηλίσκος* as if this name meant the *righteous*, *pious little people*, moreover *אִישׁוֹן* in the signification of *pupilla* (oculi) *κόρη*, *κοράσιον* from *אִישׁ* *man*, *עִירֹן* (in the *pl.* accord. to §. 360 f., as term of endearment Cant. 4, 9) *זֶרְעִים* *pl. vegetables* prop. *small herbs* Dan. 1, 12 cf. 16. Nevertheless a similar vowel *û* is often found before the ending.

The nominal form of the roots of four sounds resembles 347 that of three, only that it is less developed and various, and for this reason, because almost all these words are substantives. The nearest and still most prevalent pronunciation is that which divides the four consonants into two equal syllables and accents the latter, and *a*, *e* and *o* have remained as very short last vowels in these longer words, as *הַשְׁבֵּן*, *הַשְׁבֵּן*, *בִּרְקָל*, *בִּרְקָל* in which we even find *ê* in tone, *הַרְטָב*, *הַרְטָב*, which short vowels, however, in these words of minor capacity for formation, are very immoveable and maintain themselves before accented vocalic postfixes by reduplication of the last rad. §. 316; with *û* and *î*: *עֲבָדָה*, *עֲבָדָה*. The first rad. almost always receives *a* as the *per se* nearest vowel, but we also find *בִּרְקָד*, and in *הַרְבֵּשׁ* *sickle* and *קִלְעָה* (from a preexistent *קִלְעָה*) the sound of the accented ruling vowel has intruded into the first syllable also ¹). *צַוָּאר* *neck* (generally in the *pl.* accord. to §. 360 f.), for

אֶצֶר accord. to §. 55, usually retains its א indeed in the last syllable; מִזְרָה *threshing-sledge* with א̄ for א̆ acc. to §. 45. Seldom is a word shortened in pronunciation in such a way that the second rad. is accented after the manner of the first formation §. 317, as מְנַשֵּׁק *soft cushion* Am. 3, 12; more frequently a vowel is inserted here as foretone before the accented second rad. in the endeavour of the neuter substantive to lengthen itself, as מְרַפֵּל, מְרַפֵּר (both so in pause also), מְרַפֵּל, or the second rad. is doubled, as מְרַפֵּשׁ, מְרַפֵּשׁ which redupl. has only arisen on account of the substantive signification, as in מְרַפֵּשׁ §. 342: very seldom is the third rad. doubled, as מְרַפֵּשׁ *fin*, מְרַפֵּשׁ *fem.*

The *pl.* מְרַפֵּשׁ *blindness* is an abstract from a verb of four sounds formed accord. to §. 328.

The very few and isolated roots of five sounds still entirely adhere to the origin of their composition: מְרַפֵּשׁ, מְרַפֵּשׁ §. 230 2).

1) Cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 167 nt. and above §. 336.

2) The origin of such words is particularly illustrated by such still perfectly new and plastic languages as the American, see JOHN PICKERING *on the Indian languages of America*, transl. into Germ. by TALY. Leips. 1834.

348 The *proper names* have much that is remarkable, in that many a difference of dialect or much that is antiquated is more faithfully preserved in them, as is shown in many places. The vocalization, however, is often no longer so moveable and light in them, because they remain fixed and immoveable words; e. g. the foretone vowel sometimes remains before the derivative ending -ת §. 343, as מְרַפֵּשׁ, מְרַפֵּשׁ with reduplication of the last rad. at the same time §. 316; מְרַפֵּשׁ Gen. 46, 10: מְרַפֵּשׁ Num. 26, 12 at the same time as a distinction from another מְרַפֵּשׁ §. 343.

Two words forming one proper name (as the ancient prop. names are often of longer compass) have often become so closely attached, that the first loses its tone and is much shortened in the pronunciation. A dissyllabic word therefore ending in a consonant only retains a firm vowel at the beginning and shortens the last syllable entirely, as מְרַפֵּשׁ for מְרַפֵּשׁ (God is strong), מְרַפֵּשׁ or still shorter מְרַפֵּשׁ for מְרַפֵּשׁ (God is a recompenser) as even the reduplication of Piel may be lost, מְרַפֵּשׁ *Jāshob-ām* from מְרַפֵּשׁ (let the people repent!), מְרַפֵּשׁ from מְרַפֵּשׁ; a word ending in a vowel, root מְרַפֵּשׁ, may be shortened at the end if the first syllable is a firm one, as מְרַפֵּשׁ from מְרַפֵּשׁ, on the contrary the vowel is preserved at the end, as מְרַפֵּשׁ from מְרַפֵּשׁ (the rock = the Eternal, God, delivers) where ה even remains written in the middle of a word contrary to §. 153, and מְרַפֵּשׁ where it becomes guttural in the middle of a word after a sharp א, although there is מְרַפֵּשׁ also, without ה written or pronounced. The highest divine name מְרַפֵּשׁ (pointed מְרַפֵּשׁ) is in the same manner shortened into — מְרַפֵּשׁ (from *jehia*) by the falling away of the vowel at the

end and by the *a* which disappears at the beginning coalescing with the *a* following, and this רָהֵק is then further shortened into רָהֵ accord. to §. 82. At the end of a word, on the other hand, this name, which is frequently used in such compositions, remains as רָהֵקָה, the tone supporting the *a*, afterwards also רָהֵקָה or רָהֵקָה the unaccented *u* falling away accord. to §. 86. — The name of a tribe רָשָׁשְׁכָר (as it is constantly pointed) is contracted from רָשָׁשׁ עֶכָר (*there is reward*), the *sh* being resolved into the *s* following, although the ancient orthography always retains both שָׁשׁ. — Primitive long vowels are much better preserved, as רָדִירָה beloved (רָדִיר) of God.

All these, however, are only external *composita* and not in the sense of the Indo-Germanic languages §. 13. And even this external combination of two ideas is very rare except in proper names; בְּלִיעֵל prop. *not-high* hence what is low, bad, destruction, does not so properly belong here because the first half is merely a particle; the poetical צִלְמֹנֶת would be formed from צֶל בֹּל death-shadow for deepest shadow, darkness of Orcus, yet it is probably more accordant to its origin to read צִלְמוֹנֶת an abstract accord. to §. 344 from the root צלם.

THE PARTICIPLE AND INFINITIVE.

These are the kinds of the formation of nominal stems. 349 The *participles and infinitives*, however, as peculiar kinds of nouns in which the noun becomes again more closely connected with the verb, are lastly to be more accurately described here in conjunction.

I. The participle does not represent the action as proceeding from a person (as the person of a verb does), but it represents a person (or thing) as that to which the action is to be attributed; the chief thing in it is the idea of the personal noun, to this person, however, the action is simply ascribed as belonging to it. The participle has its form, therefore, from the personal noun, and its substance from the verb, and is therefore as various as the verb is in its stems; even with respect to its shorter, lighter pronunciation it is connected with the verb, in contradistinction to the heavier substantive. But in this respect is it, like the infinitive, a thorough noun, in that it is utterly unconscious of even the insignificant beginning of distinction of time which has arisen in the verb. There are two differences as to its use which are to be accurately distinguished:

1. It is merely a short combination of person and finite verb: *agens* = *qui agit*, as the participle may be used in every connexion of the sentence, with or without article, in apposition to a substantive, as הָאִישׁ הַנֶּפֶל the man the falling = *who falls*, or, if this sense is implied in the connexion of the sentence, *who is fallen*, or even by itself,

as נִפֶּל a *falling one*, אֹהֵב a *lover*, הֹמֵט the *flying one*, *fugitive*, הַנִּשְׁאָרִים *those that remained*. There is no definite signification of time in this participle: nevertheless as the present is the nearest time for the active part. so also is the past the nearest time for the passive which speaks of what is experienced. It belongs to the meaning of certain passive participles, however, that they express a property well known by experience and, therefore, permanent or necessary, as נִרְאָה, נִדְבָר are indeed first *feared*, *desired*, but then also *terrible*, *desirable*, as an object which is actually or generally feared or desired must have an intrinsic ground for fear or desire in itself.

- 350 2. The participle is used in the proposition as a simple *predicate*, in the signification and construction of a verb it is true, but with this difference. that it represents the action as *inherent*, *continuing*, *permanent in a person* (or thing) whereas the perfect and imperf. express the mere exercise and development of the action. By this means the action is represented before the eye as a fixed, permanent *image*, and this form is therefore used in *descriptive* propositions to express an action continuing in the condition. Hence the participle is an essential complement to the signification and usage of the perfect and imperf. (see especially §. 264) and becomes an extremely important member in the circle of Hebrew forms, see below the Syntax. It is thus placed either *alone* in an unconnected descriptive proposition, if the condition is of itself evident to the hearer from the circumstances, as אֶנְכִּי הֹלֵךְ *I (am) going* i. e. *I go* at this time as thou seest, Jdgs. 17, 9; or in connexion with other propositions to describe a condition *continuing during* another action, as בָּאוּ וְלוֹט יָשֵׁב *they came and Lot (was) sitting* i. e. *while L. sat* Gen. 19, 1. The sphere of time in which the condition described belongs, is in all cases contained in the connexion of the sentence, and not in the participle. It is only seldom and late that the Language begins to supply the signification of the period of time, in the participle thus used, by הָיָה *to be* as a finite verb, so that הָיָה כֹּתֵב *he was writing* expresses a duration in the past, and יִהְיֶה כֹּתֵב *he will be writing* a longer duration in the future (Dt. 28, 29). and the simple participle, on the other hand, more accurately describes the abstract present; by which the use of the participle certainly becomes more independent and is capable of wider extension. Thus in connexion with other actions: *Joseph* הָיָה רֹעֶה *was feeding the flock* — and brought etc. (while he fed the flock with his brothers) Gen. 37, 2. *Joshua* הָיָה לְבִישׁ *was clad and was standing, and said*

(in this condition) Zach. 3, 3. Job 1, 14; 2 Sam. 3, 6; but even entirely by itself also, to describe an action continuing long in a time already known, as *הָיִיתָ מְבַרְרִים* *ye have been provoking* i. e. ye have continually provoked Dt. 9, 7. 22. 24. Even at an earlier period and more necessarily with the jussive, *יְהִי מְבַדֵּל* *be it (the firmament) separating* i. e. let it separate constantly, for ever. Gen. 1, 6. It is however always sufficient, in an enumeration of many such actions, to introduce the sphere of time with *הָיָה* *once* at the beginning, as 1 Kgs. 5, 1.

As to form, the participles are divided into two classes: 351

1) simple formations with a mere strengthening of the vowels as the noun requires; thus throughout *Qal*, part. *act.* כוֹתֵב acc. to §. 326, part. *pass.* בְּתוֹב, see further §. 323, and part. *intrans.* as in the verb. §. 250 cf. 322 very seldom with *ô*, as רָגַז *being afraid*, but generally with *é*, as יָרָא *fearing*, so that in the same intransitive stem the part. is distinguished by *é* and the *adj.* by *ô* or *á*, as קָרַב *approaching*, קָרוֹב *near*; גָּדַל *becoming great*, גָּדוֹל *great*; רָחַק *departing*, רָחוֹק *distant*; חָזַק *becoming strong* Ex. 19, 19, חָזָק *strong*. According to §. 323 this *é* is lengthened to *î* in יָצִיא *sprung from*, 2 Chron. 32, 21, נָטִיל *bearing* Zef. 1, 11 *intrans. accord.* to §. 250.

The simple formation has besides remained in *Nif.* constantly, where the part. proceeds from the *perf.* accord. to §. 321 and is merely distinguished by the lengthening of the *ā* in the last syllable, נִקְרָא, accord. to §. 322 a. From נִקְרָא, נִקְרָא, without any possible distinction from the *perf.*; from נִקְרָא, נִקְרָא or נִקְרָא acc. to §. 276. In נִקְרָא the original *é* is preserved at the end, as in the noun of this tone and vowel in general §. 324, as נִקְרָא, although this *é* is always changed into *a* in the *perf.* §. 279.

2) The participles of the other derived verbal stems all assume an external formation by means of a prefixed ה accord. to §. 338. Since this ה, as originally a pronoun, corresponds to the prefixed signs of the person in the imperf. §. 282, accordingly, it imitates the manner in which these signs of the person are attached to the verb §. 283 f. 337, only that the lengthening of the vowel remains at the end from the earlier simpler formation, though it can express itself in the *ā* of *Pual* and *Hof-al*, as *Hif.* has already an almost immutable vowel, and *Pi.* and *Hitp.* have at least one long by tone in the verb. Therefore *Pu.* מִקְרָא, *Hof.* מִקְרָא cf. §. 253; *Pi.* מִפְּהָא, *Hitp.* מִתְּפַהֵּא, both always with *é* acc. to §. 274; *Hif.* מִמְּחִיב; from מִחֵב and מִחֵב; מִחֵב, מִחֵב, מִחֵב.

é, as being somewhat longer, establishing itself in the part. as foretone accord. to §. 217 while *a* remains in the *imperf.* נִקְרָא, נִקְרָא. The remaining formations are clear from the laws of the verb.

Nevertheless the part. in *Pu.* is sometimes without נִ, as אֲכַלְתִּי Ex. 3, 2. נִקְרָא Jdgs. 13, 8. cf. בִּירָה Js. 18, 2. 7. וְיָרָה 30, 24; other examples 2 Kgs. 2, 10. Jer. 29, 17 and in the later period with loss of the reduplication §. 125 נִקְרָא Koh. 9, 12. This is also most easy in *Pual*, partly because the lengthening of the vowel at the end is still a sufficient distinction of the *part.*, partly because נִ is closely agglutinated to the stem at the beginning, as in Hof-al.

352

II. The *infinitive* expresses the naked idea of a verbal stem; not only without signification of person or time, without which the verb cannot exist, but also without giving a person as supporter of the action, as the participle. It is therefore even more imperfect than the participle, and in this imperfection it always refers to the full verb which it represents as to its substance in a shorter, less living form. For in Hebrew it is by no means quite the same as a full abstract noun, so as to be used with every liberty of a substantive (as in Arabic); especially can it have no apposition, and properly not even the article ¹⁾: although it is not so dead and inanimate (as in Latin for instance) as to be no longer capable of being externally attached as a noun at all; nor is even its form so entirely uniform and devoid of all transition into the more definite abstract formation. In every language however, the infinitive becomes more uniform and inanimate the more frequently it is used as a short substitute for the full living verb; and in Heb. it is already very frequent, as it can be used in all cases in which it is either sufficient according to the sense of the sentence, or appropriate to use the naked verbal idea instead of the full verb. In particulars there are chiefly two different cases in which this is possible, on account of which even two different infinitive forms have arisen.

- 1) For in cases like Gen. 2, 9 הִדְגִּיתָ the article essentially depends on the preceding noun which is in close connexion, and is only thrown back on the infinitive.

353

1. The verb becomes an infinitive, because, *according to the connexion of the sentence*, it is nearer and easier to place the naked action in the form of a noun. Thus the *nominal connexion* is easier 1) after a closely connected word of the same kind, viz. after another noun or a preposition, as בְּיוֹם עֲשֹׂתָ on the day of God's making the earth = when G. made, ἐν ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ποιεῖν τὴν γῆν, בְּדַבֵּר in speaking, לְדַבֵּר to speak. — 2) as a

mere object of a former verb, as *מָהֵר יָבֹרֵךְ נֹחִי novi loqui* *בֹּא* *he hastened to come* Ex. 2, 18. This is, however, not constantly the case, v. the Syntax. — 3) sometimes also by way of more briefly stating the subject in the proposition in cases like *לֹא טוֹב הָיְתָה הָאָדָם* *not good is the man's being alone* = that the man be etc. Gen. 2, 18. This naked combination of an originally completer idea has, however, always a tendency to be subordinated as dependent, so that the connexion of *ל* *to* is very frequent with the infinitive in Hebr. (as in modern languages *to do* etc.) and begins to be used in the place of all other connexions of this infinitive in the proposition, v. Syntax. This kind of infinitive is called *inf. construct*, because it is here entirely dependent on the structure of the proposition and closely interwoven with it; the name *inf. nominalis* would be also not unsuitable. Its form, accordingly, remains the shortest and lightest, and is formed in the several verbal stems from the *imperf.* accord. to §. 325 in the following manner:

1) *Qal* *בָּהֶם*, *intrans.* שָׁבָה Gen. 43, 7 accord. to §. 269 f. 354 Yet this short intrans. pronunciation with *ā* has become rather rare; very frequently has either the pronunciation with *ō* intruded here, as *נָפַל* *to fall* ¹⁾, or the feminine formation is added, as *שָׁנְאָה* Dt. 1, 27. *אָהָבָה* *to love* Js. 56, 6, *יִרְאַה* *to fear* Dt. 4, 10. Ps. 86, 11. *גָּאָהָה* Jer. 31, 12. *זָקְנָה* *to grow old* Gen. 24, 36. *יִשְׂרָה* 1 Kgs. 3, 6. *קָרְבָה* Js. 58, 2. Ps. 73, 28, *הִזְקָה* *to seize*, which *fem.* forms in part pass as substantives also, accord. to §. 325; feminines from the form *בָּהֶם* are much rarer, as *שָׁמְעָה* *to hear* Js. 30, 19. *מִשְׁחָה* *to anoint* Ex. 29, 29, *קָרְבָה* (even without *Dag lene* in ב) Ex. 36, 2. *טָמְאָה* Lev. 15, 32, *הִמָּלָה* beside *הִמָּלָה* with intrans. pronunciation *to spare*.

- 1) Yet it is to be observed that the original vowel *a-i* easily returns then before accented postfixes, as *נָפַלְוּ* and *נָפַלְוּ* 1 Sam. 29, 3. 2 Sam. 1, 10, especially before third rad. gutt. as *בָּהֶי*, *שָׁבָרִי*, *בָּלְעִי* Iob 7, 19, *נָטַעַה* Js. 17, 11. *בָּקַעַם* Am. 1, 13. *מָכַרְם* 2, 6. *רָקַעַה*, *מָחַאָה* Ez. 25, 6. For these gutt. roots never have the *ā* from the imperf. §. 269 in the infinitive, but, as very short words, the sharper *ō*, as *שָׁמְעָה*, *שָׁלַח*, *שָׁבָר*, *מָכַר*, and hence *קָרָא*, *שָׁנָא*; whereas their *imperat.* on account of its greater shortness, only very seldom suffers the *ō* to be heard, as *טָבַח* Gen. 43, 16.

The *לָהּ* very seldom retain the *e* from the *imperf.* §. 279, and indeed augmented by the *stat. construct.* to *ē*, as *הָיָה* *Qal* Ez. 21, 15 (in the same way *הָיְיָה* *Ilif.* Jer. 9, 4). Generally that *ō* has also intruded here and indeed, as the last syllable of these roots remains the same in all stems in the verb accord. to §. 279, proceeding from *Qal*

through all the other stems uniformly, as רָאָה or רָאָה *Qal* Gen. 48, 11. 31, 28. הִרְאָה *Nif.* Jdgs. 13, 21. The ה of the *fem.* is then easily and very frequently attached to this vocalic ending, as רָאָה or רָאָה.

From קָם : עָ, intrans. בָּא or בָּא 2Sam. 23, 4, also מָזַח to shake, מָזַח, רוּם (beside רָרוּם, רָרוּם) Ez. 10, 17 acc. to §. 269 f.; concerning רָיב, שָׂם see §. 245. — From עָץ in the same way: סָב, intrans. שָׁךְ Jer. 5, 26, and with *a* on account of the gutt. בָּר to make clean Koh. 3, 18. רָד to throw down Js. 45, 1; sometimes too with resolution, as סָבב Num. 21, 4. The feminine formation never occurs here on account of the firm syllable at the beginning, and only rarely has the stronger ending *-ôt* from the לָהּ attached itself to the short סָב, as זָמֹר Ps. 17, 3. זָמֹר 77, 10. שָׁמֹר Ez. 36, 3.

The *fem.* formation is very regularly found, on the other hand, in the roots which lose their first rad.: the פֿ of the form פָּרַד in which the sign of the person of the imperf. and the first rad. at the same time are lost as in §. 291: פָּרַד, but it always receives the ending of the *fem.* as it is so short a word, פָּרַד Gen. 46, 3, more usually with a retention of the vowel before the ending ²⁾, פָּרַדָּה, פָּרַדָּה Ex. 2, 4. Js. 11, 9, and still more frequently accord. to §. 384 פָּרַדָּה, פָּרַדָּה, פָּרַדָּה; in the same way לָכַח from הָלַךְ §. 228. From the imperf. יָשַׁן §. 271, on the other hand, the first rad. remains, but yet the stronger *ô* has intruded at the end here also: יָשַׁן, יָשַׁן Ez. 24, 3, יָרָא Jos. 22, 25 ³⁾. — From פָּץ in the same way, §. 173; פָּצָה from the imperf. יָפַץ, before gutt. פָּצָה, פָּצָה, פָּצָה accord. to §. 318, פָּצָה from לָקַח acc. to §. 273; but if the imperf. has *ô*, the full form remains here, as פָּקַח, פָּקַח, פָּקַח, פָּקַח, and the more original forms of others also are still found especially in earlier books: נָחַץ only in the Pentateuch, נָחַץ Js. 1, 14. נָחַץ 2Sam. 20, 9. נָחַץ and only in Koh. 3, 2 נָחַץ.

- 2) Accordingly also as abstract substantives: דָּע knowledge Job 32, 6, more frequently as *fem.* יָדָה, יָדָה, יָדָה, although in the imperf. there is יָדָה. The first rad. is omitted in the same way in some new abstract formations: יָבַל produce from יָבַל; and שָׂא Ps. 89, 10 and שָׂא Job 20, 6 a new substantive, exaltation from שָׂא, inf. שָׂא also as subst. greatness. Otherwise in Am. 8, 8 where we should probably read כָּאֵר.

- 3) Nevertheless לָרָא 1Sam. 18, 29, where ל is pronounced with a vowel which appears to be a relic of that of the first rad.

More definite abstract formations are found in the signification of infinitives, but they are still very rare and isolated. They are 1) accord. to the form. §. 329: יָכַלָּה to be able, יָבַשָּׁה to dry Gen. 8, 7. — 2) with מ accord. to §. 338: מָקָרָה and מָכַס from קָרָא and נָכַס Num. 10, 2; with the feminine ending and a long vowel: מָהֶפְכָּה v. §. 338; with the ending *-ôt* at the same time, as from לָהּ accord. to what is stated above: מָשָׂא from נָשָׂא Ez. 17, as the לָהּ go over into the formation of the לָהּ very much §. 280. —

3) a simple substantive of the first formation is also, though as a rare and poetical licence, used instead of the infinit., as לִישַׁע = *to help* Hab. 3, 13. שָׁמַע and שְׁמוֹעַ *to hear* Ps. 18, 45. cf. 2 Sam. 22, 45.

2) The other verbal stems: *Pi.* בָּחַב; also בָּחַר without its tone as word Jer. 9, 4, צָחַק Gen. 39, 14. 17, which short vowel is also found in לָחַץ Jdgs. 5, 8 and in close construction. *Pu.* בָּחַב, *Paalal* שָׁאַן Js. 37, 29 ¹⁾. *Hif.* הִבְחִיב, *Hof.* הִבְחַב, *Nif.* הִבְחַב. The feminine ending is very rare here, as *Pi.* יִבְחֶרָה Lev. 26, 18, צִבְחָה Ez. 16, 52. בִּקְרָה *Pi.* accord. to §. 331 is rare, and formations like הִבְחֶה *Hif.* from בָּחַח Js. 30, 28 and some others accord. to §. 331, as also still stronger ones in *ut* §. 344 are only rare and poetical. The formations from the weak roots are easily intelligible from what is above said, as מִלֵּאָה Ex. 31, 5 or later מִלְּאֹה according to the way in which the לָא assume the formations of the לָה.

1) How some can read שָׁאַנְהוּ here, and others בָּחַח — is plain from §. 308.

The infinitive is used without this close construction, in 355 fact as independent, for the most part in passionate diction, in cases in which the *mere action* is to be rendered emphatically prominent and represented by itself, either quite alone, as הֵלֵךְ *to go!* or, as is very common, explained by its own finite verb immediately following it, as גּוֹ הֵלֵךְ תֵּלֵךְ *go shalt thou!* or also because it is *sufficient* according to the sense of the proposition to name the mere action; from these sources there arises a number of particular cases, as is more fully explained in the Syntax ¹⁾. The infinitive is thus placed by itself, as *infinit. absolut.*, and without any possibility of being treated in the proposition as a noun, but on the contrary always with the full power and independent construction of the verb, of which it is only a more abrupt, but so much the more unusual and powerful expression, so that it might be also called *inf. verbalis*. Its form proceeds therefore from the same source as the inf. constr. above explained, but is distinguished from it, in all cases where it is possible, by a longer pronunciation and a newer flexion, by which a greater external regularity is also produced, and that diversity of the inf. constr. which approaches the variety of the nominal formation, ceases.

1) This infinitive is nevertheless remotely dependent, as *object*, in a very few instances, although even then always without preposition or any other nominal construction, Js. 7, 15 f. 42, 24. Prov. 25, 27.

Particulars are: 1) inf. absol. *Qal* בָּחַב or בָּחַח with fore- 356

tone vowel and long *ô*, which is also found in the intrans. verb, as *גָּדִיל* (*being great!*) Est. 9, 4 cf. Lev. 15, 24. Ez. 18, 23; from *לֵה*, *רָאָה* Ex. 3, 7 or more commonly written *רָאָה*, rarely after the formation §. 354 *שָׁהוּת* beside *שָׁהוּ* Js. 22, 13. 42, 20. Hab. 3, 13. The *עָ* always as a distinction from *קִים* as inf. constr., and the *עָ* seldom preserve the short *כָּב* Nu. 23, 25. Ru. 2, 16, but more frequently *כָּבָב* with resolution. Those which are very much shortened at the beginning §. 354 almost regularly regain their first rad. here, as from *פָּו*, *יָלַד*, *יָרוּץ*, *הָלֹךְ*; though we still find *שׁוּב* Jer. 42, 10; from *פָּנָה*, *נָתַן*, *לָקַח*; *נָשָׂא*.

2) This *ô* endeavours to intrude into the other verbal stems also, as *Pi.* *נָסַר* Ps. 118, 18. Jos. 24, 10. *Pu.* *גָּזַב* Gen. 40, 15. *Po-el* Js. 59, 13. *Nif.* *הִזְהֶן* Jer. 32, 4, although the usual stemvowels are also often found in the last syllable. From *לֵה* the *é* generally remains in the last syllable accord. to §. 354, as *Pi.* *בָּנֶה* 1 Sam. 3, 12. Jer. 14, 19, but *ô* can also intrude. — Only in *Hif.* has this *ô* never intruded instead of *é* which is too far removed from it in sound; *é* is nevertheless affected by a similar change, so that *é* is usually (Jos. 7, 7) found for it ¹⁾, as *הִשְׁמַח*, *הִרְמָה* Mich. 6, 13, from *לֵה*, *הִפְדֶּה*, *הִרְמָה*, *הִרְמָה* ²⁾, which is followed by its pass. *Hof-al*, as *הִפְדֶּה*, root נגד Jos. 9, 24.

1) For this new strong *é* is considered as being just as much stronger than *é* as *ô* = *au* is than *u*, from which reason we even find *הִדְרִישׁ* Js. 25, 10 as inf. constr. *Nif.* root *עָ* in distinction to *הִדְרִישׁ* as inf. absolut.

2) As this word, however, has become a perfect adverb (*multo*), the real inf. abs. is distinguished by the pronunciation *הִרְמָה*.

In *Nif.* there may be also formed *נִכְחָה*, *נִכְחָה* from the shorter form in the *perf.* §. 276 f., if the inf. abs. is placed before the *perf.* of the same stem, even for assonance, as 1 Sam. 2, 27. 2 Sam. 1, 6, Gen. 31, 30; besides these only in the later writers Js. 59, 13. Est. 3, 13. 8, 8. 9, 1. Also *Piel* *נָאֵץ* for assonance immediately followed by its *perf.* 2 Sam. 12, 14. The most remarkable is *הִתְנַחֵם* Ps. 68, 3: here namely the exceedingly rare case occurs, that the proposition, in which the inf. abs. is thus placed before its verb. finit. for greater emphasis, is also at the same time more closely attached in the sentence by *as* (*כִּי*); the usual inf. constr. *נִחֵם*, which ought to follow after the preposition, is avoided, nor is even the usual from of the *abs.* *נִחֵם* used, but a form between both, which at the same time much better accords with the sound of the following verb finit. — Moreover *הִירוּת* Ps. 50, 21 where we have the *infin. constr.* before the finite verb.

Feminine formation, as being too nominal, does not suit this *inf.*; instances like *נִשְׁתַּחֲוּת*, *נִשְׁתַּחֲוּת* 2 Sam. 19, 43 are quite isolated.

357 III. The infinitive, as being nearest to the verb, must also always conform to the verbal stem. On the other hand, the participle, because it already has more the nature of the

noun, may assume a more simple form (especially in cases in which it is used less as a verb), and often goes from *Piel* into *Qal*, as דִּבֵּר *speaking*, כָּזַב *lying* Ps. 116, 11 from דִּבֵּר, כָּזַב; קָנָה, חָרַף, בָּסָה, also the *pass.* בָּסְרוּ, בָּרִיךְ.

If a participle of a derived verbal stem is very frequently used as noun, and especially as substantive, it may simplify its form by the loss of its ׀-ה, as from *Pi.* מֵאֵן *notens* Ex. 9, 2; *Pu.* מֵאֵן *artificer* Cant. 7, 2; many from the longer intensive forms, as הוֹלֵל *mad*, לוֹצֵץ *mock*, עוֹלֵל *child* cf. מְעוֹלֵל Js. 3, 12, שׁוֹבֵב *apostate*, also שׁוֹבֵב with the lengthening described §. 327; אֲדֵרְבָּי *adversary* Ps. 139, 21 from *Hitp.* A new abstract thence formed accord. to §. 345 הוֹלְלָה *madness*.

II. NOMINAL FLEXION

1. BY MEANS OF NUMBER AND GENDER.

1. *Signification of number and gender*, cf. §. 207-209.

A. Number.

358

1. We have merely to observe of the singular, that some substantives denote the subject to which they belong as a mere *mass*, and continue in this inanimate state without the power of distinguishing the individuals in the mass, or of forming the plural, cf. §. 368. Thus בָּקָר (prop. having divided hoofs) *neat-cattle* in general, צֹאן *small cattle*, אֲנִי *ship* in general = *fleet*, concerning which, however, see §. 368; in the same way לֶחֶם *bread*, זָהָב *gold*, and many of that sort. Others on the other hand, whose idea in the same way admits no plural in our languages, have the power of distinguishing many single things in the *pl.*, as עֵץ *wood* *pl.* עֵצִים *pieces of wood*, כֶּסֶף *silver* *pl.* כֶּסֶּפִּים *pieces of silver* of several persons Gen. 42, 25. 35, דָּם *blood* *pl.* דְּמִיִּם drops of blood = *blood which is shed*.

2. The nearest ending of the *pl.* is יִם, for which the somewhat softer יָיִן is also used, which Aramaic pronunciation is even at an early period not rare in the poets, but is rather confined to the later writers in prose, 1 Kgs. 11, 33. 2 Kgs. 11, 13. (2 Sam. 21, 20 *K'tib*). If we regard the earliest origin, this *-im* has undoubtedly only arisen from *-ām (ôm)* or *-ûm* accord. to §. 208; which also accounts for the ending of the *fem. pl.* יָוֹתָן, v. §. 371. There are traces of *-ûm* in the pronoun אֲתָם, הֵם from *at-tûm, hûm*; moreover in the usual ending of the *stat. constr. pl. ae* §. 414. In Aethiopic the plural ending is *-ân*; v. LUDOLFI *Gram. Aeth.* p. 104.

It is exceedingly rare for that *-im* to be still further shortened to *-î*, as in the Dual יָיִן for יָיִם Ez. 13, 18. The only indubitable instances

of this are *גִּמְרֵי* nations 2 Sam. 22, 44 repeated Ps. 144, 2 (it is altered in Ps. 18, 44) *הַחֲצֵצִי* the arrows 1 Sam. 20, 38 *K'tib*, corrected by the *Q'ri*; *הַשְּׁלִישִׁי* 2 Sam. 23, 8, concern. which cf. §. 386; and perhaps *הַיָּדֵי* strings Ps. 45, 9. Great care must be taken not to extend this possibility too far, as it is erroneously assumed e. g. in *בְּאַרְיֵי* Ps. 22, 17, *בְּרֵתִי וּבְעֵלֵתִי*, *הַבְּרִי* 2 Kgs. 11, 4. 19 all of which, with the exception of the first, are adjective formations in *-i*. — Still less can *יֵ* occur as shortened ending of the *pl.*: *הַלְּבָבִי* Jer. 22, 14 is probably a *dual* like *valva*, so that the ordinary windows are not meant, but more artificial double ones; *גִּזְרֵי* locust and *הָרָר* white linen are *sing.* formed accord. to §. 327: *אֲדֹנָי* God is properly *my Lord*, cf. especially Ps. 16, 2 and *אֲדֹנָי* in a profane sense Gen. 23, 6; concerning *שְׂדֵי* and *שָׂדֵי* see §. 324. 330, and concern. the *יֵ* Jdgs. 5, 15 and Js. 20, 4 see below on the *stat. constr.* §. 414.

360 The signification of the plural is still very wide and free in Heb., so that later languages often use the singular for this plural; a plural is, however, never formed in violation of the strict notion:

1) it is used to *comprehend isolated particulars under a higher idea*, so that it approaches very near to the idea of the *abstract*, and this *pl.* sometimes coincides with the *fem. sg.* §. 313 which is more definitely used in that sense, as *הַשְּׁבִיבִים* *tenebrae* Js. 50, 10 and *הַשְּׁבִיבָה* Ps. 110, 3 and *הַדְּרֹתָן* 29, 2. 96, 9 *sacred ornaments*; yet the *fem. sg.* has become much more frequent for the abstract, and the *pl.* is rather antiquated and often merely poetic. Thus 1) rarely from adjectives, *חַיִּים* life in prose also, from *חַי* living, *בְּנֵמִינִים* loveliness Js. 17, 10. — 2) from substantives of the first formation: *אֲהָבִים* and *דְּרִים* love, *בְּרִיִּים* *deliciae* 2 Sam. 1, 24, *מוֹתִים* death Ez. 28, 10 cf. v. 8. Js. 53, 9; and from substantives with prefixed *מ* or *ה*: *מִבְּרִיִּים* *delight*, *הַעֲנִיִּים* *tenderness* Mich. 1, 16. — 3) most frequently of all in the new abstract derivations from substantives or verbs, as *עֲלֻמִּים* *juventus* Iob 20, 11, *זָקִינִים* *senectus* §. 328, *עֲשָׁקִים* *oppression* Am. 3, 9. Iob 35, 9. Koh. 4, 1. *פְּדוּיִם* *ransom* Num. 3, 46-51, *הַמְּהַמִּים* *deceit* Jer. 10, 15 accord. to §. 334. The use of the *fem. pl.* is very rare here, as *עוֹלֵלֹת* *gleaning*¹⁾.

1) Cf. CIRIBIRD'S *Gram. Armen.* p. 41.

It is an entirely different case when a singular of abstract signification is changed into the plural for the reason that the abstract is not conceived in its strict signification, but rather as made up of many individual acts and instances, as *צְדָקוֹת* *righteousnesses* i. e. *righteous deeds*, instances of divine protection Jdgs. 5, 11, or because the term is equally applied to more than one, as that *בְּסָפִים* §. 358 *monies* i. e. the money of many together. In this respect too has Heb. still great freedom.

2) Many names for not desert regions prefer the plural, in as much as such a region may be conceived as, in fact, consisting of a number of single things there assembled, as *אֲחֵרִים* the hinder part, *פָּנִים* the anterior part, and then the face, on account of its shortness always in the *pl.*, the primitive *שָׁמַיִם* heaven, properly *superiora*, always in the *pl.* and *תַּהֲמִיּוֹת* *inferiora* a poetic innovation. — In the same way greater coherent things which are infinitely divisible, as *מַיִם* water always in the *pl.* like *āpas* in Sanscrit, *הַמִּזֵּה* often in the *pl.* like *maenia*, for *town-wall*; articles of commerce which are sent in small pieces, as *אֲהָלִים* aloes, *נִכְאֹת* *θυμάρματα* etc.

3) Some vestiges of plurals for the ideas of *Lord, Master*, have been preserved from the ancient period before Moses ¹⁾, and the *pl.* must accordingly in that earliest time have also easily denoted extent, dignity, majesty: but this feeling of the language is utterly lost in the Hebrew language as we find it, so that only small and scattered traces of that idiom are still discoverable ²⁾. The word *אֱלֹהִים* God, however, appears to have remained always in the *pl.* in prose, from that time, not so much on account of its resemblance to the idea of *Lord*, as because they conceived the Deity in ancient times as infinitely numerous and divisible and yet as conjoined; for *הַרְפִּים* in the same manner is always used in the *pl.* as *penates*, even in cases where it can only mean *one* image Gen. 31, 34. 1 Sam. 19, 13. 16. The poets however, have already formed the *sg.* *אֱלֹהִי* again, and with exactly the same signification ³⁾. It is a great error to suppose that the Heb. language, as we find it, has any feeling for a so called *plur. majestaticus*.

- 1) Thus *אֲדֹנָי* lord, when with suff. is still always in the *pl.* (except *אֲדֹנָי* my lord, as a greater distinction from *אֱלֹהִי* = God), in *stat. constr.* rarely *אֲדֹנָי* still Gen. 39, 20. 42, 13. in *stat. absol.* very seldom *אֲדֹנִים*; the other word *בָּעַל* lord is only retained in the *pl.* with the short suff. of the 3 ps. *sg.*, as *בָּעָלָיו* his lord, *בָּעָלֶיהָ*. — In a similar manner *צַוְנָה* neck (probably *tendines* properly) in *stat. constr.* and before suff. is often *צַוְנָהּ*. — What is much more important, however, the signification of the plural seems to be devoid of all influence in the Syntax, see below.
- 2) This idiom is still more lost in Arabic and Aramaic; yet cf. a vestige Sura 23, 101 and Beidhavi on the passage in *DE Sacy Gram. Arabe* II. p. 237.
- 3) On the other hand, there is a poetical *pl.* of the same sense formed after *אֱלֹהִים* though very seldom, as *קֹדְשֵׁיךָ* the holy one Hos. 12, 1. cf. Js. 54, 5. Koli. 12, 1.

No new plural can be formed from such words which

have been petrified, as it were, in the *pl.* form, so that פָּנִים is also used for *faces* Ez. 1, 6. and אֱלֹהִים for *gods*.

362 3. The *dual* ¹⁾, a still rare formation of the plural and variety of it, has also formed its ending יָם from the general ending of the *pl.* by an easy modification (§. 208). As only this single ending has been formed, without any further distinction of gender, it is therefore attached to the ending of the *fem. sg.* if the *sg.* has it already, as נְהַשֶּׁת *brafs*, נְהַשְׁתִּים *double fetters* Jer. 39, 7; and generally the dual, as a new formation, is founded on the form of the *sg.*, as יוֹם *day* (*pl.* יָמִים §. 382) יוֹמִים *biduum*; yet we find הַמִּזְוֵתִים *double wall* from the *pl.* הַמִּזְוֶה, because it is used as *maenia* for *wall of a town* Js. 22, 11.

1) Cf. VON HUMBOLDT *über den Dualis*. Berlin 1828.

The dual is confined, as to its use in Hebrew, to the nearest and most necessary cases of its idea. It properly represents a whole divided in two halves, and expresses the idea of a thing which is double or in pairs. Two things or persons which come together casually can never be combined by the dual; the dual is not a mere variation of the number *two* ¹⁾. It is, therefore, only found in some substantives, and has so little influence on the construction, that adjective, verb, and pronoun can only be connected with it in the *pl.*, as יָמִים *lofty eyes* Prov. 6, 17. It is thus found in the numerals שְׁנַיִם *two*, מֵאוֹתַיִם 200, אֲלָפַיִם 2000 — 2) but especially of objects which are usually conceived together as a *whole consisting of two parts*, most frequently of double members, as יָדַיִם *the hands*, אֲפִידִים *nostrils*, לְוִיִּם *loins*, מִחְנִיִּם *hips*, שְׁנַיִם *teeth* (the two rows), כְּנָפַיִם *wings*; moreover of utensils, as מֵאֻזְנַיִם *balances*, רֶחֱלִים *mill* (two stones). In such words, the dual, as a modification of the plural, is so alone in use that the plural form does not return again after כָּל *all* or numerals above *two*, as שִׁבְעָה עֵינַיִם *seven eyes* Zach. 3, 9 ²⁾. — 3) of other objects only when they are both closely connected in idea, as נְהַרִּים *the two rivers* (Euphrates and Tigris), or as יוֹמִים *biduum*, שְׁנָתַיִם *biennium*, שְׁבָעִים *two weeks*. אַמְתַּיִם *two ells*, בְּשָׁנַיִם *twice*. In the same way also עֶרְבַּיִם *evening* (the time before and after sunset), צֶהְרַיִם *noon* (before and after the greatest height of the sun). Only poetical and very rare are רֶחֱמַתַּיִם *two women* Jdgs. 5, 30. דְּרָבַיִם *double way* Prov. 28, 18. The dual, however, can never loose its signification: עֲצָלָתַיִם Koh. 10, 18 is from עָצַל (*עָצַל*) *lazy, the lazy two* (hands).

1) Hence too the numeral must be also added where the number two is rendered very emphatic, as שְׁתֵּי כַרְעִים *two* (and not more) *legs* Am. 3, 12.

- 2) If we consider such words, we come to the conclusion, that the language had a much more extended use of the dual in its earlier periods, and that words like נְשִׁירִים, עִירָרִים have remained fixed in the dual form while the dual otherwise became extinct.

B. *Gender* may indeed be *externally* distinguished by endings: nevertheless the *sense* of the gender is always more primitive and powerful than the external characteristics, so that it is not enough to be acquainted with the mere endings. For it was only possible for the youthful imagination of the remotest antiquity, which beheld all nature with the most vivid perception, to conceive, not only objects whose gender is externally visible, but all others also with distinction of gender according to their resemblance to those, and thus to attribute to all things visible or conceivable either a higher, more original, independent life and energy, or a lower, more dependent, weaker one, and thus to comprehend all nature in the cooperation and relation of its parts. The distinction of gender is in Hebrew also already a tradition of an earlier, unknown time, and is no longer in its original power; much remains fixed and, as it were, petrified from the earliest time, although the language on the whole still retains the feeling by which the *ideal* gender is determined, together with the physical one, and always propagates it. Yet Hebrew is in this respect also very far from being so inanimate and poor as later languages; the *ideal* gender is still much more plastic and changeable, and is still in perpetual increase and development, many nouns going over from the nearest, most general gender into the *fem.* or inclining to it, and others again leaving the *fem.* as the feeling of the *fem.* becomes weaker. *Idea* and *form* of the gender must, therefore, be attentively observed and distinguished.

As accord. to §. 209 there are only the two nearest antitheses in Heb., the *msc.*, as the nearest form, and the *fem.*, and the *neuter* is still wanting, they have, therefore, a much wider signification than in our languages. There is no feeling in Heb. for our *neuter*; if the *neuter*, however, expresses what is inanimate or what is conceived abstractedly or too indefinitely, the *fem.* must correspond to it in Hebrew, in the strictest sense, as it expresses what is weaker, less animate: only that the nearer form, the *msc.*, is often sufficient in cases where there is no liability to obscurity. For instance, if a thing is to be spoken of *indefinitely*, where we use the *neuter*, then the *fem.* is most distinct in the pronoun, as הִיא *this* Ex. 9, 16, in the *pl.* הֵנָּה like *ea, rañra*; but the lighter *msc.* הֵן *this* and הֵם *that* is also not rare, and as suffix, as Am. 1, 3; in the adjective, on the other hand, the *msc.* is only rarely and poetically used

234 §. 365. Number and gender in the noun.

as *neuter* on account of the greater obscurity, especially in the pl., as כָּבֵד *aequum*, uprightness Js. 57, 2. in the pl. נְגִידִים *nobilia* Prov. 8, 6. אֲמֹנָה *amoena* Ps. 16, 6, on the contrary *fem.* נְכֵחָה Am. 3, 10. אֶחָד *unum* Iob 9, 20, in the pl. גְּדֹלוֹת *magna*. Concerning the verb see the Syntax.

- 365 1. The ending of the *fem.* is *ā*, הָ accord. to §. 209, as טוב *bonus* טִיבָה *bona*; in later writers it is sometimes written אָ accord. to §. 153, as אֶחָד Js. 19, 17; Ez. 19, 2. 27, 31. Lam. 3, 12. Ps. 127, 2.

The harder *-āt* (§. 209) endeavours indeed to fix itself in the noun frequently, but must nevertheless be dependent on certain conditions and occasions. Viz. it is only found properly in cases where the ending of the *fem.* may be attached *without tone* and even without vowel. This is most easy if the word ends, or may end, in a vowel hostile to *a*, as *ī*, *ū*, *ō* then displace the short *ā* of *at*, as יְרֵדִית from יְרֵדִי, cf. §. 344. The ה is moreover attached to a consonant-ending, if its accented vowel can support the ה also; for it is on account of the progressive shortening of this ending that it tries to give up the tone when it strikes against a consonant, and, therefore, to attach itself *hard* i. e. as a mere consonant *t* to the consonant, without a firm vowel. In this manner last syllables with two consonants must arise, as הַחֲמִיָּה, הַחֲמִיָּה (and instead of this, regularly הַחֲמִיָּה like the first accord. to §. 46. 287) יִכְלֶה from הוֹחֵם, הוֹחֵם, יִכְלֶה: the accented stem vowel must therefore contract itself and accommodate itself to its new posture, although these forms always assume the auxiliary *ē* in Heb. accord. to §. 29 f. 317, as הַחֲמִיָּה, יִכְלֶה. From this it is also clear that the shorter the accented last vowel is, the more easy is this connexion with ה, but the longer and more immoveable it is, the more difficult and rare; this may be traced by steps, see below §. 385 ff. This formation with two final consonants is absolutely impossible in nouns such as those in the first formation; for מִלְכָּה, מִלְכָּה is an intolerable pronunciation in Heb. The same thing would occur by reduplication of the last consonant, as קִטְּוֹה cannot be changed into קִטְּוֹה; nevertheless the shortened toneless pronunciation is sometimes produced by the disappearance of the reduplication, as אֶשֶׁה for אֶשֶׁה, in which, however, *e* (*i*) always remains. This harder, coarser ending, however, always appears to proceed from the original accented vocalic ending. And this ending always only accompanies the original one as a new one which occasionally intrudes and fixes itself. Lastly, it is easy to conceive why this coarser pronunciation only intrudes into the *substantive*

and words of obscure derivation, while the participle and adjective retain the lighter, more primitive one.

It is only very seldom, and rather in poetry and at a late period, that ת is found even where it cannot attach itself without the tone; and indeed with *ā*, as תָּהָה Ps. 74, 19, or rather with *ā* (as a distinction from — *āt* as the usual formation of the *stat. constr.* from תָּהָה §. 414), as תָּהָה Ps. 60, 13. 16, 6. Concerning the use in adverbs see below among the particles.

Very rarely does such a *fem.* in ת become so uncertain as to form that it goes over into the *msc.*, as דָּעָה knowledge (§. 384) is construed as *msc.* Prov. 2, 10. 14, 6; נְחֹשֶׁת brass as *msc.* improperly Ez. 1, 7; cf. תְּנִיחִים *pl.* from תְּנִיחָה §. 381.

A great number of substantives, however, are only feminine as to idea without any termination or external sign. To these belong

1) the few which may be called *physical fem.* constantly, as אִם mother, פֶּלֶשׁ pellex, רֵעָה ewe, cf. §. 371.

2) The *ideal fem.* are much more numerous and fluctuate much more in use, some being constantly *fem.* according to primitive perception, many going over sometimes into the *msc.*, and lastly, others only just leaning to the *fem.* but being more usually masculine. Most of them may be brought under distinct classes:

a) As the *earth, native country, town* were conceived as the sustaining mother of the inhabitants (children), אֶרֶץ *earth, land*, תֵּבֵל poet. the same, יָרֵךְ *town* have very regularly become feminine. Hence all names of particular countries and towns are *fem.*; nay even the names of *nations* and *tribes* may be construed as *fem.*, inasmuch as *land* and *people* are very near and cognate ideas; according to this, even עַם *people* is sometimes *fem.* Ex. 5, 16 cf. 12, 33. Jer. 8, 5. Many names of *places*, following these, gradually become *fem.*: שְׂאוֹל *orcus* Js. 5, 14; גֵּיא *valley* Zach. 14, 4. 5. כְּכַר *district round about* Gen. 13, 10. מִבְצָר *fortress* Hab. 1, 10. שַׁעַר *gate* Js. 14, 31. תְּהוֹם *flood, sea*, Gen. 7, 11. Jon. 2, 6.

b) As names of mysterious, invisible agencies; נֶפֶשׁ *soul* always; רוּחַ *wind, spirit* (very seldom still *msc.* Ps. 51, 12. Koh. 1, 6. Ex. 10, 13); כְּבוֹד *honour, most precious part* = *soul* Gen. 49, 6, may follow the former, and all names of particular *winds* and points of the compass, the latter. — In the same way אֵשׁ *fire* is almost always *fem.* (Ps. 104, 4); hence זְבִיחַ *brightness of fire* Hab. 3, 4. and שֶׁמֶשׁ *the sun* (except a few places Gen. 19, 23. Ps. 113, 3), whereas יָרֵךְ

the moon remains *misc.*, both in a mythological sense also. as in German. — עָב *cloud misc. and fem.* 1 Kgs. 18, 44.

c) The idea of the feminine, as the weaker and more dependent, is extended with great latitude to all things which serve man, which he uses as possessor of them; thus the *fem.* is transferred α) to very many names of the *members* of man and beasts, especially of those which man most frequently uses as instruments: יָד and כַּף *hand* (very seldom not *fem.* Ex. 17, 12) which are very often followed by יְמִין *right hand*; רֶגֶל *foot* (very seldom not *fem.* Jer. 13, 16) which is followed by כַּסָּא *step, vicis* (seldom not *fem.* Jdgs. 16, 28) and אֲשׁוּר *step*; אֶצְבַּע *finger*, בֶּהֶן *thumb*, (seldom not *fem.* Js. 17, 5) זְרוֹעַ *arm*, עֵינָן *eye* (very seldom not *fem.* Cant. 4, 9), אָזֶן *ear*, לְשׁוֹן *tongue* (not *fem.* Ps. 22, 16), שֵׁן *tooth* (fluctuating), זָקֵן *beard* (fluctuating), בֶּטֶן *belly*, which is followed by רֶחֶם *womb* Jer. 20, 17; בִּרְךָ *knee*, עֲצָם *bone* (also not *fem.* Ez. 24, 10) צִלְעַת *rib*; קֶרֶן *horn*, כַּנֶּף *wing*. — β) to names of *garments*: נָעִל *shoe*; and once Lev. 6, 20 בִּגְדָא *garment*; to names of *utensils* and *instruments*: חֶרֶב *sword*, הַצֵּר *razor* Js. 7, 20, עֲשֵׂת *work of art* Cant. 5, 14. צַהַר *window* Gen. 6, 16 (?) כּוֹס *cup*, אֵה *fire-pan*, יָתֵד *peg*; these still fluctuate, כִּיר *pot*, בַּד *pail*, אָרוֹן *coffer*, נִיטָה and שֵׁבֶט *staff*. In the same way לֶחֶם *bread* is sometimes *fem.* Lev. 23, 17, which is followed by פַּת *piece of bread* Prov. 17, 1, and once by מֵאֲכָל *food* Hab. 1, 16. — γ) to inanimate objects in space, in which man moves or which he uses: הַיָּצֵר *atrium* Ez. 10, 4. 5. 47, 16. מַחֲנֶה *camp* Gen. 32, 9. קִיר *wall*, גֹּדֶר *id.* (fluctuating), עֶרֶשׁ *bed*, גַּלִּי *ship* (fluctuating) 1 Kgs. 10, 11. 12), בְּאֵר *well*, גֶּרֶן *threshing-floor*, דֶּרֶךְ and אֶרֶץ *way*, רְחוֹב *street* Dan. 9, 25 cf. Zach. 8, 5. very seldom בֵּית *house*, אֹהֶל *tent*, מְקוֹם *place* Prov. 2, 18. Iob 18, 14. 20, 9. גַּן *garden* Gen. 2, 15 cf. Cant. 4, 11. פָּרֶם *vineyard* Js. 27, 2 f. אֶבֶן *stone*, and names of stones and plants in general, as גִּפְתָּן *vine* (fluctuating Gen. 40, 12. 41. Hos. 10, 1). — In the same way, names of the *time* in which man moves: יָמָא *time* (fluctuating), which some others may follow: עָרֵב *evening*, שַׁבָּת *sabbath*, יוֹבֵל *year of jubilee*.

Sometimes too the *fem.* is found developed as to the form: וְגִדְרָתָא and גִּדְרָא *wall*, גִּנָּה and גֶּן *garden*.

Quite unusually עֲנָל *trouble* is *fem.* in Koh. 10, 15.

Because נָהָר *river* and הָר *mountain*, on the other hand, are conceived as *misc.*, the whole class of *ivers* and *mountains*, therefore, (even with the ending of the *fem.* 2 Kgs. 5, 12) follows this analogy.

The necessity of the external feminine formation is, on the other hand,

1) most urgent, when the *same noun* is applied to different genders, therefore always in the *predicable* or adjective ¹⁾, which does not, in itself, contain the notion of a gender, but is only formed according to the gender of the subject at the time, whether it be desirable only to signify the gender, as אֶלְמָן *viduus*, אֶלְמָנָה *vidua*, or whether it is construed with a substantive of a definite gender, as עִיר גְּדוֹלָה *urbs magna*.

1) And *verb*, for it always contains a predicate.

The physical gender is also thus distinguished in many substantives, as אִישׁ *man*, אִשָּׁה *woman*, עֶלֶם *juvencus*, עֶלְמָה *juvenca*, עֵגֶל *vitulus*, עֵגְלָה *vitula*. We may nevertheless distinctly trace how the distinction of gender is not yet to strictly prominent in many, neither in the construction nor in the ending: α) in many classes of animals the distinction of whose gender is less important, the gender is neither distinguished in the signification nor in the form, whether the usage of the language has called the whole class after the *fem.*, as יוֹנָה *dove*, דְּבוּרָה *bee*, and without ending צַפְרָדֵּי *frog* Ex. 8, 2, or after the *msc.* as דָּב *bear*; even the *predicate* does not yet adapt itself to the sense of the gender, as דָּב שְׂכוּר *ursa orba* Hos. 13, 8. אֲלֹרְפִים מְסֻבִּים Ps. 144, 14 where the part. also is in the nearest form. These are *Nomina mixta*. — β) In other names there is indeed no *ending*, but the gender is nevertheless distinguished in the construction as to the *sense*; e. g. בָּקָר *neat cattle* as *msc.* or *fem.*, שׁוֹר *bullock msc.* Job 21, 10 גְּמָלִים *camels* in general as *msc.* Gen. 24, 63, but also rendered definite with the *fem.* גְּמֵלִים מִיִּנְקוֹת *milch camels* 32, 16; in the same way צִפּוֹר *little bird* Ps. 102, 8, cf. 84, 4; צֶאֱן *small cattle* in general *fem.*, when referred to a male as *msc.* 30, 39; these might be called *Nomina communia*, different from the fluctuating ideal feminines §. 362. Moreover, an *epicene* noun often begins to distinguish the gender more definitely in this manner 2 Kgs. 2, 24. — γ) The more frequent such nouns of common gender are, the more definitely is the *fem.* expressed in the external form, and some nouns of that kind are in progress to doing so: אֵיִל *still doe* Ps. 42, 2, but more definitely אֵילָה; תְּזוֹת *she wolves* Mal. 1, 3 else always תְּזִים; נַעַר is a *young person, boy and girl* in the Pentateuch, but נַעֲרָה is afterwards appropriated to the latter.

2) If the substantive when in the nearest form i. e. 368 without feminine ending accord. to §. 358, still signifies the mere *mass*, a *fem.* may then be so formed from it that the *fem.*, as denoting what is weaker, derived, in general, may here, therefore, express a *single one* of the mass; this formation is frequent in Arabic (*nomen unitatis*), but is very rare in Heb., as אֶרֶץ *ship* in general as *mass* = *fleet*, אֶרֶץ *a single ship*. Cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 174 f. The *pl.* is then most naturally formed from this *fem.*, as

אֲנִיּוֹת. We may judge how little this formation is extended, by the fact, that we generally find perfectly different words for the individuals beside the words for the species, as אֶחָד *one of the small cattle* beside צֹאֵן, בָּזָר *taurus* and other words beside בְּזָקֵר, בְּזוֹר *little bird* and other words beside עוֹף.

3) Inasmuch as the *fem.* expresses what is less animated and independent, what is rather lifeless and immovable, it also denotes the idea of the *abstract*, and is very often used for such formations for abstracts, as has been already more particularly stated §. 313 ff. — From this, lastly, is developed the idea of the *collective*, inasmuch as it (in direct opposition to No. 2) is only derived from a word signifying an individual, see §. 346.

- 369 Instead of *-d*, *é* §. 45 is sometimes found as ending of the *fem.*, yet very rarely and isolatedly in common substantives: גְּלֻפָּה *languishing* Ez. 31, 15. זִירָה *fem.* from the part pass. זִיר Js. 59, 5 ¹⁾, more constantly in some substantives only in which the *fem.* is weak and suppressed as to the cause also, as אֲשֶׁה *offering with fire* (in the *pl.* it is also *msc.* as to the construction), and in many names of plants and animals: לְבָנָה *storax*, פִּשְׁתָּה beside פִּשְׁתָּה *flax*, for whose *pl.* see §. 374. This *é* is then further changed to *é* in אֲרִיָּה *lion* (*pl.* still אֲרִיּוֹת, but construed as *msc.* 1 Kgs. 10, 19) and in the numeral עֶשְׂרֵה.

1) As also in the verb once Zach. 5, 4.

- 370 Toneless *a* is also sometimes found, as of less power, in some words which border on the *fem.*, as לַיְלָה *night* cf. the *pl.* לַיְלֹת §. 373., which is always *msc.* as to construction, הַרְקָה *the sun* (cf. שֶׁמֶשׁ in prose §. 366) Jdgs. 14, 18. Or by poetical innovation and sonorousness in words which may either be *fem.* as to the sense, as אֶרֶצָה *earth* Job. 34, 13, or already actually have the ending of the *fem.*, so that the ending itself is repeated ¹⁾, as יִשְׁעָהָ from יִשְׁעָהָ *deliverance* Ps. 3, 3. 80, 3, to which some later writers are especially partial; in such we find even מוֹתָהָ *death* Ps. 116, 15, although ה is radical, and נַחֲלָה *brook* 124, 4. In the same way תַּפְחָהָ [Js. 30, 33 by a new formation from תַּפַּח, in which ה is really produced by the *fem.* ²⁾).

1) Cf. גִּלְתָּהָ §. 286, and in the pronoun זָאתָ for זָאת Jer. 26, 6 *K'tib.*

2) The Masoretes pointed words so even on other occasions, if the ending of the *fem.* appeared to them superfluous in comparison with other passages or on account of some other difficulty, as הַגְּלִילָה (usually הַגְּלִיל) 2 Kgs. 15, 29; v. Ez. 8, 2, cf. 1, 4. — Dt. 14, 17 cf. Lev. 11, 18; — Num. 21, 20 cf. 23, 28; — Ez. 21, 31; Hos. 7, 4; Jer. 48, 19.

2. In the *plural*, the ending of the *fem.* is *-ות*. 371

The connexion of this *dt* with the *sg.* *-d*, which is rather difficult to recognise, is according to all traces, the following. If the original and, therefore, common ending if the *pl.* was *ān* accord. to §. 359, we should expect the *fem.* of it to be *ānā*, of which longer ending they are actually some remains in the pronoun still. In Aramaic, *ān*, shortened out of *ana* or *ānet* accord. to §. 365, is thus found as the nearest ending of the *fem. sg.*, which becomes *-dt* in the stat. constr. where *n* falls away, the *fem.* *ת* from the *sg.* §. 414 being introduced. In Heb. however, this *dt* (*dt*), only has come into use, written *ות* or *ות*; *אה* in Ez. 31, 8. 47, 11 is, according to the meaning of the writer, to be read *dt* after Chaldaic manner.

The ending *ות* is related to it not only as *msc.* to *fem.*, but also as the originally more general one (corresponding to the *sg.* without ending) to the particular. Both are therefore directly opposed to each other as *msc.* and *fem.* in *adjectives*, as in the *sg.* (§. 367): *טובים* *boni*, *טובה* *bonae*; and names of physical objects in the same stem: *מלכים* *reges*, *מלכות* *reginae*; the abstract forms which have the ending of the *fem.* in the *sg.*, retain it in the *pl.*, as *שמימה* *solitudo*, *שמימה*. In the other substantives, however, there is a more manifold relation:

1) *Physical fem.* which are still without ending in the *sg.* have also for the most part preserved the nearest ending *ות* in the *pl.*, although they must always be conceived and construed as *fem.*, as *פגגשים* *concubines*, *רחלים* *ewes*, *עזים* *she-goats*, cf. also *נשים* *women* §. 382; others have already always assumed the ending of the *fem.*, as *אם* *mother*: *אמהות*, *אמהות* *she-ass*: *אמהות*.

2) *Ideal fem.* which are still without ending in the *sg.* 372 may a) remain in the nearest ending in the *pl.*, as *ערים* *cities*, *אבנים* *stones* (always *fem.*) *דרכים* *ways* (fluctuating); but the greater number have already taken the ending of the *fem.* as *אצבעות*, *בהמות* *fingers*, *נפשות* (except Ez. 13, 20), *עשרות*, *נחמות*, *כוסות*, *הרבות*, *לשונות*, *אצבעות*, *רחות*, *קירות*, *בארות*, *רחבות*, *הצות* (*streets*), *גרות*, *גרות* (*גרות*). — b) in others, especially in those which are just going over into the *fem.*, the use of the endings is fluctuating, as the more definite ending *ות* gradually intrudes, as *נעלות* only once Jos. 9, 5 construed with the adjective; *מבצרות* only Dan. 11, 15. *עמים* *times*, *עמות* only thrice, poetical; *עב* *cloud*, *עבים* seldom *עבות*; *בגד*, *בגדים* (only Ps. 45, 9); *חלון* *window* (fluctuating), *חללים* and *חללות*; *חצרים* and *חצרות*; *מטים* only Hab. 3, 14, everywhere else *מטה* from *מטה*.

3) Many substantives whose idea approaches that of the 373 substantives which are generally used as *fem.*, have cons-

tantly taken, or, are only beginning to take the ending *-ot* in the *pl.*, whereas in the *sg.* they are almost always without ending and construction of the *fem.*, and are not even construed as *fem.* with that plural ending ¹⁾. Thus *a)* from substantives which approach the ideal *fem.*, constantly: *לב* heart (except *Nah.* 2, 8), *זנב* tail, *עור* skin, *חזה* breast, *טפח* hand-breadth; *מקל* staff, *אוצר* treasure, *כסא* throne, *מקום* place, *לוח* tablet, *אב* and *נדר* leathern bottle, *נר* and *מזבח* candlestick, *שולחן* table, *מזבח* altar, *ארמון* palace, *שדה* field, *שופר* trumpet; names of plants: *אשכול* cluster of grapes, *עשב* herb; *לפיד* lapillus, lot; *לילה* or *לילה* §. 370 night, *שבוע* week (*שבועות* in Dan. only); less constantly, with both endings: *קבר* grave, *מעיין* fountain, *נהר* river, *מגדל* tower, *מזרק* cup, *אכלמה* and *גרמה* bundle, *משבב* bed, *מסמר* nail, *דור* generation *f.* except in the expression *דורי דרים*; it is only rarely that *-ot* is found in *היכל* palace, *אולם* portico, *גזר* a wood, *מגרש* pasture, *גב* fellow of a wheel, *עבה* string; only in poetry in *צוואר* neck, *יום* day, *pl.* *ימים*; the ending *-ot* is only preserved before suffixes, in *בנור* harp, *מושב* seat, *מוסר* fetter. — *b)* A few words which have the sense of abstracts, and especially with the ending *-ot*, which is hardly ever found in the form of the *fem.* in the *sg.* §. 342: *עוונות* iniquities, *חזיונות* visions, *עצמות* thoughts from *עין* etc., the *pl.* of *חלום* dream, *קול* voice has always *-ot*, the *pl.* of *זכרון* memorial and *מכאב* pain has both endings.

- 1) Even when the *sg.* has become entirely *fem.* and both endings are found in the *pl.*, the ending *-ot* is sometimes not construed as *fem.* Ps. 102, 28. Job 16, 22.

It is from an entirely different cause that *אב* father, *שם* name always form *אבות*, *שמות*, which always remain *msc.* as to the sense. The *ó* or *d*, namely, which was properly the third rad. here §. 324 accorded with this ending most easily; these are, however, the only examples of the kind ¹⁾. The *pl.* from *אח* brother is formed *אחים*, because *אחות* is *sister* §. 386.

- 1) More frequently in Aethiopic, LUDOLFI *Gram. Aeth.* p. 105.

374 Much fewer substantives have, on the contrary, the ending of the *fem.* in the *sg.*, and the ancient more general *-ot* in the *pl.*, partly because the *fem.* became more indistinct, and partly because the ending of the *fem.* had only intruded into the *sg.* Thus many names of plants and animals: *פשתים*: *פשתה* (or *פשתה* §. 369) *fig*; in the same way from *חטה* wheat, *שערה* barley, *שבלת* ear of corn: from names of animals: *נקלה* ant, *יונה* dove, *דברה* bee; *ביצה* egg; *לבנה* brick; moreover, *שנה* year, *pl.* *שנים*, though in poetry also *שנות*; as an abstract *ניצה*

word pl. מְגִלִּים. Such substantives, as they are *fem.* as to form in the *sg.*, are almost always construed as *fem.* even when with this ending יָם (not so, for instance, Prov. 30, 25. Job. 4, 4. 19, 23).

In many of the ideal *fem.*, especially the names of *members*, the language has distinguished the two endings of the *pl.* in such a manner, that the *fem.* signifies rather what is *inanimate* or imitated by *art.*, as פְּעָמָיו *steps, feet of man* Ps. 58, 11, פְּעָמֹת *feet of the ark* Ex. 25, 12; עֲצָמוֹת rather *bones of the dead*, though not always, cf. §. 376. This distinction is not so often found in the *sg.*, as יָרֵךְ *side, hip*: יָרֵכָה *side of a building*. Rarely was the *fem.* appropriated to what was animate, so that the *msc.* remained for the inanimate, as צְלָעוֹת *ribs*, אֶלְעִים *leaves of a door* 1 Kgs. 6, 34.

3. The *gender* of the *dual* is plain from what is above said. A *du.* 376 derived from a *sg.* with the ending of the *fem.* must be *fem.*, as נְחֹשְׁתִּים. But most *duals*, the names of *members* and *instruments*, are ideal *fem.* accord. to §. 363, and are, for the most part, construed as *fem.*; although not always, e. g. שְׁדֵּי־חָם *breasts* as *msc.* Hos. 9, 14. Some as *fem.* gradually assume the *fem.* ending -וֹת instead of the *dual* ending, as שְׁפָחוֹת *lips* poet. for שְׁפָתַיִם; generally, however, the *fem.* with -וֹת is applied to inanimate and artificial objects accord. to §. 375, as בְּפוֹת *handles*, כַּפָּיִם *hands*; and even with the *dual* ending to the *fem. sg.*, in which case the *dual* belongs to the word from its origin and the *fem.* is for the distinction of the inanimate object: רַבְּפָתָיִם *the back parts* from יָרֵכַיִם *hips*.

II. Form of nouns in consequence of the attachment 377 of these endings for number and gender.

These four endings have all one character, inasmuch as they begin with vowels and have the tone (§. 60); the ending of the *fem. sg.* הָ is nevertheless the lightest, that of the *pl.* יָם and -וֹת, especially the latter, attract the tone still more, as also that of the *dual* יָם properly. The last endings of the stems, -ōn, -ī, -ūt §. 341 ff. generally produce precisely the same changes.

Nominal stems, whose vowel-sounds do not admit any 378 further change or shortening before these accented endings, require no further consideration here nor in any further flexion: it is evident from the rules on the formation of stems what vowels are either in themselves immutable, as ū in גְּבוּל §. 328. 331, פָּחוּב §. 323, ā in קָב §. 324 etc., or are supported by the syllable, as the ŷ in שְׁמִירָה §. 331, or where there is already in the stem a sound not admitting further shortening, as the sound of the first rad. in גְּבִירָה §. 328. The other stems are divided here, with regard to the position and nature of their vocalization, into three classes; 1) the

simple stems of the first formation §. 317 ff. and some others which stand nearest to them externally; 2) the simple stems of the second formation in which the first rad. has a vowel which does not remain, and similar stems; 3) the stems whose first syllable supports the vowel immutably. There then only remain the nouns with the accented vowel-endings which require to be especially considered on that account.

Here and in the following kinds of flexion, the cases in which the heaviness of the vowels produced by reduplication of the following consonant mentioned in §. 316, and those in which the *fem.* is used §. 365, must be minutely observed even in particulars; the general rules for this have been given above.

- 379 1. *The simple nouns of the first formation* have the fuller pronunciations מַלְכָּה, סֶרֶר, פֶּפֶר only in case they stand alone, accord. to §. 317:

1) but before the accented *á* of the *fem. sg.*, the original and shorter pronunciation returns again; thus with *o* מַלְכָּהּ, סֶרֶרָה, פֶּפֶרָה; with *i* (e) מַלְכָּהּ, סֶרֶרָה, פֶּפֶרָה, yet *i* intrudes into many instead of *a* accord. to §. 45, as פֶּפֶרָה *lamb* בֶּבֶשֶׁת and בֶּבֶשֶׁתָּה, from גִּבְעָה *hill* גִּבְעָהּ. Moreover, the first syllable is always a close compound one accord. to §. 173. except יֶרֶכָה §. 375 accord. to §. 173, and the proper name פֶּתָהּ = τριπύλον Ex. 28, 17; for עֲבֹתָהּ Ez. 23, 11 is more properly to be derived from עֲבֹתָהּ.

- 380 *From weak roots:*

a) From first rad. gutt. 1) עֲלֵמָה; 2) עֲמֻדָה, עֲדָנָה, עֲמֻדָה, and even עֲמֻדָה with *i* cf. §. 79; 3) עֲמֻדָה, עֲמֻדָה. — From second rad. gutt. מַעֲלָה, נַעֲרָה, נַחֲלָה, לַעֲנָה, נַחֲלָה, yet also רַעֲנָה; from בָּשָׁ §. 318 still בָּשָׁה. — מִלְכָּה *milk* contracted מִלְכָּה Job 29, 6 accord. to §. 82, so that the vowel remains as foretone at the same time.

b) The ל"ה, as ending in vowels, have peculiar formations here, the variety of which is so much the greater on account of the ל"ה frequently assuming the *fem.* ending to form abstracts (accord. to §. 206, 345); the order is this: a) few retain the sound of the 3rd rad. pure, as רַעֲיָה *amica* in Cant. 1, 9 and often, שִׁבְיָה, עֲרֵיָה, הַרְיָה, גִּיָּה *pride* for גִּאָּה, גִּאָּה acc. to §. 75, 82; some, which are formed as physical *fem.* from a *msc.* in *i*, also leave the form of the *msc.* unchanged, the *á* being attached to the *i* in such a manner that the *i* remains a vowel at the same time, therefore אֲבִיָּה *father* from the names of animals אֲבִי, אֲבִי; in the same way שִׁבְיָה. — β) The very weak sound of the 3rd rad. is more frequently altogether elided in these roots by the -á, so that the first rad., now standing by itself, takes a foretone-vowel, yet not so often *a*, as שָׁנָה *year*, שִׁפָּה *lip*, as *e* accord. to

§. 275 *ut.*: הָמָה, גִּדָּה, גִּדָּה, גִּדָּה¹); these last, however, may then be easily changed into קָרָה (*town*, poet. = קָרָה) הָלָה *door*, בִּכָּה *cushion*, אֹהֶה *sign* for אֹהֶה, root אֹהֶה. — *γ*) nevertheless the ה §. 365 can also easily attach itself to the original vowel-ending *i*, *u*: שִׁבִּיתָ, בָּבִיתָ Gen. 50, 4, הָיִיתָ *spear*, which become שִׁבִּיתָ, בָּבִיתָ Koh. 5, 10 acc. to §. 345; with a primitive *u*, רִעִיתָ *amica*, the *msc.* of which, however, is already shortened to רִעַ §. 318, 2. — From the very much shortened בֵּן §. 318, 2 fem. בַּת (for בָּת accord. to §. 46) *daughter* with resolution of the ה into ה, for בָּתָה.

1) Cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* 1. p. 281.

c) From ע" cf. §. 318, 3: a) מִיָּדָה from מִיָּד; — β) 381 from a form מִיָּדָה is formed מִיָּדָה, מִיָּדָה *garland* לוֹה = לוֹה, הָהָה Js. 47, 11; yet from מִיָּדָה, in which the second rad. is firmer as consonant, מִיָּדָה, and only when before the new addition of the toneless *a* §. 370, מִיָּדָה Job 5, 16. — The short pronunciation with ה §. 365 established itself in some substantives with shortening of the stem-vowel, which now only remains accented: בִּשְׁתָּ *shame* from בּוֹשׁ, נִפְתָּ *bow* in which *a* appears to be even shortened out of *o* (*au*) (cf. ^{סו}פִּתָּ) which might be still easier in נִפְתָּ *rest*, שִׁתָּ *pit* on account of the gutt.; cf. בִּשְׁתָּה §. 342.

From ע" 1) מִיָּדָה; 2) מִיָּדָה; 3) מִיָּדָה. The first form also goes gradually over into מִיָּדָה accord. to §. 45. In the same way abstract substantives with מִ- often have this *i* here: מִיָּדָה, מִיָּדָה. — From הוּה = הוּה, הוּה.

הָהָה *wheat* for הָהָה cf. §. 113; מִן *man* §. 318 fem. אִשָּׁה *woman*, only very seldom אִשָּׁה accord. to §. 365 Ps. 58, 9. Dt. 21, 11; but always מִיָּדָה *pitch* from מִיָּדָה, מִיָּדָה.

Some of the shortened fem. in ה- forgetful of their origin begin to go over into the *msc.* as if they were simple substantives of the first formation, as קִשָּׁה *msc.* Ez. 1, 28. אִשָּׁה *msc.* Ex. 4, 8. Js. 55, 13. cf. §. 365; hence from הָהָה *pl.* הָהָה acc. to §. 382 Js. 2, 4 and even הָהָה 2 Chro. 23, 9.

2) Before the endings of the *pl.* הָהָה, הָהָה as compound 382 syllables of heavy tone, the properly vowelless rad. is always pronounced with the *a* of the foretone accord. to §. 40, so that the originally short vowel of the first rad., which now stands by itself, cannot remain: הָהָה, הָהָה, הָהָה (from הָהָה). Only *o* accord. to §. 58 is not so easily lost entirely, so that it sometimes maintains its sound as a short *o* (Qameß-chaturf): thus always in הָהָה *shórūshim* from שָׁרָשׁ; the *pl.* of קָדָשׁ in the same way קָדָשִׁים in which, however, only the most fleeting *o* (Chatef-Qameß) remains, if it has an affix at the beginning (the article) or at the end (suffixes):

תֵּן Lev. 22, 4. Num. 5, 10. Ez. 22, 8. 2 Kgs. 12, 19.
A retraction of the *o* to the gutt. §. 75 is found in תֵּן from תֵּן *thumb*.

a) From first rad. gutt. 1) and 2) תַּקְרִיב, תַּקְרִיב from תַּקְרִיב; 3) תַּקְרִיב from תַּקְרִיב with *o* always remaining, §. 70. — With *s* as second rad. the vowel which was retracted in the sg. generally remains unaltered: תַּקְרִיב, תַּקְרִיב, תַּקְרִיב; nevertheless ראשִׁי from ראש head has been preserved accord. to the original formation (for ראשִׁי §. 82). — From תַּקְרִיב: תַּקְרִיב.

b) From אָרִי: a) from אָרִי, *fem. pl.* אָרִיִּים, *pl.* אָרִיִּים, or instead אָרִיִּים, accord. to §. 97; from אָרִי, *fem. pl.* אָרִיִּים, Ex. 38, 5; from אָרִי also אָרִיִּים. — β) from אָרִי *pl.* אָרִיִּים acc. to §. 374, from אָרִי, as there is no longer a full sound of the third rad. in the *sg.*; in the same way אָרִי *amicae* whose *sg. fem.* has the fuller form אָרִי, but the *msc.* is the short אָרִי. The אָ of the *fem.* is often retained in these short words before the ending of the *pl.* as if it belonged necessarily to the word, as אָרִיִּים Ez. 13, 18. אָרִיִּים *signs*, §. 376, even אָרִיִּים §. 381, אָרִיִּים *pits* Ps. 107, 20. — γ) from those *sg.* whose third rad. is entirely lost: אָרִי (men, only preserved in this *pl.*) from the *sg.* with the shortest pronunciation אָרִי for אָרִי acc. to §. 46, אָרִי (root אָרִי to stretch, extend = *full grown, man*); with foretone vowel on the other hand, אָרִי, אָרִי (*viscera*, only in the *pl.*) from *sg.* which already have *e*, according to which also אָרִי *vasa*, although the *sg.* is אָרִי; lastly, even with *a* as a new foretone אָרִי *sons*, אָרִי *daughters* from אָרִי, §. 380.

c) The middle sound of the *ו* may even become a semi-vowel by this formation: *תָּשִׁים* from *תִּישׁ*, *שָׁנָה* from *שִׁנָּה*; yet the second rad. has become too heavy for this in many, especially in those with *h*, *רִיחַ*, *מִנְחָה*, *לִנְחָה*, *זֶנֶת* from *רִיחַ*, *מִנְחָה*, *לִנְחָה*, *זֶנֶת*; fluctuating *תְּחִיבִים* and *הִתְחִיבִים*. — *בֵּית* *house* takes the sound *δ* in the *pl.*, only that *בֵּיתִים* is always shortened into *בֵּיתִים* *böttim* accord. to §. 51. In the same way for *עִיר* *city* (shortened from *עִיר* §. 318, 3) there must have been an older form *עִיר* from which the *pl.* *עִירִים* is derived, *δ* having been changed into an immutable *a*. On the other hand, *יּוֹם* *day* has drawn the tone entirely to the end in the *pl.* *יּוֹמִים*, so that *a* has only remained as foretone.

Sometimes a stem from the ש" is resolved by intrusion of the plural vowel, as שִׁלְשִׁלִּים *shadows*, גִּבְרִיִּים *nations* poet. Jdgs. 5, 14 from שָׁלַל, שָׁבַע.

From *אָרשׁ* *man* the original *אָרשׁ* *pl.* is preserved; only late and in poetry *אָרשׁ*; *אָרשׁ* shortened at the beginning is always used as *fem.* for *women*, and only rarely *אָרשׁ* a new formation from the *sg.* *אָרשׁ* Ez. 23, 44.

The exceptions which have the vowel with the first rad. instead of this longer pronunciation, depend on other causes: *a*) if the word only occurs in the *pl.* so that the derivation is lost, as *רַחֲמִים* *pity* prop. *viscera*. The numerals *עֶשְׂרִים* 20, *שְׁבַעִים* 70, *תְּשַׁעִים* 90, are similar isolated plurals which have departed more from the *sg.* — *b*) Words which have *always* assumed *הֶ* in the *sg.* (§. 369) lose this vowel before the vowel-endings, like all others which end so §. 222 but remain in other respects unaltered in form, as the flexion does not in the least affect the first two letters: *פְּשָׁתִּים*, *שִׁימְרִים* *sycamores*, *פִּסְטִּיּוֹת* *pistachios*, from *פִּסְתָּה*. — In polysyllabic words, the reason for the assumption of this vowel ceases of itself, as the word has a firmer support at the beginning: *פְּלִגְשִׁים*, *פְּלִגְשִׁים* *pl.* Dt. 21, 12.

3) The ending of the *dual* is attached in the same way 383 as that of the *pl.*: *דְּרָכֶיךָ* Prov. 28, 6, *לְהַקִּיב*; from a *fem.* in *הַ*: *דְּלִתֶּיךָ*, *שְׁפָתֶיךָ*; the *a* of the foretone, however, may also be absent before this longer and, at the same time, newer ending, as *בְּרָכֶיךָ*, *מִתְנַחֵם*, *קָרְנֶיךָ* beside *קָרְנֶיךָ* Dan. 8, 3. 6. 10.

Words which throw back the vowel §. 319 retain that shorter pronunciation in the *pl.* also; the *a* of the foretone is not used therefore, but the vowel, which cannot remain short in a simple syllable before the vowel-endings of the *pl.*, is brought forward to the first rad. §. 66, as *שָׁלוֹ* (for *שָׁלוֹ* acc. to §. 54) *pl.* *שָׁלוֹת* Num. 11, 31. Nevertheless the vowel has often fixed itself so firmly with the second rad. that it supports itself by reduplication of the following rad. acc. to §. 61: *הָדָס* *myrtle* *יְהוֹדִיסִים*, *אֶדְנִי* *adverb a little*, later as *adj.* *pl.* *אֶדְנִיִּם*, — On the other hand from *כֹּבֵד* §. 320 *pl.* *כֹּבֵדִים* *a* remaining as foretone Jer. 46, 1.

The *infinitive Qal* §. 354 in going over into the *fem.* throws the 384 short vowel of the 2nd rad. to the first in the same way: *קָרְבָּה*, *שְׁמִיעָה*, *רַחֲמָה* from *שָׁמַע* without close attachment of syllables; the *intransitive a* is usually changed into *i* acc. to §. 45, as *קָרְבָּה*, *יִרְאָה* from *קָרַב*, *יָרָא*; yet *a* is also preserved, as in *אֲשַׁמָּה* with a gutt. Lev. 5, 26, *שָׁלָה*.

The *infinitives* which lose the first rad. §. 354 generally take *הֶ*, which is more suitable for the construction of the sentence, for *הֶ*, as *לָדַת*, *רָדָה*, *הָדַת*, *הָדַת*; *הֶ* always for *הֶ* or *הֶ* from *הֶ* to *give* acc. to §. 287, also *לָת* once 1 Sam. 4, 19 for *לָדַת* from *לָדַת* acc. to §. 117, 46. On the other hand, the substantives which separate themselves from the infinitive, are distinguished by the retention of the longer and more independent pronunciation with *הֶ* and a foretone vowel: *יְדָעָה* *knowledge*, *עֲדָה* *assembly*.

385 2. *Nouns with an accented last syllable, whose preceding syllable has merely a foretone vowel*, to which class all *simple* nouns of the second formation §. 321-325 chiefly belong, although nouns from ע' and ע' with a prefixed מ (or ת) §. 339 also belong here. The foretone vowel indeed regularly falls away before the new accented endings accord. to §. 65, but the previously accented vowel remains, not only the immutable *ā*, *i* and *ō*, *ā* of ע' §. 339, but also every mutable vowel accord. to §. 39. Thus 1) וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה; וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה etc.; וְשָׂרָה *pl.* וְשָׂרָה accord. to §. 373, וְשָׂרָה *du.* וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה *du.* וְשָׂרָה: in the same way from וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה §. 325; וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה §. 322; וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה §. 339 *pl.* וְשָׂרָה; yet the *ō* sometimes descends to *ū* before the new accented syllable accord. to §. 48, as וְשָׂרָה (sweet, §. 322): וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה (*straitness* §. 339) *fem.* וְשָׂרָה; וְשָׂרָה *f. pl.* וְשָׂרָה²). — 3) וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה etc. Some with *i*, which is lengthened from *e* accord. to §. 323, may restore the *e* before the accented postfixes accord. to §. 48, as וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה.

1) Though וְשָׂרָה *hair* is not from the *misc.* וְשָׂרָה but from a shorter noun וְשָׂרָה.

2) In the same way וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, but never in monosyllabic adjectives.

From ע' accord. to §. 339: וְשָׂרָה *pl.* וְשָׂרָה, whereas from וְשָׂרָה *fem.* וְשָׂרָה.

From §. 322 c: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה; from וְשָׂרָה: וְשָׂרָה, etc. rarely is the vowel too much lengthened before the reduplication, as וְשָׂרָה or וְשָׂרָה Prov. 22, 14, 23, 27. Concerning the abstracts וְשָׂרָה, also the *pl.* וְשָׂרָה (*divisions*) וְשָׂרָה (*flatteries*) see §. 329. — Otherwise *a* often fixes itself by such a reduplication in certain substantives: וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה from וְשָׂרָה *Camel*, וְשָׂרָה *idol*, וְשָׂרָה *time*, much seldomer in the more moveable adjective, as וְשָׂרָה, וְשָׂרָה from וְשָׂרָה¹). The long *ā*, on the other hand, very rarely, as וְשָׂרָה from וְשָׂרָה *nettle*.

1) It is very doubtful whether an adjective or even participle in *e* can thus hold the vowel: וְשָׂרָה 2 Kgs. 6. 9 might be part, Nif. from וְשָׂרָה.

The *fem.* וְשָׂרָה §. 365 is only seldom attached to consonant endings here, and only in substantives. From forms with accented *a*: וְשָׂרָה beside וְשָׂרָה; from forms with *e*: וְשָׂרָה *wall* from וְשָׂרָה¹), and even with shortened *i* (§. 63): וְשָׂרָה *mistress* from וְשָׂרָה accord. to §. 328 at the end, וְשָׂרָה *queen* Jer. 7, 18, וְשָׂרָה *truth* for וְשָׂרָה accord. to §. 329 (cf. וְשָׂרָה) which was first contracted into וְשָׂרָה and then *h* always resolved, though the sound *i* is preserved

quite short still, as *ē*, contrary to §. 46; lastly, from forms with *ō*: קִטְרָה and קִטְרָה *incense*, רִבְּכָה accord. to §. 329, only seldom with shortened *ū*: נְחֹשֶׁת from נְחֹשֶׁת *brass*, the *dual*, however, from that *sg.* נְחֹשֶׁתִּים, the *u* becoming audible again §. 64, and in תְּשׁוּמָה *deposit* Lev. 5, 21 the *u* has still remained contrary to §. 63. — Some from עֵץ forgetful of their origin, loose the reduplication: מִצְּלָה from מִצְּלָה, *pl.* still מִצְּלֹת, but the *du.* is from that *sg.* מִצְּלָהִים *cymbals*; in the same way הַמִּשָּׁח *five* and טְהֵלָה or תְּכֵלֶת (a colour) Ex. 30, 34 with loss of the reduplication. — The ת is, however, most easily attached to vowel endings, concerning which see §. 386.

1) Such a formation shows that גִּדְרָה is formed from גִּדְרָה, not *vice versa*.

The foretone vowel is, however, nevertheless preserved 386 in some cases: 1) only very rarely in strong roots, for the purpose of distinguishing a remoter derivation and signification in particular cases: in שבוע *week* *pl.* שְׁבֻעֹת the *a* has established itself in distinction to שְׁבֻעֹת *oaths* from *sg.* שְׁבוּעָה, and in תְּלִישִׁים *thirdmann*, LXX τριςάρται, probably some remote derivation from the numeral תְּלַשׁ and as a distinction from תְּלִישִׁי *third*.

2) In many derivations from weak roots, in which the form is too short by one sound which it thus regains (§. 206). Thus substantives with נ- or ת- from עֵץ, the weakest roots: מִגֵּן, מִשׁוּז, מִסְכָּה *pl.* מִסְכִּים, מִגְדָּם.

This is most remarkable in the substantives of the form בְּתָבָה §. 325 from ל"ה roots, in which there are two forms, one fuller and older, the other more Hebrew. The ו as third rad., namely, coalesces with the *a* of the second rad. in *ō* (*a-u*), the ת as ending of the *fem.* is then very easily attached to this vowel-ending; and the first rad. in this constant formation has *a* as foretone: הַצֹּדָה *middle* Ex. 11, 4, but with shorter, Aramaic pronunciation accord. to §. 50 מִנְתָּה Ps. 16, 5, מִנְתָּה, מִנְתָּה.

In the *pl.* the third rad. properly returns as semivowel before the ending *ōt*: מִנְתָּה (as from the *sg.* מִנְתָּה Ezr. 4, 7 or מִנְתָּה, ו being changed into the more common ו, instead of which also מִנְתָּה accord. to §. 97. More Hebrew, however, is the formation from a *msc.* מִנְתָּה, *sg.* מִנְתָּה therefore, accord. to §. 397, מִנְתָּה, *pl.* מִנְתָּה; and as the third rad. is entirely lost in these, the *a* of the foretone remains before further accented postfixes, as if the power had been transferred thither from the end, as מִנְתָּהִי with suffixes.

In the same way from the words of relationship: אֲחִיחִי *sister*, אֲחִיחִי *mother-in-law*, *pl.* אֲחִיחִי (shortened to אֲחִיחִי)

without a permanent *a* before suffixes Hos. 2, 1). — אָנָה *maid* forms its *pl.* אָנָהוּ, a gutt. from the sound *d* in the *sg.* establishing itself anew in the place of the third rad. — The other shortened nouns §. 325 form their *pl.* from the shortened forms: דָּמִים, יָדָיִם in which *a* remains as mere foretone.

- 387 3) The vowel easily maintains itself before gutt. acc. to §. 70 at the end, even if only by means of the weak reduplication of the gutt. §. 120; thus בָּחוּר *youth* *pl.* בָּחוּרִים, אַחֵר *another fem.* אַחֵרֶת, *pl.* however אַחֵרִים, סָרִיס, בָּרִיחַ (*fugitive*), פָּרוּץ *pl.* פָּרוּצִים etc.; see below §. 432 concerning some similar cases. In other cases the *a* also which is only one syllable removed from the tone, easily doubles a ה following it in the same way and fixes itself more firmly: מִבְּרָטָה, אָהָה (*brother* §. 324) *pl.* מִבְּרָטָהִים, אָהָהִים.

Those words of the form פְּתִיב which have assumed a firmer vowel on account of פ as first rad., as אֲנִיָּן etc. §. 328, do not retain this *e* before accented postfixes, but resolve it into the most fleeting *e*, אֲנִיָּם, or rather, as that *e* is only more usual toward the end acc. to §. 76, into the most fleeting *a*, as אֲנִיָּם, אֲנִיָּם Jdgs. 15, 14.

- 388 3. The numerous stems which have a firm syllable at the beginning, either a compound one, as מִבְּרָחַב, or pronounced with an immutably long vowel, as בֹּחֵב §. 326 f. מִבְּרָחַב §. 339 1). On account of the delay of the voice on the immutable first syllable, the vowel of the last, although accented, is yet comparatively shorter, so that, being entirely dependent on the tone, it falls away before these accented postfixes §. 41: nevertheless, if the vowel is only somewhat strong by its own power or by the force of the form, it is frequently retained, at least as a kind of foretone vowel; immutable vowels remain of themselves. In treating, therefore, of the particular changes here, we shall speak only of the different vowels of the last syllable.

- 1) There is, therefore, no further change possible in the first syllable, than that *e* is easily changed with a gutt. into *ā* acc. to §. 76, as מִבְּרָחַב, מִבְּרָחַק, מִבְּרָחַל *pl.* מִבְּרָחַבוֹת, מִבְּרָחַקִים, מִבְּרָחַלִים.

- 389 1) *e* merely long by tone is the weakest, deepest vowel, and regularly disappears, therefore, before accented postfixes: thus 1) in בֹּחֵב §. 326 and the other participles with *e* in the last syllable §. 351, as בֹּחֵבִים, בֹּחֵבִים; מִבְּרָחַב: מִבְּרָחַבִים; מִבְּרָחַבִים (for the loss of the reduplication see §. 119); the *e* only remains as foretone in *fem.* which become substantives, as בִּיָּדָה *faithless one* Jer. 3, 8. 11. נִטְרָה *keeper* Cant. 1, 6 יוֹלָדָה *a woman in travail* Js. 21, 3, the abstracti הַיָּלֵדָה §. 345; in the *pl.* שִׁיָּבוֹת *deserts* Dan. 9, 26, הַיָּלֵדָה.

or הַלְלוּהוּ *folly* acc. to §. 360; moreover, sometimes before the lightest ending הַ in pause, as Js. 30, 30. 34, 9. Nah. 3, 2. 1 Kgs. 14, 5 f. — 2) in the intensive forms §. 330 *e*: אֱלֹמִים, אֱלֹרִים, אֱלֹמִים¹⁾, מֵאֵן, מֵאֵן, מֵאֵן; the forms derived from numerals only retain the vowel, as שְׁלֹשִׁים *children of the third generation*. — 3) substantives with מֵ §. 339, as מִסְמֵר *pl.* מִסְמֵרִים, מִסְמֵר *f.* מִסְמֵרָה, מִסְמֵרָה *pl.* מִסְמֵרֹת, מִסְמֵרָה *du.* מִסְמֵרִים; some however retain the vowel, as מִסְמֵרָה, מִסְמֵרֹת. In the same way §. 347 *pl.* אֲפֻרְדֵּי, אֲפֻרְדֵּי. — *e* is immutable in the new abstract formation §. 339 cf. הִרְגָה §. 329.

- 1) The reduplication is lost accord. to §. 119. כִּסֵּא *throne*, which resembles them externally, but is of obscure derivation, has so completely lost the reduplication before all accented affixes, that it even forms כִּסְאֶךָ (*thy throne*) as if there was no vestige of it.

מִסְמֵר §. 347, a word of not very clear derivation, *pl.* מִסְמֵרִים is an example of the vowel being retained by the reduplication of the last rad.; in the same way בִּרְמִיל §. 347 *pl.* בִּרְמִילִים, בִּרְמִיל *pl.* בִּרְמִילִים, cf. כִּסְסֵי, כִּסְסֵי.

The הַ of the *fem.* is very easily attached to these stems with such pliable vowels, so that we frequently find כִּתְּבָה¹⁾, כִּתְּבָה, כִּתְּבָה, שְׁלַחְתָּ also §. 345 (*the act of felling* from the *inf. Piel*) Js. 6, 12. מִצַּבָּה (root נִצַּב), but always rather for substantives than for pure participles.

- 1) The perfectly short pronunciation יִלְכֶּה acc. to §. 365 appears to occur in Gen. 16, 11. Jdgs. 13, 5. 7; but as this form is only found where the *second person* is spoken of (Js. 7, 14), the Masoretes pointed it in that manner probably merely on account of its resemblance to the 2nd pers. *fem. sg.* יִלְכֶּה.

2) *a* long by tone, on the other hand, is a stronger 390 more permanent sound which maintains itself in all formations that belong here, as עִלְמִים : עִלְלָה §. 327, נִכְבְּדִים : נִכְבְּדָה §. 351, and is only very seldom resolved before the strong ending הַ, and indeed only the *a* used without power is so resolved, as מִעֲבֹרֹת Jos. 2, 7. 1 Sam. 14, 4 beside מִעֲבֹרֹת Js. 16, 2. Jer. 51, 32, מִגְרָשֹׁת Ez. 27, 28 beside מִגְרָשִׁים.

So much the more frequently does this *a*, especially where it is somewhat shorter, maintain itself by reduplication of the last cons., as in the adjective §. 332 רִעְנִים, רִעְנִים, and §. 333 יִרְקֶרֶת, יִרְקֶרֶת, in substantives §. 338 מִמְתָּקִים, מִמְתָּקִים, in the same way מִשְׁאֲבִים, מִשְׁאֲבִים, from אֲשַׁבֵּה §. 319; הִתְחַתֵּם, הִתְחַתֵּם §. 334, מִשְׁקָרִים, מִשְׁקָרִים, מִשְׁקָרִים, מִשְׁקָרִים, and others of that kind acc. to §. 347.

But the הַ of the *fem.* is therefore, rarer here than in §. 389, although rather frequent nevertheless, as always אֲדַמְדָּמָה §. 333, in substantives as מִלְחָמָה once 1 Sam. 13, 22 for מִלְחָמָה *war*, הִתְחַתֵּם *seal*

ring acc. to §. 327, *הַיַּבֶּשֶׁת* the dry land, seldomer in participles, as *נִבְהַרְתָּ* Nif. Zach. 11, 9. *נִבְהַרְתָּ* Pu. Jer. 36, 22. *מִשְׁלֶכֶת* Hof. 1 Kgs. 13, 24. From *ל' acc.* to §. 318 *מִצְאָה* part. Qal Cant. 8, 10, *מִצְאָה* substantive; or acc. to §. 82 *הַמִּצְאָה* part. Qal Ez. 18, 4. *מִצְאָה* Nif. — *הַמִּצְאָה* acc. to §. 365 sometimes for *הַמִּצְאָה* §. 345. — *מִצְאָה* business always so shortened from *מִצְאָה* §. 82.

- 391 3) *ô* long by tone, which is still more prone to lengthening according to its nature than *a*. is always necessarily maintained before accented postfixes; we even find *אֲשַׁלֵּחַ* with a weak *o* from *אֲשַׁלֵּחַ* §. 319. If the *o*, however, is compressed and weakened by the fem *ת* §. 365, it may fall away before the strong ending of the *pl.*, as *מִהֲלָקָה* from *מִהֲלָקָה*, *מִהֲלָקָה* from *מִהֲלָקָה* §. 334; in which manner we are probably to understand the possibility of the form *מִהֲלָקָה* §. 390 also. Yet *o* maintains itself acc. to §. 58 in the most fleeting *o* in *שְׂבָלִים* acc. to §. 85 from *שְׂבָלָה*, *בִּירִים* birds from *בִּירָה* or an earlier fem. *בִּירָה*; and *בִּירָה* from *בִּירָה* §. 331. Reduplication of the last rad. in *בִּירָה* from *בִּירָה* §. 332.

ô is lowered into *û* before the new accented postfix acc. to §. 48: *נִגְזָה* part. Nif. *pl.* *נִגְזָה* Lam. 1, 4 cf. §. 397.

u and *i*, as absolutely immutable vowels, do not belong here. Nevertheless, even they are compressed in some substantives by the attachment of the fem. *ת* accord. to §. 63, as *אֲדָרָה* mantle from *אֲדָרָה* §. 330, *מִשְׁלֶכֶת* mistress, *מִרְנָה* nurse from the part. *Hif.*, *אֲשַׁבְּרָה* watch of the night from *אֲשַׁבְּרָה* acc. to §. 329. 112, and some abstract substantives with *מִ*, as *מִשְׁכָּרָה* payment from *מִשְׁכָּרָה*; very seldom in a common part. *Hif.*, as *מִשְׁכָּרָה* Lev. 14, 21. Est. 2, 20. Some of these in which the power of the long original vowel is still active, endeavour to maintain its sound before accented postfixes, as always in the *pl.* *מִרְנָה* nurses.

- 392 The nouns in *-ân* or *ôn* §. 341 f. follow the same rules with regard to their last vowel, as those with *a* or *o* before the last rad. §. 390 f.: *â* and *ô* remain; only in the fem. *pl.* *אֲרָמֹת* (palaces, the derivation is obscure) from *אֲרָמֹת* or rather from an older fem. *אֲרָמֹת*. The longer pronunciation with *â* as foretone, however, which was assumed acc. to §. 342, ceases in the syllable which is now the antepenult, and thereby the reduplication of the 2nd rad. depending on it, falls away also, as *אֲרָמֹת* from sg. *אֲרָמֹת*; rarely does the reduplication remain, as *הַשְּׁבָנוֹת* Koh. 7, 29¹).

In the same way as to the last respect *אֲרָמֹת* §. 334 *pl.* *אֲרָמֹת*, or somewhat longer before the soft cons. *אֲרָמֹת* (cf. §. 339); the last

vowel, however, is much shorter and disappears. תַּלְמִיד §. 347, *pl.* תַּלְמִידִים.

- 1) In some words of obscure derivation. *a* from *-an* maintains itself with reduplication of the nasal: אֶלֶם from אֶלֶם, שׁוֹשָׁנָה and שׁוֹשָׁנִים, and אֶתְנָנִים, אֶתְנָנִים from שׁוֹשֶׁן *lily*, אֶתְנָן *gift* (root תַּנָּה, properly, תַּנָּן from תַּנִּין §. 312) אֶתְנָן *wheel*, in which the *a* is shortened even without ending, from the influence of this formation.

Vowel-endings. *a*) the sharp and heavy vowel-ending ³⁹³ *-t* of the adjective derivation §. 343 maintains itself in the collision with the following vowel, being changed into the semivowel *j*, but remaining as a long vowel at the same time *ija* = *ijja* §. 55, so that from עָבְרִי is formed עֲבֵרִיָּה, עֲבֵרִיָּה (בְּשִׁיבָה Am. 9. 7), ¹ עֲבֵרִיָּה. The two *t* which come together in the *msc. pl.* may, however, also coalesce at once in a single *t* §. 53: עֲבֵרִיָּה, עֲבֵרִיָּה. In the *fem. sg.*, תִּת may be attached to the vowel-ending at once, as עֲבֵרִיָּה, עֲבֵרִיָּה; this is especially easy in substantives §. 344.

- 1) It is only in the later period that the language begins to separate the two vowels that come together, by an aspirate, as עֲבֵרִיָּה or עֲבֵרִיָּה 1 Chro. 5, 10. 19 f. 2 Chro. 17, 11.

The still sharper ending *-ai* maintains the *a*, so that עֲבֵרִיָּה, עֲבֵרִיָּה are formed acc. to §. 97, from עֲבֵרִי §. 343 at the end.

The vowels at the end, which still remained as foretone before this ³⁹⁴ *-t*, must disappear before the new accented syllable acc. to §. 65; thus especially *a*, as אֶבְרִי, אֶבְרִי §. 343 *fem.* אֶבְרִיָּה (cf. אֶבְרִיָּה in the same way §. 344); מוֹאָבִי, מוֹאָבִי *Moabite fem. pl.* מוֹאָבִיָּה yet the *fem. sg.* is מוֹאָבִיָּה beside מוֹאָבִיָּה; simple *o* may be also resolved, as אֶדֶן *Sidon* *pl. fem.* אֶדֶן 1 Kgs. 11, 1 ¹), although it much rather endeavours to maintain itself either quite long or in a most fleeting sound, as עֲמִנְקָה Neh. 13, 23 from עֲמִנְקָה, עֲמִנְקָה. — From כְּנַעֲנִי (shortened from כְּנַעֲנִי acc. to §. 70) *pl.* כְּנַעֲנִי, but also again כְּנַעֲנִי, which is shorter here, Js. 23, 8.

- 1) The original *ae* (*ai*) returns here at the beginning again (cf. in Arabic *Saida*) which is simplified into *t* in אֶדֶן acc. to §. 49. 213.

The *fem. abstract* ending *-יה* §. 344 is always changed ³⁹⁵ in the *pl.*, true to its origin, into *-יות*. But a direct *msc.* to the ending *-יה* is wanting, so that the formation of the *pl.* fluctuates: we find מַלְכִּיּוֹת Dan. 8, 22 as *pl.* from מַלְכִּיּוֹת, *u* merely intruding into that original *-יה* instead of *i*; or the *pl.* is so formed from *-ut* itself, that *-ot* is attached to *u* at once, and the *u* therefore becomes a semivowel, as גִּדְּוֹת (גִּדְּוֹ) *acc.* to §. 55 at the end), a later formation. — From רַבָּה §. 344 at the end *pl.* רַבָּה *acc.* to §. 393, a late form.

In the same way the abstracts from ל"ה §. 345 which end in the same manner, but whose foretone *a* is regularly immutable acc. to §. 386, as זָרִית, דָּלִית from זָרִית, דָּלִית; תְּנִיחָה from תְּנִיחָה or תְּנִיחָה Jer. 37, 16,

- 396 The *i* of the ל"ה §. 324 in the same way: זָקִי, זָקִיָּה, זָקִיָּה, זָקִיָּה; and the *i* here is even more strongly maintained against the endings, as being from *ti* = *i*, so that contraction rarely takes place in the *pl. msc.*, as in the substantive שָׁרִי from שָׁרִי *thread*. — The ending in *-i* from ל"ה also in the same way, but very seldom: קָטִיב from קָטִיב §. 324, שָׁקִיב Ps. 102, 10 from שָׁקִיב *giving to drink* = *drink*, instead of which we usually have שָׁקִיב §. 331.

י from ל"ה after an immutably long, discordant vowel always follows the formation of consonants, since it immediately becomes a semi-vowel before the vowel: בָּלִי §. 324 בָּלִיָּה, בָּלִיָּה, or בָּלִיָּה; צָפִי §. 331 צָפִיָּה acc. to §. 339 בָּלִיָּה; בָּלִיָּה §. 328 בָּלִיָּה (the *stat. constr.* of which is בָּלִיָּה *blôje* Jer. 38, 11), בָּי §. 318 *pl.* בָּיָה *gojim*. Once רָאִיתָ with reduplication of the last rad. as adjective regarded from רָאִיתָ Est. 2, 9.

- 397 b) The ending ה־ in the many nouns from ל"ה disappears entirely before these vowels acc. to §. 222, as רָפָה §. 324 *fem.* רָפָה, *pl.* רָפָה, רָפָה; גָּלָה §. 326 *fem.* גָּלָה¹⁾, *pl.* גָּלָה; מָעָלָה §. 338 *fem.* מָעָלָה, *pl.* מָעָלָה. It is only seldom and in poetry that the sound *e* resists in such way, that it becomes *i* before *a* or *o* and is thus hardened into the semivowel at the same time, especially in adjectives, as פְּרִיָּה *fruitful*, הָרִיָּה *gravidæ* from *sg.* הָרָה, *fem.* הָרָה; בֹּכֵהָ *weeping* Lam. 1, 16. The hardening into a mere semivowel is rather Aramaic, as לָטָה Cant. 1, 7 from לָטָה.

1) The form פָּרָת Gen. 49, 22 is rare and poetical. §. 365.

Feminines which are formed as abstracts at once acc. to §. 339. 341, however, may always have the ending ה־ or ית, as being founded on *i* as their radical sound, especially on account of the resemblance to §. 344, as תְּנִיחָה, תְּנִיחָה, (prop. *firmness*, root יִשָּׁה), תְּנִיחָה, תְּנִיחָה.

The *i* of the ending of the *pl. msc.* may, however, so mingle with the original sound *ai* (*ae*) for this *e*, that the *i* coalesces with the *i* of *ai* in *aii*, so that only the sound *i* is more strongly heard. This (in Aramaic prevailing) formation has only been preserved in two words in Heb., which also only occur in this *pl. acc.* to §. 361: שָׁמַיִם *heaven*, prop. from an adjective שָׁמַיִם *high*, and מַיִם *water* from מַיִם §. 318.

בְּמִצְוֹת *wishes* Ps. 140, 9 acc. to §. 390 is of a different kind, from the sg. בְּמִצְוָה as from an עֵץ at the same time.

Some of the ל"ה follow the model of the ל"ה here also: בְּמִצְוֹת. 398 *pl. part. Nif.* almost as if it was בְּמִצְוֹת from בְּמִצְוָה; the full form בְּמִצְוֹת, however, is still often in pause¹⁾. — בְּמִצְוָה *fold* as fem. from מִכְלָה, the *pl.* however still מִכְלָאוֹת.

- 1) In the same way with Gutt. even before suffixes בְּדָהוּ 2Sam. 14, 13 from בְּדָה v. 14 *part. Nif.*

c) The *a* of the *fem. sg.* is hardened into *at* before the 399 vowel of the dual ending according to §. 209, its *a*, however is retained in a simple syllable as foretone, cf. §. 41, as אֶמְה *du.* אֶמְתִּי.

2. BY THE STATUS CONSTRUCTUS.

As the Hebrew language has not advanced to the form- 400 ation of cases in the sense of the Indo-germanic languages, the *position* and *order* of words in the proposition is so much the more fixed and important. The principal peculiarity here is, that the noun whose idea only reaches its completion and end in the words next following it, is also more rapidly pronounced and more closely attached to the following one, which relation is known by the ancient terms *status constructus*; whereas the noun without such relation, used independently by itself, is said to be in *statu absoluto*.

The cases in which a noun can be thus drawn over to 401 the word immediately following, may indeed be various (see the Syntax); the principal case, however, is this, that the noun by this means defines and explains its idea by the different one of another independent noun, or, of a substantive; which is the closest and most immediate construction in which two nouns can be placed with regard to each other. The first is thus hurried on rapidly to the second, for the purpose of its necessary completion by means of that second one: this second one, however, which the speaker had already in his mind when he uttered the first, becomes thereby dependent on the first as the influencing and ruling one, and is subordinated to it. The second, therefore, to speak with regard to our languages, is in the *genitive*, as לֵבָב הַמֶּלֶךְ *the heart of the king*, although this relation of the second noun as genitive is produced in Hebr. purely by this power and arrangement of the two nouns, and would cease at once if the first member, or rather, the influencing (*regens*) or connecting (*jungens*) noun was wanting. It is only in this

close connexion that both form a higher whole as to the idea as well as the pronunciation.

402 The second noun may be either a common noun, as לֵבָב וְהַחֵלֶס, or a pronoun; and indeed a demonstrative pronoun, as לֵבָב זֶה *the heart of this* (man), or a personal pronoun, as לֵבָב-וֹ *the heart of him* or *his heart*, which last form, however, although belonging to the same kind as to the idea, must be specially considered on account of the suffix form §. 421 ff. For the personal pronoun is the only kind of noun which actually shows the subordination of the second noun in Heb. externally also, since it undergoes an important modification of form: all other nouns remain unaltered as second member ¹⁾, and are only to be recognised as subordinated by the connexion. So much the more characteristic and important, therefore, is the pronunciation of the *first* word, or the formation of the *status constructus*, which is regulated by the following rules:

1) It is different in Arabic, where the genitive has also a peculiar form.

403 1. The first word which requires and attracts the following one as its necessary complement, is pronounced more *rapidly, incompletely*, so that the voice only finds its perfect rest in the second. Many shortenings are produced by this, even in the consonants of the endings §. 414; but the vocalization is especially affected by this shortening, for all vowels which are either merely dependent on the tone or are lengthened by the tone, are here reduced to the greatest shortness; the most general consequences of which are the following: 1) the vowels of the *foretone* in the stems disappear entirely; a long vowel arising or maintaining itself, as in the foretone, before the endings of the gender and number, is lost in the same way, as the *e* in מְקַנְיִם from sg. מְקַנֵּן. — 2) The vowel in the compound last syllable of the noun which is merely lengthened by the tone of the word, is shortened, as *d* in לֵבָב, דָּבָר. — 3) Coarse, broad end-vowels are rather changed into sharp ones, as the *è* of the לָהֶם §. 222 regularly into *é*, e. g. מְקַנְיִם, מְקַנְיָה, מְקַנְיָה *stat. constr.* from מְקַנֵּן, מְקַנְיָה, מְקַנְיָה. Immutable vowels can never be shortened: and even many of those which are originally mutable gradually resist shortening more, as particular examples must show §. 410 ff.

404 2. It is only seldom however, that the word in *stat. constr.* is carried over without any tone to the following one, so that the very shortest vowels may be sounded in the last syllable (with *Maqqef* §. 187); still more rarely does

the first word adhere altogether to the second, as in the proper name **בְּנֵימִין** from **בֶּן** *son*. The last syllable usually still retains a weaker tone, for which reason the toneless vowels *ě* and *ô* cannot occur for *é* and *ó*, and the tonevowels remain very nearly as has been stated §. 46.

According to all this, an external distinction and shortening is nevertheless not possible in every word in *stat. constr.*, e. g. in short words with the shortest pronunciation, as **פָּרִי**, **רָב**; in words with a single immutably long vowel, as **קוֹל**, **אֶבֶל**, or of two syllables with immovable vowels, as **נִשְׁלָחַם** §. 331. In such, therefore, the connexion of the sense and the living utterance can alone supply the imperfections of the form. Only those forms which admit really sensible shortenings must be particularly treated of below.

There are some very remarkable, although very isolated and slight, traces of a *union-vowel* or *intermediate sound* (cf. §. 301), which must have originally belonged to the *stat. constr.* in more extended use. It is only found in prose in first four books of the Pentateuch, and is even there very rare; oftener in poets, although also more sparingly in the older ones, and only immoderately in some later ones again by innovation. Thus, by way of collecting all traces here together:

1) Most frequently *i* ¹⁾, in prose Gen. 31, 39. Lev. 26, 42 (cf. Jer. 33, 20); in earlier poets Gen. 49, 11. 12. Ex. 15, 6. cf. v. 11; Dt. 33, 16. Js. 16, 21. 22, 16; very frequently Ps. 113, 5-9. 114, 8. 116, 1. Lam. 1, 1; this *i* as a sonorous affix is also not so strictly confined to the *stat. constr.* (v. especially Ps. 113, 8), although always in the middle of the sentence. In Jer. 22, 23. 51, 13. Ez. 27, 3 the Masoretes have not acknowledged it, and have remarked it in the *Q'ri* as superfluous. Besides these, however, it has been preserved from the earliest period in proper names, as **עַמְּיָאֵל** (*people of God*) 2Sam. 2, 1; Gen. 14, 18. Jdgs. 1, 6, and in many prepositions (see below).

1) As *z* (اضافة) in Persian, which has a mode of construction, on the whole, very much like the Hebr. *stat. constr.*

2) Much seldomer *ô*, in prose only **חֲיָתִים** from the *fem. sg.* **חַיָּה** ⁴⁰⁷ *animals* Gen. 1, 24, copied from thence in the same word in Ps. 50, 10. 104, 11. 20. Zef. 2, 14. Js. 56, 9; poet. **בֶּנִי** *son* Num. 24, 3. 15, and *pater* **מַעְיָנִי** *fountain* Ps. 114, 8.

3) *ê* appears to occur in **מִנִּי** Js. 30. 11 beside **מִנֵּי** prep.; and the variety in this vowel is, on the whole, easily conceivable, if we consider that the original union-vowel was *a*, which afterwards split into more sounds.

All these words have the union-vowel in the *sg.* with or without feminine ending. And in fact for the most part with the great shortening of the vowels which generally distinguishes the *stat. constr.*, as is sufficiently proved by forms like **מִלְאָתִי**, **אֶבְרָתִי** (from **אֶבְרַת**), **חֲיָתִי**, **מַעְיָנִי**. Yet the vowel is found to remain in the foretone in some

cases as *הַבְּרִית* Ps. 110, 4, *רִבְּתִי*, *בְּאֶדְרִי*, as is to be observed generally that this union-vowel finds a place, not only in the strict *stat. constr.* as relation of the genitive, but also in any close connexion of nouns.

Such a vowel is never found with the ending of the *pl.* *יֹת*. But this *i* is entirely joined to the nearest ending of the *pl.* of and always connected §. 414.

409 The particular formations of the *stat. constr.* are:

1. *Stat. constr. of nouns without ending of gender and number*, in which the following kinds are to be distinguished accord. to §. 379 ff.

1) The *simple nouns of the first, shortest formation* cannot well be much shortened: *בֵּית*, *בֶּתֶר*, *בֶּתֶר*; only rarely is the chief vowel transferred to the second rad., by which the pronunciation is certainly shortened, with gutt. namely, acc. to §. 319, as *בֶּתֶר*, *בֶּתֶר*, *בֶּתֶר* (¹ *זֶרֶב*), from *בֶּתֶר*, *בֶּתֶר*, *בֶּתֶר*; besides *הַבֵּל* Koh. 1, 2. 12, 8 from *הַבֵּל*.

1) In the same way *קָחַת* 2Kgs. 12, 9 for the usual *infin. constr.* *קָחַת* from *לָקַח* §. 354.

From *בֵּית* the shortening may be *בֵּית*, from *בֵּית*, *בֵּית*, *בֵּית*; only *בֵּית* which maintains its *v* always more as a consonant, is merely shortened into *בֵּית* Ez. 28, 18.

Those from *עֵץ* and similar ones admit no further shortening; yet before Maqqef we may have *קֵץ* Dt. 22, 6 accord. to §. 46 from *קֵץ* *nest*, *חֹק* from *חֹק*.

From *דֵּי* §. 318, 4 regular like *בֵּית*. From *שֶׁה* *st. c.* *שֶׁה* like the examples in §. 403, but *שֶׁה* is at once changed to *פִּי*. — The shortened *רֵץ* *friend* §. 318, 2 returns in *st. c.* to its vowel-ending again, which change is also found elsewhere, as the *stat. constr.* is partial to vowel-endings: *רֵץ* 1Kgs. 4, 5. 2Sam. 15, 37 or more accord. to §. 403 *רֵץ* 16, 16. — From *שֶׁה* *st. c.* *שֶׁה* or *שֶׁה*; *בֵּן*, *st. c.* *בֵּן* or *בֵּן* sometimes.

From *בֹּבֶע* §. 320 *st. abs.* Ez. 27, 10, the *st. c.* shorter *בֹּבֶע* 1Sam. 17, 5. Js. 59, 17.

410 2) In all *simple nouns of the second formation* §. 321-25, the *a* of the foretone disappears, we even find *שָׁבוּעַ* from *שָׁבוּעַ* *week* §. 386 (cf. also the *du.* *שָׁבוּעַ*); the *a* of the accented last syllables, however, is *a*) still entirely subject to shortening, as *רֵשֶׁת*, *רֵשֶׁת*; *רֵשֶׁת*. As the whole tone of the *stat. constr.*, however, is rather drawn back into itself, the *ā* which is thus left by itself is transferred to the first rad., so that the very favourite form *רֵשֶׁת* acc. to §. 29 f. arises, as *רֵשֶׁת* and *רֵשֶׁת* from *רֵשֶׁת* *smoke*. Very seldom

is there a more definite form with *e* in the *st. cs.*, as חָלָב, חֶלֶב from חָלָב *milk*, חֶלֶב *white*, or rather, from the new formations חָלָב, חֶלֶב.

The forms בָּרַב §. 325 often retain their characteristic *e* in the same way, while the last syllable becomes toneless: בָּרַב Dt. 31; 16, בָּרַב or בָּרַב like בָּרַב, from בָּרַב, בָּרַב; although they may also lose the *e* as foretone: בָּרַב, בָּרַב.

β) *e* is indeed first shortened to *ě*, but this can only remain so before Maqqef, as אָבֵל from אָבֵל Ps. 35, 14, Gen. 49, 12, and is generally changed into *ā* acc. to §. 46, as אָבֵל, אָבֵל, אָבֵל, אָבֵל, or instead, with carrying forward of this accented vowel (which is much more frequent in this somewhat stronger form, than in the preceding) אָבֵל, אָבֵל. Much seldomer does the *e* maintain itself as long: חָלָב, חָלָב Gen. 25, 26, יָפֵה Ps. 27, 12; and from אָבֵל with the same carrying forward of the vowel אָבֵל. On the other hand *é* in all לָא accord. to §. 55: יָרָא, יָרָא.

γ) *ó* always maintains itself as a much longer vowel; nevertheless אָבֵל *g'döl* with Maqqef Nah. 1, 3 at least in the *Q'rī* and אָבֵל with gutt. from אָבֵל.

From אָבֵל, אָבֵל (*end*) *st. cs.* אָבֵל, אָבֵל accord. to §. 403. From the ancient אָבֵל (*field*) with shortening of the *āi* into *ae* (as in §. 409) אָבֵל Ru. 1, 1. 2. 6. 22. 2, 6. cf. 4, 3.

The short words of relationship §. 324 have still preserved *í* in *st. cs.* as a relic of a primitive vowel-ending, as the *st. cs.* is disposed to end in vowels: אָבֵל, אָבֵל, אָבֵל. On the other hand from אָבֵל, אָבֵל *st. cs.* אָבֵל, אָבֵל without any such relic.

The nouns with a prefixed מִ- or תִּ- from לָ- lose the 411 foretone vowel in the same way, but have always an immutable vowel in the last syllable, as אָבֵל, אָבֵל, אָבֵל in *stat. cs.* אָבֵל, אָבֵל, אָבֵל. Those from אָבֵל have a mutable vowel in the last syllable, but the foretone vowel is often immutable acc. to §. 386, as אָבֵל, אָבֵל in *stat. cs.* אָבֵל, אָבֵל.

3) *Nouns with a firm syllable at the beginning* 412 §. 388-91 in which the end-vowels only are mutable: α) *é* would be obliged, in the cases in which it is mutable acc. to §. 389, to be changed into *ě*; but this *ě* becomes *ā* accord. to §. 46, or it remains as *é*, except with gutt. In the form אָבֵל the *é* i. e. the very depressed sound here acc. to §. 326, remains; examples like אָבֵל Dt. 32, 28, and the proper name אָבֵל, are very rare. The *é* remains also in the other participles, as אָבֵל acc. to §. 351, 2. 274. The substantives with מִ- however, have always the lighter *ā*, as אָבֵל from אָבֵל, before which the *ā*, which is usually sounded in the

first syllable accord. to §. 339 is so much the rather changed to \dot{z} accord. to §. 214, as the sound \dot{z} (\bar{e}) which is expelled from the end, thus becomes heard again, as מִרְבֵּץ, מִשְׁבֵּץ, מִשְׁבֵּץ from מִרְבֵּץ etc.; whereas מִלְאָה from מִלְאָה remains, and מִשְׁשֵׁר before gutt., from מִשְׁשֵׁר. The \acute{e} remains only seldom: in מִפְתָּה (key) Js. 22, 22 as a distinction from מִפְתָּה (stat. abs. מִפְתָּה) *what is opened* i. e. uttered Prov. 8, 6. — β) \acute{a} always becomes \acute{a} , as נִכְתָּב from נִכְתָּב part. Nif., עוֹלָב §. 327, יִבֵּן §. 330, שֶׁבֶת §. 336, גִּירָבָל §. 336, also מִסְבֵּר §. 339, also מִסְבֵּר Jer. 28, 10 from מִסְבֵּר acc. to §. 347; only very rarely does it maintain itself in a substantive, as מִתָּן (*gift*, root מִתָּן) Prov. 18, 16. — γ) There is no trace of the shortening of \acute{o} ; \acute{u} and \acute{e} are immutable, as always. — From מִלְאָה, מִלְאָה etc. accord. to §. 403 מִלְאָה, מִלְאָה; קִרָּא, קִרָּא immutably accord. to §. 85.

413 The endings $-\acute{a}n$ and $-\acute{o}n$ §. 341 f. are distinguished according to all this in such a way, that \acute{a} is generally shortened, as קָנָן Lev. 22, 11, קָרָבָן, שְׁלָחָן, nevertheless אֶקְנָן (whose derivation is altogether more obscure) 1 Kgs. 7, 7. 12. Ez. 40, 7; but \acute{o} maintains itself unshortened, except once קָנָנָן with Maq. Ex. 30, 23. A foretone vowel disappears, as רָעִבָּוֶן, st. c. רָעִבָּוֶן, and the reduplication of the second rad. arising acc. to §. 342 commonly ceases at the same time, as זָכָרָוֶן, זָכָרָוֶן from זָכָרָוֶן. — In the same way הִלְמִישׁ Dt. 32, 13 from הִלְמִישׁ §. 347.

414 2. Stat. constr. of nouns with the endings of number and gender. These endings themselves for the most part undergo some changes:

a) The ending $-\acute{a}$ of the fem. sg. as the broad and soft pronunciation, is shortened to the sharper \acute{at} acc. to §. 209, 403. Where this \acute{a} may be attached without the tone in the stat. abs. acc. to §. 365, it is also permitted under the same form in the st. cs.: nay this toneless \acute{a} , and, for that reason, shorter \acute{a} is one degree more frequent in the st. cs. than in the stat. abs., according as the toneless attachment is remoter and rarer or nearer and more regular in the individual forms; for the stat. constr. is partial to every shorter, more retracted tone. Hence toneless \acute{a} prevails almost universally in the st. cs. from \acute{e} in the last syllable of the stem, as בִּתְּחָת, מִכְתָּבָת, \acute{at} is only preserved more constantly in many substantives, as אֶרֶצָת Gen. 37, 25, מִצְבָּת, מִצְבָּת 2 Kgs 3, 2 beside מִצְבָּת. From \acute{a} in the last syllable of the stem, the st. ct. has frequently the toneless \acute{a} , where it is hardly beginning in the stat. abs., as מִלְּחָמָת, מִלְּחָמָת, מִשְׁשָׁלָת, although also the contrary, as עֲצָבָת (fem. subst. from the adj. עָצֵב *aeger*) Prov. 15, 13 beside עֲצָבָת even in the stat. abs. once 10,

10; מִשָּׁאָה *stat. cs.* from מִשָּׁאָה or מִשָּׁאָה; beside מִתְּנָה (from מִתְּנָה gift from זֶה) we find in later writings מִתְּנָה for מִתְּנָה acc. to §. 287 at the end. Very rarely toneless ת־ from *t*, as in the *part. Hif.* מִזְכֶּרֶת Num. 5, 15. With the feminine formations in *-it* or *út* §. 344 the *stat. cs.* is not to be distinguished from the *stat. abs.* in the last syllable ¹⁾).

- 1) In Aramaic, and in some vestiges in later Hebr., however, the *-t* falls away from these abstracts in the *stat. abs.*, which must always remain in the *st. cs.* see above §. 344 at the end.

b) The ending *-ím* of the *pl.* always loses its liquid *m* in this shortening; but does not sound *-i* as we would therefore expect, but *ae*, as גְּבוּרִי from גְּבוּרִים. This *ae* ¹⁾ is a contraction acc. to §. 408 of *a* (from *ám* §. 208) and *i*, and is in all probability the most original sound, just as many other older and more original peculiarities have been preserved in the *stat. constr.*

- 1) Instead of which the original *-aī* is found Jdgs. 5, 15. Js. 20, 4; the *stat. cs.* must, at any rate, be understood in these places, where the Masoretes have ת־.

As *-áim*, the ending of the *du.*, must lose its nasal in the same way, and as the *ai* which remains is contracted to *ae* acc. to §. 403, the ending of the *du.* in *stat. cons.* accordingly is no longer to be distinguished from that of the *pl.*

c) The ending ת־ of the *pl.* admits no shortening of its firm sounds, so that the *stat. cs.* cannot be externally distinguished in it; yet cf. below §. 430.

The shortening of the vocalization *before* these endings, 415 however, which, as far as it is possible, takes place uniformly before all, is as follows:

1) *Simple nouns of the first formation* §. 381 ff.: a) in the *fem. sg.* מְלָכָה: מְלָכָה there can be no shortening; but שָׁנָה, חֲמָה, פָּאָה (from לֵ"ה v. §. 380) are very short in *st. cons.*: שָׁנִית, חֲמִית, פָּאִית.

b) The *pls.* מְלָכִים, סְתָרִים, כְּפָרִים; מְלָכוֹת, סְתָרוֹת, כְּפָרוֹת all lose the *a* of the foretone; and as a vowel must be assumed for the first of the two consonants which thus become vowelless, therefore acc. to §. 66 a) *i* is most frequently assumed in the forms with an original *a* or *e*: קְבָרִי. סְתָרִי from קָבַר, סָתַר; only the forms with an original *a* often maintain that sound firmly: מְלָכִי, כְּפָרִי, גְּבֻרָתִי, especially with gutt. as אֶזְשִׁי; also sometimes fluctuating: גְּלָרִי, גְּלָרִי Js. 57, 4. Hos. 1, 2. — β) but an original *o* must al-

From שְׁאֵלָה *st. cs.* שְׁאֵלָה, but from בְּהִמָּה *st. c.* שְׁאֵלָה; *e*, as a rather longer sound here, endeavouring to distinguish itself in this way also from *a*. The *pl.* however is בְּהִמּוֹת from בְּהִמָּה, as the ending -*ót* is stronger.

From מְזִיז, רָפִיז from *stat. abs.* מְזִיז, רָפִיז, *sg.* רָפִיז. It has been already shown §. 386 that the *a* of the penult of abstract forms like מְזִיז, מְזִיז, endeavour, on the contrary, to maintain itself immutable in the *pl.*; in the *sg.* however הִצִּיז.

שָׁמַיִם *heaven st. c.* שָׁמַיִם. In the same way accord. to §. 397 מַיִם *water st. c.* מַיִם, or מַיִמִּי, with repetition of the whole of this word which had become almost too small. §. 206.

3) *Stat. constr. of nouns which have a firm syllable* ⁴¹⁷ at the beginning, cf. §. 388 ff.: *a*) *é* disappears in the few nouns which have it in *stat. abs.*, as הוֹעֲבֵה from הוֹעֲבֵה, הוֹעֲבֵה. Many feminine formations with prefixel מ- however, maintain the *é* immutable as abstracts §. 339, as מַעֲבֵה (cast, root נכָּה) מַעֲבֵה (blow, defeat, root נגָה) Zach. 14, 15. — *β*) *a* is shortened in all participles, frequently in other forms also, as הוֹעֲבֵה §. 327, 336, מוֹעֲבֵה §. 339, but it also resists being lost entirely in many words, even in cases in which it always suffers itself to be shortened in a compound syllable (acc. to §. 57), especially frequently in the intensive forms §. 330, in which *á* strongly denotes the agent, as הוֹעֲבֵה Js. 45, 16 ²), and also in many substantives with מ- or ה- from weak stems (acc. to §. 206), as מַעֲבֵה 2 Kgs. 12, 8, מוֹעֲבֵה, מוֹעֲבֵה and מוֹעֲבֵה, in which the *a* comes from the abstract §. 339. *a* is most easily retained before *acc.* to §. 70, as always in the substantives מַעֲבֵה, מוֹעֲבֵה, מַעֲבֵה from מַעֲבֵה (*offspring*, formed acc. to §. 334 from מַעֲבֵה = *to sprout*). — *γ*) *o* is not shortened, except in אֲשַׁבֵּל from אֲשַׁבֵּל, in which, however, there is only a weak *o* acc. to §. 319; and בְּהִמָּה §. 331, *pl.* בְּהִמּוֹת is shortened into בְּהִמָּה, the short primitive form returning again, Gen. 37, 3. 23–33. 3, 21. Ex. 39, 27. Ezr. 2, 68. Yet *ó* is sometimes lowered here to *á* acc. to §. 48, as מַעֲבֵה Js. 45, 3 from מַעֲבֵה, מַעֲבֵה from רַבּוֹת.

1) In the same way עֲדָה from עֲדָה, root יָדָה §. 354.

2) שְׁבִתוֹת cf. §. 342 *nt.*, שְׁבִתוֹת acc. to §. 347 for שְׁבִתוֹת, both of quite different derivation, form exceptions of themselves.

From הִשָּׂא or more commonly הִשָּׂא acc. to §. 390, *st. constr.* הִשָּׂא for הִשָּׂא acc. to §. 82, *pl.* in the same way הִשָּׂא. From מַלְאָכָה §. 390 *st. cs.* מַלְאָכָה for מַלְאָכָה, in

262 §. 418. 419. Stat. constr. §. 420. The הַ of mot.

the *pl.*, however, מִלְאָכֹה remains unshortened, because א is without a full vowel.

From מִלְאָכֹה from מִלְאָכֹה, *sg.* מִלְאָכֹה etc.

- 418 The *a* of the stem-ending *-ān* may moreover be shortened, as אֶלְמָנָה Js. 9, 16, שְׁלֵמָנָה 1 Chro. 28, 16; but is also maintained, as קִרְבָּנָה Lev. 7, 38 in some edit.

From מִלְאָכֹה §. 395 *stat. cs.* מִלְאָכֹה, the *a* being treated as mere foretone. — On the other hand, the *a* remains in the fem. abstracts in *-it*, *-ut* from לֹה acc. to §. 345 as immutable in *stat. cs.* also, as הָוִיתָ, הָוִיתָ Ps. 49, 4 and in the *pl.* הָוִיתָ, הָוִיתָ.

- 419 Where the *stat. abs.* assumes reduplication of the last consonant of the stem §. 383 ff., it regularly remains in the *st. cs.* also; nevertheless, from מַרְשָׁה *marsh pl.* מַרְשָׁה acc. to §. 383, but in *st. cs.* still shorter מַרְשָׁה. Sometimes too the reduplication establishes itself only in the *stat. cs.*, as מַרְשָׁה, *st. cs.* מַרְשָׁה as substantive *honourable ones = nobles*, not as participle.

3. BY THE הַ OF MOTION.

- 420 The only and very insignificant rudiment of the formation of cases consists in the attachment of an *-ā* as a demonstrative particle, to denote the effort to attain an object, the direction or motion towards a place. This formation is used quite sensuously in Hebr. and as a very weak and soft one, only to express the direction towards inanimate objects, as הַבַּיְתָה *towards the house*, οἰζόρδε; it cannot be used of persons at all. Moreover, this formation is only added to all the preceding ones as the last, and, in itself, is capable of being affixed to every gender and number, as well in *statu absolut.* as in *stat. constr.*

This last vowel-ending is very loosely and weakly attached, which is much more sensibly observed after the long vowels in the noun than in the verb §. 293. This *ā* is, therefore, generally quite toneless in the noun, and every long vowel remains unaltered in the last syllable, as שָׁמָרָה *towards Samaria*, הָהָרָה *towards the mountain*. A short accented vowel is, indeed, carried forward, if it can be easily done, as שָׁכְמָה from שָׁכַח §. 319 cf. §. 131; but continues unchanged, if it cannot be carried forward, as הָהָה 1 Kgs. 2, 40, הָהָה from הָהָה (root הָהָה) with weak reduplication acc. to §. 124, and hardly disappears if a firm syllable goes before, so that, after so firm beginning, the tone may fall

upon the *d* at the end; hence this fluctuation, מְדַבֵּר or מְדַבֵּרָה from the *stat. cs.* מְדַבֵּר, מְדַבֵּרָה Gen. 28, 2. 5. 6, in which both tones even come together, the *e* of the *st. cs.* also being maintained in its original shortness; in others like מְמַלֵּךְ the tone remains forwards. This vowel-ending, indeed, absorbs short toneless vowels acc. to §. 60, the preceding vowel remaining accented, so that the form מְפַתֵּחַ in the loss of its last *e* loses the first also acc. to §. 127 and receives *a* again, but in other respects the connexion of the syllable continues quite loose, as מְפַתֵּחַ, מְפַתֵּחָה, מְפַתֵּחָה, מְפַתֵּחָה (toward heaven), מְפַתֵּחָה, מְפַתֵּחָה, מְפַתֵּחָה, מְפַתֵּחָה; מְפַתֵּחָה and מְפַתֵּחָה have the tone at the end, as the *o* and gutt. resist, except in *stat. cs.* Gen. 18, 6. 19, 23. 24, 67; only in מְפַתֵּחָה southwards has the connexion of the syllables become close. — The ending *d* of the *fem. sg.* is changed before this vowel into *at* acc. to §. 209, as מְפַתֵּחָה from מְפַתֵּחָה. This weak *a*, however, is not often attached to other endings; hence also it is not attached to the *st. c. pl.*, nor between noun and suffix §. 421 ff. Nevertheless, we find מְפַתֵּחָה as particle downwards, from מְפַתֵּחָה inclination, root נָטָה ¹⁾ and מְפַתֵּחָה upwards from מְפַתֵּחָה ascent, root עָלָה; cf. also §. 74.

- 1) Because it could also be shortened to מְ in case of need, cf. §. 290, *c*; and מְפַתֵּחָה a lifting up Neh. 8, 6 for מְפַתֵּחָה, the *i* and *u* which disappear at the end, becoming audible at the beginning, cf. §. 275, *ut*. 1.

View of the nouns.

- I. *View of the nominal stems* and especially of the participles and infinitives as a supplement to the verbal paradigms.
- II. *View of the nominal flexion.* Those vowels which are marked with * here are only formed after infallible analogy.

View of the in-

Qal			
	transit.	intransit.	
<i>Inf. estr. a</i>	פָּחַב ¹⁾	אָדַל ¹⁾	פָּחַב
<i>— abs. b</i>	פָּחַב	אָדַל	פָּחַב
<i>Part. act. c</i>	פָּחֵב ⁵⁾	אָדֵל ²⁾	מִפְּחֵב ⁵⁾
<i>— pass. d</i>	פְּחֻב ²⁾		מִפְּחֻב ⁵⁾
1. פִּי a A. יָצַר B. לָדַח, לָדַח		Weak	
b יָצַר			
2. עֵו a קוּם		קוּמִים	
b קוּם		קוּמִים	
c קָם		מִקּוּמִים	
d סוּר		מִקּוּמִים	
3. עֵט a סָבַב, סָבַב		or	
b סָבַב, סָבַב		מִלְּקָל	
c סָבַב		מִלְּקָל	
d סָבַב		מִלְּקָל	
4. לִ"ה a גָּלַח, גָּלַח		גָּלַח	
b גָּלַח, גָּלַח		גָּלַח	
c גָּלַח		מִגָּלַח	
d גָּלַח		מִגָּלַח	
5. Gutt. a אָמַר, אָמַר		חָק	
pr. rad.		c ***)	
tert. rad. a שָׁלַח		שָׁלַח, שָׁלַח	
b שָׁלַח		שָׁלַח	
c שָׁלַח		מִשָּׁלַח	
6. פִּא a פָּלָא etc.		פָּלָא	
7. כִּא a נָצַר, נָצַר		נָצַר	
b נָצַר, נָצַר		נָצַר, נָצַר	

***) מִלְּמַד as substantive teacher Job 35, 11 for מִלְּמַד §. 82

finitives and participles.¹

Hitpael. הִתְפַּחֵב ⁵⁾ —, תִּחַב מִתְפַּחֵב ⁵⁾	Hif-fl הִכְתִּיב הִכְתֵּב מִכְתִּיב	Hof-al הִכְתֵּב ³⁾ הִכְתֵּב מִכְתֵּב ^{5), —}	Nif-al הִכְתֵּב ⁵⁾ כָּתַב, תִּכַּב, — נִכְתֵּב ⁵⁾
roots	a B. הוֹלִיד A. הוֹטִיב c B. מוֹלִיד A. מוֹטִיב	הוֹלִיד מוֹלִיד d	הוֹלִיד נוֹלִיד
הִתְקוּמָם מִתְקוּמָם	הִקִּים ²⁾ הִקֵּם מִקִּים ²⁾	הִנָּקָם ⁵⁾ מוֹנָקָם ³⁾	הִקִּים נָקָם ²⁾
or הִתְקַלְקַל מִתְקַלְקַל	הִסִּב ²⁾ **) מִסִּב ²⁾	הִשָּׁמָה, הוֹסֵב מוֹסֵב	הִסֵּב הִסֵּב, הִסֵּב נָסֵב, נָסֵב ²⁾
הִתְגַּלֹּת הִתְגַּלָּה מִתְגַּלָּה	הִגִּלֹּת הִגִּלָּה מִגִּלָּה	הִגִּלֹּת הִגִּלָּה מִגִּלָּה	הִגִּלָּה, הִגִּלָּה הִגִּלָּה נִגִּלָּה
as Piel	הִשְׁלִיחַ הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁלַח	הִשְׁמַד, הִשְׁמַד נִשְׁמַד, נִשְׁמַד c
etc.			הִשְׁלַח, הִשְׁלַח
		הִפִּיל	הִפִּיל נִפִּיל c

¹) Acc. to page 166-169 and §. 349-356. — 1) denotes the flexion according to the *first formation*, — 2) that according to the *second*, 3) that according to the *third* of the *first kind*, — and 3,) that according to the *third* of the *second kind*.

²) Also הִדַּק 2 Chro. 34, 7 accord. §. 217, cf. §. 351.

III. Nouns with a permanent first syllable, cf. § 388 ff.

1. with *e* in the last.

sg. m. ¹⁾	כֹּתֵב	קָרָא שְׁמֵעַ זֶעַם	מִסְפָּד	מִרְבֵּץ מִזְבֵּחַ
- - st. c.	-	קָרָא שְׁמֵעַ זֶעַם	מִסְפָּד	מִרְבֵּץ מִזְבֵּחַ
pl. m.	כֹּתְבִים	זֹעֲמִים	מִסְפָּרִים	
- - st. c.	כֹּתְבֵי	זֹעֲמֵי	מִסְפָּרֵי	
1. sg. f.	חֹשֶׁבֶת ¹⁾		מִזְכָּרָה	מִחְשְׁבָה
- - st. c.	חֹשֶׁבֶת		מִזְכָּרָה	מִחְשְׁבָה
2. - - u. st. c.	כֹּתֶבֶת	שְׁמֵעַת זֹעֲמָה	מִזְכָּרָה	מִחְשְׁבָה
1. pl. f.	חֹשְׁבוֹת		מִזְכָּרוֹת	מִחְשְׁבוֹת
- - st. c.	חֹשְׁבוֹת		-	-
2. - - u. st. c.	חֹשְׁבוֹת	זֹעֲמוֹת כֹּתְבוֹת	-	-

In the same way עֹנֵן and all participles in *e*.

¹⁾ שָׁב §. 318, שָׁנָה §. 384 follow the formation of the last syllable.

2. with *a* in the last.

¹⁾ עוֹלָם	נִכְתָּב	מִסְפָּר	בֵּן
עוֹלָם	נִכְתָּב	מִסְפָּר	בֵּן
עוֹלָמִים	נִכְתָּבִים		בָּנִים
עוֹלָמֵי	נִכְתָּבֵי		בָּנֵי, בָּנוֹ
	נִכְתָּבָה		
	נִכְתָּבַת		
חֹתְמָה	נִכְתָּמָה	מִשְׁפָּחָה	בֵּינָה
חֹתְמוֹת	נִכְתָּמוֹת		
חֹתְמוֹת	נִכְתָּמוֹת		

In the same way all participles in *a*.

¹⁾ יָד §. 324 follows the formation of the last syllable.

From לֹחַ §. 324, מִלְּחָמָה, מִלְּחָמָה, whose last syllable is like לֹחַ No. 11.

Nouns in עֹנֵן, בֵּן.

אֶלְמֵן	זֶכְרוֹן
אֶלְמֵן	זֶכְרוֹן
אֶלְמֵנִים	זֶכְרוֹנִים
אֶלְמֵנֵי	זֶכְרוֹנֵי
אֶלְמֵנָה	
אֶלְמֵנוֹת	זֶכְרוֹנוֹת
אֶלְמֵנוֹת	זֶכְרוֹנוֹת

IV. Adj. in עֹנֵן.

נִכְרִי	
-	
נִכְרִים	or נִכְרִים
נִכְרֵי	נִכְרֵי
נִכְרֵי	or נִכְרֵי
נִכְרֵי	-

III. NOUN WITH SUFFIXES.

I. This is, according to §. 402, a peculiar kind of the connexion of a noun in *stat. constr.* with a following one, in which the personal pronoun, as a dependent little word, is always closely attached in an abridged form and coheres with the *stat. constr.* as a single word. The shortening and attachment of these *suffixes* is, on the whole, the same as in the verb §. 300 ff., only with this difference, that the suffixes are much more extensively, and, therefore, also much more uniformly shortened here, and are more firmly and closely attached ¹⁾. The intermediate or union-vowel, where there is a full vowel, is *e*; the several suffixes accordingly are:

- 1) Hence, in contradistinction to the verb, the intermediate nasal sound *-n* §. 306 is also wanting here, except perhaps Js. 23, 11 cf. v. 14.

1. In the *third person*: 1) *sg. msc.* usually יָ, or sometimes written הָ Gen. 49, 11. Nah. 2, 1; rarely fuller הֵהָ Gen. 1, 12. — 2) *fem. sg.* הָ, sometimes written הֵהָ i. e. with loss of the guttural pronunciation of the *h*, it is then to be read *ä* only Lev. 13, 4. Nu. 15, 28. 31; without Rafe Js. 23, 17 f. Nah. 3, 9; hence in late writers even written סָ Ez. 36, 5. — 3) *pl.* הֵם only antique, and in pause הֵמָּה 2 Sam. 23, 6, otherwise always הֵן, in poetry also הֵן ¹⁾. The *fem.* only rarely הֵנָּה with a consonant at the beginning and with the tone Gen. 21, 28. Js. 3, 17. Ez. 16, 53; הֵנָּה antique, in pause 1 Kgs. 7, 37. Ez. 16, 53; הֵנָּה Gen. 42, 36. Ru. 1, 19, or with the short vowel of more common suffixes הֵן Gen. 41, 21; most frequently the perfectly short הָ.

- 1) It is hardly to be denied that this הֵן is sometimes equivalent to the *sg. msc.* (Iob 22, 2. Ps. 11, 7. Js. 44, 15. 53, 8); the longer and rarer form was also gradually so attrited, especially as the יָ of the *sg.* appeared to exist in it. This is also only found with very little words, as with the preposition לְהֵן for לְיָ.

2. *Second person.* 1) *sg. msc.* אָ, rarely, and chiefly with short words, written אֵהָ Ex. 13, 16. — 2) *fem. sg.* usually אָ (concerning אֵהָ see §. 302), only in pause sometimes אֵהָ as longer Ez. 23, 28, and אֵהָ Nah. 2, 14. — 3) *pl.* אֵהָ, *fem.* אֵהָ, rarely אֵהָ in pause Ez. 23, 48.

3. *First person.* 1) *sg.* always shortened to אָ with expulsion of the *n*. — 2) *pl.* אֵהָ, in pause also longer אֵהָ Iob 22, 20. Ru. 3, 2.

II. The pronunciation of the suffixes must, indeed, also adapt itself to the endings of the nominal forms, and therefore varies especially according to the vowel-endings of the nouns: nevertheless, the endings of the nominal forms are not so various and different as those of the verbal persons, so that only a less important variation of the suffixes is produced

here by their mixture with the vowel-endings. The general laws that regulate it are the same as in the verb §. 304 f.

423 III. In this union of the two words, the noun is always in the *stat. constr.* before the suffix, and we should have to repeat here all that has been said §. 400 ff. on the pronunciation of the noun when in *st. cs.*: a certain difference may nevertheless exist, inasmuch as the suffix has less influence and weight than an entire, more independent word, and is inseparable, as to tone, from the word with which it is united. For that reason, therefore, some stress and delay of the tone may fall back from the suffix upon the *stat. constr.* and the vocalization of a noun before the suffix in general become, where it is suitable, fuller and less hurried than in the strict *stat. constr.* i. e. before a new, perfectly independent word. Particulars of this variation are as follows:

424 1. *Noun without ending of gender and number with suffixes*, and first, the noun ending in a *consonant* as the most frequent ending. The principal thing to be considered here is, what sort of vowel there is in the last syllable of the noun, cf. §. 60 ff.:

1) An immutably long vowel remains unchanged, and suffers the appoggiatural sound to be distinctly heard with the last consonant, as קָמַרְ, קָמַרְ; קָמַרְ from קָמַרְ (*enemy*) §. 324, לְבוּשָׁךְ, לְבוּשָׁךְ from לְבוּשׁ *garment* §. 328. — In the same manner the vowel remains firm before the properly double consonant at the end (cf. §. 308), as from מַדְ, מַדְ (for מַדְ), אַדְ, בַּלְ, are formed מַדְ, מַדְ, אַדְ, בַּלְ, all acc. to §. 46 f., beside גִּדְ also גִּדְ *my pride*; the appoggiatural vowel, however, is only audible after *a*, as עֲמִידָה, אֲמִידָה, but becomes mute after *e* and *o*, which do not then change their radical sound, as אֲשַׁכֶּה *your fire* Js. 50, 11, חֲקִיקָה *thy law* from אֲשַׁכֶּה, חֲקִיקָה; yet they can also suffer the reduplication to be audible, as אֲמִידָה, אֲמִידָה always, from אִמָּה *mother*, אִמָּה.

425 2) An unaccented or auxiliary vowel disappears, the last consonant before the accented endings being carried over to the following syllable; by which also the appoggiatural vowel always becomes distinctly audible, as from מִלְכּוֹ : מִלְכָה, מִלְכּוֹ : מִלְכָה, מִלְכּוֹ : מִלְכָה, from סֶחֱרָה : סֶחֱרָה, from בְּפָרָה : בְּפָרָה. The pronunciation of such nouns of the first formation before the suffixes, therefore, is precisely the same as before the ending of the *fem.* הַ- §. 380 f. Nevertheless, the broader *e* is somewhat more frequent here for *i*, especially in roots ל' acc. to §. 275 *not.* 1, as שְׂדֵה, פְּרוֹה; in these, and sometimes in others also, for the most part before the appoggia-

tural vowel, as קִצְּצָה, רִשְׁעָה Ps. 85, 8. 38, 2; but very seldom besides, as Gen. 21, 23 and in נִגְדָה; נִגְדָה from נִגַּד *before*, which has worn down to a preposition. It is very seldom that the first syllable also is not closely compound; as in בִּגְדָה from בָּגַד *garment*.

From מִנְתָּה, מִנְתָּה : מִנְתָּה, מִנְתָּה, but עֲנִלָּה from עָנַל. The *ae* is reduced with particular ease to *i* here, as עִירָה (*his colt*) Gen. 49, 11, שִׁירָה Js. 10, 17, דִּישָׁו Dt. 25, 4 from שִׁירָה, שִׁירָה, שִׁירָה; yet, on the contrary, the original sound is also once preserved in the *st. cs.*, as רִישָׁו from רִישׁ.

From gutt. 3rd. rad. שְׁמִעָה, שְׁמִעָה, פִּלְאָה, as every gutt., not excepting א, always receives the shortest *a* as the nearest and easiest distinct vowel instead of the indistinct appoggiatural vowel.

Particular instances of the resolution of the *ע* before suffixes, where the vowels are prone to be broader than usual: אֶלְלָה, אֶלְלָה from אָל; אֶל, אֶל; with שְׁרָה, שְׁרָה Cant. 7, 3. הִלְרָה Gen. 14, 6 from הִלָּה, הִלָּה.

3) Those vowels of the last syllable which are only *long* 426 *by tone*, are shortened, or maintain themselves as foretone in the same manner, on the whole, as before the endings of gender and number §. 384 ff.: the consequences, however, may be different here according to the nature of the nouns themselves:

a) The vowel is, for the most part, so fixed in its place that it cannot go forward: thus in all nouns of the second formation¹⁾; moreover, in those which have a firm, unchangeable vowel in the first syllable §. 388 ff., and, on the contrary, in those which have no syllable whatever before the tone vowel, בָּן, שֵׁשׁ. Their vowel disappears, or remains as foretone before suffixes which begin with a full vowel, as דְּבָרָה, מִסְפָּרָה, מִסְפָּרָה, כְּתָבָה, זֶקֶן, דְּבָרָה from מִסְפָּרָה, מִסְפָּרָה, כְּתָבָה, זֶקֶן, precisely in the same way as the plurals דְּבָרִים etc. §. 385 ff., but also בָּנוּ, שְׁמוֹ from בָּן, שֵׁשׁ, although their plural is בָּנִים, שְׁמוֹת. The vowel thus remaining as foretone also maintains itself before the appoggiatural vowel of the lighter suffix *ה* in a simple syllable acc. to §. 62, as דְּבָרָה, מִסְפָּרָה, זֶקֶן, but must be reduced to the short sound before the heavy *ה*, as in the *stat. constr. sg.* §. 410-413: דְּבָרָה, מִסְפָּרָה, שְׁבִתָּה, קִרְבָּנָה, and from *e* there remains *a* in the *stat. cs.* זֶקֶן, הִזְבָּנָה from the *inf. Hif.* with shorter pronunciation Ez. 21, 29. The *e*, which falls away before a full vowel, must remain before the mere appoggiatural vowel, but very seldom as *a* acc. to §. 45, as בּוֹשְׁטָה Am. 5, 11 from the *inf. Palet* acc. to §. 234 and 107, and with second rad. gutt. אֶהְבָּה from the *part. act.* §. 326. Js. 43, 14. 2 Chro. 20, 7, it usually remains as the soft *e*, as מִקְלָה from מִקַּל,

root נקל §. 339, הִזְכֵּרָהּ from the *inf. Nif.* Ez. 21, 29; or lastly still weaker as *i*, especially before the heavy כֶּכֶּ, as אֶלֶּךְ, אֶלְלֶכֶּ from the *inf. Pi.* Jos. 3, 7. Js. 1, 15; בָּהֶבֶךְ, בָּהֶבֶכֶּ from the *part. act. Qal*; וְשָׁךְ, בָּנֶךְ, בָּנֶכֶּ from וָשׁ, בָּן. From יָרָ, יָרָה §. 324, יָרָה, יָרָה, but יָרָכֶּ, יָרָמָכֶּ, as *i* or *e* intrude instead of *a* as vestige of the lost third rad. With gutt. acc. to §. 308 שָׁלַחְךָ, שָׁלַחְכֶּ, מִזְבְּחֶךָ, מִזְבְּחֶכֶּ (from the *inf. Nif.* Ez. 28, 13) in which *e* exists originally; on the contrary מוֹצֵאֲךָ 2 Sam. 3, 25, מוֹרָאֲךָ Gen. 9, 2 = מִסְפָּרְךָ, מִסְפָּרֶכֶּ.

- 1) Some of those excepted which carry the vowel forward in *stat. cs.* acc. to §. 410, for, in that case, they may acc. to §. 425 form יִצְלַעַּ from יִצְלַעַּ *stat. cs.* of יִצְלַעַּ, עִנְכֶּכֶּ Ez. 36, 8 from עִנְכָּ *st. cs.* of עִנְכָּ *branch*. On the contrary לָבֶבֶךְ from לָבֶב, *st. cs.* לָבֶב.

b) The more moveable vowel, not firmly fixed in its place, may be carried forward to the consonant at the beginning which is without a firm vowel, so that this form becomes like the one described §. 425, except that closely shut syllables cannot arise here, because the vowel hardly moves forward. Thus *a*) in the few substantives §. 319, as בָּרָשׁוּ, דָּבָשׁוּ, שָׂכָמוּ, שָׂכָמוּ; the vowel is firmly fixed in בָּרָשׁוּ Jer. 51, 34. Substantives with *o* have this heavy sound double also, acc. to §. 58: qó-tob'ká from קָטַב *blow* Hos. 13, 14; qó-toni (*my little finger*) 1 Kgs. 12, 10; קָבֵלוּ Ez. 26, 9, (*before him*) from קָבַל Aramaic = קָבַל; some read קָבֵלִי, קָבֵלִי with reduplicat. of the 2nd or 3rd rad. by way of supporting the short *o* more easily. — *β*) In the *inf. Qal*, as שָׁכַבָּה: שָׁכַבָּה Gen. 19, 33. §. 66, from שָׁכַב, yet also תִּנְכַּבֵּ before the heavy suffix Js. 30, 18. The *o* is much heavier: it is carried forward, as בָּהֶבֶךְ, בָּהֶבֶךְ, rarely בָּהֶבֶךְ, with gutt. 2nd rad. גָּאֲלֶךְ, מִאֲסָכֶךְ §. 162, שָׁמֵכֶךְ, and so with *a* as 3rd rad. מִצְאָכֶכֶּ acc. to §. 73; but it also remains in its place before a mere appoggiatural vowel, especially before כֶּכֶּ, as בָּהֶבֶךְ, מִשְׁהָךְ 1 Sam. 15, 1, בָּהֶבֶכֶּ, and hence even maintains itself twice in both places acc. to §. 58 קָרָבֶכֶּ Dt. 20, 2. — *γ*) very rarely in another *infinitive*, as הִפְרָכֶּ Lev. 26, 15 from הִפְרָךְ, *inf. Hif.* root פָּרַר, as the reduplicat. may cease acc. to §. 424.

- 426 *Vowel-endings:* *a*) a few words in *-i*, viz. פִּי *stat.*
^b *cs.* from פִּי §. 409, and the words of relationship אָבִי §. 410. This *i* unites with the *i* of the suffix of the first pers. sg., פִּי, it absorbs the union-vowel so that the simple syllables of the suffixes become toneless, as פִּי, פִּי, and the *e* of הִי in the same way, as פִּי, and is attached to those suffixes which have a consonant at the beginning by means of that consonant, as פִּי, פִּי, although we also often find פִּי for פִּי, פִּי,

the vowel *u* coming in contact with the *i* and becoming thereby a semivowel; still more regularly the longer אָבִיר. If the tone remains on this *i*, then the *a* of the first rad. also remains in the words of relationship as foretone, as אָבִיר *my father*, אָבִירָה.

The nouns of the first formation שָׁבִי, פָּלִי, פָּרִי §. 318 follow the consonant formation acc. to §. 425, as the stem-vowel, according to the general formation of these nouns, appears again with the first rad., and the third, therefore, becomes a semivowel before every vowel or appoggiatural vowel i. e. before all suffixes, as שָׁבִיר, שָׁבִירָה, שָׁבִירִי, שָׁבִירִים; yet sometimes before the heavy suffixes שָׁבִירָם, שָׁבִירָהּ according to the vowel formation.

b) The ending ה־ from לָהּ is treated much in the same way as in the verb §. 310. It may indeed be lost before any suffix, as אָלִי, אָלֶהָ from אָלָהָ; but very often, and still oftener in the noun, according to its nature, than in the verb, is *e* preserved as a vestige of the original sound. And because this *e* (prop. *ae*) agrees with the ending of the *stat. cs. pl.* accordingly, these words have not unfrequently, and especially where no obscurity can arise from it, precisely the same suffixes as the *pl.* §. 428. Most frequently *e* remains before the longer snff., as מֵרָאִיָּהּ *their appearance* Gen. 41, 21, מִקְנֵהָם, מִקְנֵהָ *your, their herd* Dt. 3, 19, קִצְיָהּ *their end* Ez. 33, 2. נוֹטִיָּהּ from *part. Qal* Js. 42, 5; very often also ה־, אֶהָ, as מִתְנַהֵה, מִתְנַהֵהָ ¹⁾, even מַעֲשֵׂיָהּ *his work* precisely as in §. 428, 1 Sam. 19, 4, מִסְתַּיָּהּ from the *part. Pi.* Hos. 2, 16. Js. 22, 11; lastly, sometimes with the suffixes of the second pers. *sg.*, as מִקְנֵיךָ *thy herd*, רֵעִיךָ *thy friend*, 2 Sam. 12, 11, מִרְאֵיךָ *thy face* Cant. 2, 14.

- 1) In the same way רֵעֵהָ *his friend*, although it is usually shortened רֵעַ acc. to §. 318, מִרְעֵהָ *his acquaintance* from מִרְעַ, shortened from מִרְעָה prop. *friendship*.

The short שֵׁה §. 318, *st. c.* שֵׁה, resolves the last sound *e* into the corresponding semivowel *j* before suffixes, so that שֵׁיָּהּ or שֵׁיִי is formed ²⁾. On the other hand דִּי from דִּי.

- 2) Just as פִּיּוֹת may be also formed as *pl.* from פִּיָּהּ, although we more usually find פִּיּוֹת, פִּיּוֹ from the pronunciation פִּי.

2. Noun in the ending of the *fem. sg. with suffixes.* 427
The suffixes are so attached to the *stat. const.* ה־ §. 411, that the *a* always remains, partly as foretone, partly and more especially to preserve the *a* as the sound peculiar to the *fem.* §. 304. Hence, before full vowels, from מִלְכָּהּ, מִלְכָּהּ, מִלְכָּהּ, מִלְכָּהּ etc., before an appoggiatural vowel acc. to §. 426: מִלְכָּהּ, מִלְכָּהּ. Those however, which have the toneless ending ה־ in the *stat. cs.* §. 414 attach the suffixes in the same way precisely as the *simple noun of the first formation* §. 425, e. g. מִלְכָּהּ forms like מִלְכָּהּ:

מִמְלֶכְתְּךָ, מִמְלֶכְתְּךָ etc. It is only in the accented and, as to its origin, very important vowel of the penult, that we find some peculiarities:

1) If \acute{e} - \tilde{e} is frequently and in *stat. abst.* almost always found, it is treated exactly as in the forms מֶלֶךְ §. 379 i.e. sometimes *a* and sometimes *i* may intrude, as אֶבְרָהָם, רִבְכָּה, אֲרָבָה, מִצְרַיִם, אֲרָבָה, רִבְכָּה, מִצְרַיִם, אֲרָבָה, רִבְכָּה etc. But if the *stat. abs.* has more usually הָ and at the same time retains the original vowel of the stem; or if this end-vowel is very long in itself (without ending), then it endeavours to remain in its proper sound; hence a) *a* always remains before suff. in the forms מִמְלֶכְהָ, מִמְלֶכְהֶהּ which are very common in the *stat. abs.* acc. to §. 390: מִמְלֶכְתְּהוּ, מִמְשַׁלְתְּהוּ; seldom is \acute{e} - \tilde{e} already prevalent in the *stat. abs.* as מִשְׁמִירָתְהוּ, תַּפְאֲרָתְהוּ from תַּפְאֲרָה, מִשְׁמִירָה. — b) the *fem.* of the form בָּהֶב §. 385 always preserve the E-sound, which is comparatively very strong in this form, in \tilde{e} , as בְּהֶבְהֶהּ, שְׂבָהּ; even בְּהֶמְהָ from בְּהֶמָּה *st. cs.* בְּהֶמֶת. In the same way in the *inf. Piel* which very seldom has the *fem.* ending: מְדַבְּרָהּ Ez. 16, 52 — c) the rare *fem.* on the other hand, which have a *msc.* with \acute{e} , retain that sound, as גְּבִירָהּ from גְּבִיר, גְּבִירָה.

2) The very few *fem.* with \acute{e} - \tilde{e} always suffer the *i* or *e* to be heard, as from אִשָּׁה, the *stat. const.* from אִשָּׁה: אִשְׁתִּי, אִשְׁתְּךָ, אִשְׁתְּהוּ; only once Ps. 128, 3 אִשְׁתְּךָ acc. to §. 79.

3) The words with \acute{o} - \tilde{o} in which the *o* is primitive, retain it, as קִטְרָהּ; but those in which the *o* has arisen from *u* acc. to §. 63, endeavour to retain their original vowel: מִשְׁכָּנְהוּ, נְחֻשְׁתִּי; although the *o* also occasionally remains: נְחֻשְׁתִּי Lam. 3, 7.

Where ה is resolved into a succeeding ת, the ת remains with audible reduplication before all suffixes (contrary to §. 424), as from תַּת §. 384. תַּתְּךָ, תַּתְּהוּ, from תַּת §. 380. בַּתְּכֶם, בַּתְּהוּ §. 385. אִמְתְּךָ, as the most fleeting *e*, because its most natural place is only at the end of a word, is changed before accented postfixes (as often at other times) into the most fleeting *a*. In the same way מְדַבְּרָתְךָ 1 Sam. 16, 15 from מְדַבְּרַת part. Pi. *fem.* for מְדַבְּרָתְךָ, as מְשַׁרְרַת 1 Kgs. 1, 15 for מְשַׁרְרָתְךָ.

The foreign word פָּחָה (for פָּחָה §. 121) *governor, stat. cs.* פָּחָה as if it was *fem.*, פָּחָתְךָ with suff., nevertheless forms with one suffix, as it is not *fem.* as to its origin, פָּחָם like כְּתִיבָהּ §. 305, 3; *pl.* פָּחָוּ as from פָּחָה §. 386, or, with expulsion of the ה, פָּחוּת.

3. The vowel-ending *ae* of the *stat. cs. pl.* and *du.* unites with the suffixes in such a way, that 1) the *-i* of the first ps. sg. forms *āi* with the *ae* acc. to §. 54, in the same way the *e* (*i*) of *ā* of the second ps. fem. sg. forms *āi* (*i*), *לְבַשְׁתִּי*, *לְבַשְׁתִּי*; — 2) every appoggiatural and union-vowel disappears, so that the suffixes with simple syllables become toneless, as *לְבַשְׁתִּי*, but *לְבַשְׁתִּי*; and 3) the suffixes beginning with the *h* of the third ps. are attached in this full consonant form, as *לְבַשְׁתִּיהָ*, *לְבַשְׁתִּיהָ* Nah. 2, 4. Hab. 3, 10. Job 24, 23. Yet the very common suffix of the third sg. msc. usually loses its *h* here also, so that *u* becomes a semivowel, but is pronounced *āv*, for *aeu* or *aiv* acc. to §. 54. 96. Before the toneless *ā* and *ā*, the *e* (*ae*) between is reduced to *é* in the tone acc. to §. 51, as *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ* 2). The *i* however, as sign of the pl., is very regularly written even in the middle of the word, and instances like *אֶרֶץ* Gen. 4, 4. *אֶרֶץ* Jer. 38, 22 are very rare; it is for this reason that it is so firmly retained in *אֶרֶץ* *āv*, although no longer heard; very seldom *אֶרֶץ* as Ex. 32, 19.

- 1) Aramaic *אֶרֶץ* Ps. 103, 3. 5. 116, 7 acc. to §. 302. — Still more Aramaic is *אֶרֶץ* Ps. 116, 12 for *אֶרֶץ*; in Aramaic, namely, the very attrited *hu* acts so powerfully upon the preceding accented syllable that the sound *u* intrudes into it: *duhi* (*ôhi*) for *aihi*.
- 2) Instead of *אֶרֶץ*, we find *אֶרֶץ* according to later orthography Ez. 41, 15; in Ezech. also the longer suffixes *אֶרֶץ* 40, 16 *אֶרֶץ* 1, 11. *אֶרֶץ* 13, 20.

The ending *āv* is in other cases also often written so after this common suffix *אֶרֶץ*, as in the adjective *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*, also *אֶרֶץ*, which is, however, rather a late abuse of the mode of writing, Jer. 49, 31. Prov. 26, 28. and in some editt. Job 21, 23; only in the *Qrī* Num. 12, 3. Cant. 2, 11. Ps. 105, 40.

These suffixes, thus formed, are of themselves distinguish- ed, as to their tone and influence on the pronunciation of the *pl.*, into two classes: 1) the *greater* number are attached without tone to the *stat. cs.* or have united with it in *one* syllable: *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*; *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ* these are the *short plural suffixes*. Because all these endings are only equivalent, as to tone, to *one accented or compound syllable* at the end of a word (§. 34), accordingly, their influence on the pronunciation of the noun, is only equal to that of the *אֶרֶץ* of the *pl. msc.*; the nominal forms, therefore, have precisely the same pronunciation before them as before that ending (§. 382 ff.); e. g. *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*, in the same way *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*. — 2) On the other hand, the suff. *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ*, *אֶרֶץ* (the *long plural suff.*) consist of two syllables, the latter of which is necessarily accented,

and are, therefore, one syllable longer as to tone; and as the tone thus remains exclusively on the suff., entirely removed from the *pl.*, the forms of the *stat. cs.* §. 415 ff. always remain. e. g. בְּלִי, in the same way בְּלִיָּה. — Only when a word is preserved in the *pl.* only, and, within still narrower limits, only in the *stat. cs.*, does the form of the *stat. cs.* remain before the short suff. also, as אֲשֶׁר־ *happiness* (§. 360) which becomes an interjection *blessing!* אֲשֶׁר־ *thy happiness! blessing on thee!* and prepositions §. 459.

430 The *suff.* are not usually attached in the simple form §. 421 to the ending of the *fem. pl.* -וֹת, but in the form which is united or mixed with the plural ending -י acc. to §. 428, e. g. בְּזִבְחֵיהֶם *his altars*. For as the *stat. cs.* is prone to end in vowels, it can here assume the vowel-ending of the *pl.* which is moreover most easily united with the suffixes. But as this is not absolutely necessary, vestiges of the *simple* form have been preserved: 1) בָּרַח, בָּרַח, which are most removed from בְּרִיָּה, בְּרִיָּה, are almost more common and older than they, as בְּרִיָּה, בְּרִיָּה. — 2) we moreover find בְּבוֹתָהּ *thy afflictions* Dt. 28, 59. 2 Kgs. 6, 8.

We should accordingly expect that this vowel-ending would also intrude into the pure *stat. cs.*; and thus we find בְּמוֹתָיִם *bā-mōte* as *stat. cs.* from בְּמוֹת *heights* (whose derivation, however, is obscure) with a shortening of the *ō* now acc. to §. 51 before the second plural ending; with suff. בְּמוֹתָיִם without this shortening, the *st. cs.* is sometimes still בְּמוֹת, the *sg.* בְּמוֹתָ is very rare. Besides this, בְּרִיָּה (§. 338) 1 Sam. 26, 12 more as a preposition.

That union of the suff. with *ae* is afterwards transferred even to the *stat. cs. sg. fem.* -ת preceded by בָּל all, which renders the transition to the *pl.* easier, Js. 47, 13. Ps. 9, 15; this is extended by Ezech. to the -וֹת of the infinitives לָהֶם §. 354 where there is no actual *pl.* 6, 8. 16, 31, and hence also to the intrans. infinit. שִׂנְאָה *to hate* 35, 11. Much more easily with the ending -ת of the *fem. sg.* which as to its sound and signification (as abstract §. 360) resembles the *pl.* -וֹת, as בְּנוֹתָיִם even in Num. 14, 33. בְּרִיתוֹתֶיהָ Jer. 3, 8. Js. 53, 4. Ez. 16, 15. 20. 23, 7.

431 As there is at least *one* accented syllable added by means of the suffixes to the ending of *stat. cs.* of the *fem. sg.* and *pl.*, the form of the *st. cs.* §. 415 ff. remains before the suff., as before בְּרִיָּה of the *msc. pl.* §. 429. Nevertheless, because noun and suff. only form *one* word with *one* tone, the noun is sometimes not so much shortened before the suff. as in *stat. cs.* Traces of this are found 1) in the simple nouns of the second formation which generally retain the vowel of the second rad. acc. to §. 416; rarely with *a*, as קִצְרָה, *st. cs.* קִצְרָה, קִצְרָה, with suff. קִצְרָתִי (but before

ר as gutt. cf. §. 70); more frequently with *e*, as רְחֵלְתִּי, נְדָרְתִּי; also fluctuating, as נְבִלְתִּי once Js. 26, 19 beside נְבִלְתָּהּ, נְבִלְתָּהּ; most rarely before the *long pl. suff.* — 2) In the same way שָׁבָעוֹת *weeks* §. 386. *st. cs.* שָׁבָעוֹת, with suff. שָׁבָעוֹת; — and 3) בְּתוֹנֹת *pl.* בְּתוֹנֹת, although the *st. cs.* is בְּתוֹנֹת, בְּתוֹנֹת acc. to § 417. Especially before gutt. as רְעוּהֶיהָ §. 382 *b*; cf. מְרַעְהוּ §. 326 *b*; and with loss of the third rad. יָפְתִּי *my beautiful one* Cant. 2, 10. 13 from the *fem.* of יָפָה §. 206.

The same may be sometimes observed before the light 432 ending *ae* of the *pl.* especially before gutt., as מְנִי *stat. cs.* from מָנִים §. 382, before suff. מְנִיָּהּ Ez. 7, 19. סְרִיסִי Gen. 40 (but in Est. סְרִיסִי) like the *stat. cs. sg.* סְרִיס, but with suff. סְרִיסִי §. 387; אֶרְחֵהוּ acc. to §. 70 for אָרַח.

The reduplication of the last rad. §. 419 not only remains before suff. but may even establish itself particularly firmly here, as from שָׁבָת (*sabbath*) with suff. שָׁבָתוֹ, in the *pl.* שָׁבָתוֹת, *st. cs.* שָׁבָתוֹת. On the other hand, נִכְבְּדִי loses the reduplication before heavy suff. Ps. 149, 8.

The participle and infinitive, when they follow the verb 433 in sense and construction, may assume the suff. which are proper to the verb §. 300 fl., as רֹאֵנִי *videns me*, לְהַמִּיתֵנִי *to kill me*, with the prepos. ל, לְהַמִּיתֵנִי from the *infinitive* *Piel*, root יָחַ cf. §. 122. The *infinitive* however, has always the primitive forms יָחַן, יָחַן, and not יָחַן, יָחַן, and more frequently the short nominal suff. יָחַ and יָחַן, as Ex. 2, 3.

View of the Nominalsuffixes.

Persons.	To the sing.		to the sg. fem.	to the plur.	to the plur. fem.
sg. 3 m.	לְבוּשׁוֹ	פִּי	מִלְבָּשָׁתָּהּ	לְבוּשֵׁי	מִלְכוֹתָהּ
	his garment	אֵלֶּה, פִּיהָ	הִיא, מִלְבָּשָׁתָּהּ	הִיא, לְבוּשֵׁי	הִיא, מִלְכוֹתָהּ
- f.	לְבוּשָׁהּ	פִּיהָ	מִלְבָּשָׁתָּהּ	לְבוּשֵׁיהָ	מִלְכוֹתָהּ
	her garment	הִיא, פִּיהָ	הִיא, מִלְבָּשָׁתָּהּ	הִיא, לְבוּשֵׁיהָ	הִיא, מִלְכוֹתָהּ
2 m.	לְבוּשְׁךָ	פִּיךָ	מִלְבָּשְׁךָ	לְבוּשֵׁיךָ	מִלְכוֹתְךָ
	thy garment	הִיךָ, פִּיךָ	הִיךָ, מִלְבָּשְׁךָ	הִיךָ, לְבוּשֵׁיךָ	הִיךָ, מִלְכוֹתְךָ
- f.	לְבוּשְׁהָ	פִּיהָ	מִלְבָּשְׁהָ	לְבוּשֵׁיהָ	מִלְכוֹתְהָ
1.	לְבוּשִׁי	פִּי	מִלְבָּשָׁתִּי	לְבוּשֵׁי	מִלְכוֹתִי
	my garment	הִי, פִּי	הִי, מִלְבָּשָׁתִּי	הִי, לְבוּשֵׁי	הִי, מִלְכוֹתִי
pl. 3 m.	לְבוּשָׁם	פִּיהֶם	מִלְבָּשָׁתָם	לְבוּשֵׁיהֶם	מִלְכוֹתֵיהֶם
	their garment	הֵם, פִּיהֶם	הֵם, מִלְבָּשָׁתָם	הֵם, לְבוּשֵׁיהֶם	הֵם, מִלְכוֹתֵיהֶם
- f.	לְבוּשָׁן	פִּיהֶן	מִלְבָּשָׁתָן	לְבוּשֵׁיהֶן	מִלְכוֹתֵיהֶן
2 m.	לְבוּשְׁכֶם	פִּיכֶם	מִלְבָּשְׁכֶם	לְבוּשֵׁיכֶם	מִלְכוֹתֵיכֶם
	your garment	הֵם, פִּיכֶם	הֵם, מִלְבָּשְׁכֶם	הֵם, לְבוּשֵׁיכֶם	הֵם, מִלְכוֹתֵיכֶם
- f.	לְבוּשְׁכֶן	פִּיכֶן	מִלְבָּשְׁכֶן	לְבוּשֵׁיכֶן	מִלְכוֹתֵיכֶן
1.	לְבוּשָׁנוּ	פִּינוּ	מִלְבָּשָׁנוּ	לְבוּשֵׁינוּ	מִלְכוֹתֵינוּ
	our garment	הֵם, פִּינוּ	הֵם, מִלְבָּשָׁנוּ	הֵם, לְבוּשֵׁינוּ	הֵם, מִלְכוֹתֵינוּ

View of the flexion of nouns with suffixes.

Cf. page 266-268, and concerning the numerals p. 277.

I. Nouns of the first formation.

I.					
sg. 1.	יָלַדוּ, בָּלַדוּ	כָּתְרוּ	כָּפְרוּ		
2.	יָלַדְהָ, בָּלַדְהָ	כָּתְרָהּ	כָּפְרָהּ		
pl. 1.	יָלַדְיוּ	כָּתְרֵיו	כָּפְרֵיו		
2.	יָלַדְיהֶם (בְּ-)	כָּתְרֵיהֶם	כָּפְרֵיהֶם		
II. 1.					
נָפְרוּ	פָּעְלוּ	הָטְאוּ	גָּלוּ	אָמְרוּ	הָקוּ
נָפְרָהּ	פָּעְלָהּ	הָטְאָהּ	גָּלָהּ	אָמְרָהּ	הָקְרָהּ
נָפְרֵיו	פָּעְלֵיו	הָטְאוּ	(אֲשֶׁר־בָּם)		
נָפְרֵיהֶם	פָּעְלֵיהֶם	הָטְאֵיהֶם			
3.					
מָוְתוּ	לֵילֵו	שָׁבְיוּ	נָפְיוּ		
מָוְתָהּ	לֵילָהּ	שָׁבְיָהּ	נָפְיָהּ		
שָׁוְרֵיו	תָּוְשִׁיו	קָחְיוּ			
מָוְתֵיהֶם	תָּוְשִׁיָּהֶם	קָחֵיהֶם			
4.					

II. Nouns of the second formation.

I.		II 1.		2.	
sg. 1.	יָשָׁרוּ	גָּדְלוּ זָקְנוּ	שָׁעָרוּ	קָרְאוּ	יָפְו, רָבְהוּ
2.	יָשָׁרָהּ	גָּדְלָהּ etc.	שָׁעָרָהּ	קָרְאָהּ	יָפְיָהּ, רָבְיָהּ
3.	יָשָׁרָם	זָקְנָם	יָרָאָם שָׁעָרָם		יָפְיָם, רָבְיָם
pl. 1.	יָשָׁרֵיו	זָקְנֵיו	יָרָאוּ שָׁעָרֵיו		יָפְיוּ
2.	יָשָׁרֵיהֶם (בְּ-)	זָקְנֵיהֶם	יָרָאֵיהֶם שָׁעָרֵיהֶם		יָפְיֵיהֶם

III. Nouns with a permanent first syllable.

1.			
sg. 1.	כָּתְבוּ	שָׁמְעוּ	
2.	כָּתְבָהּ		מִזְבְּחָהּ
	(כָּתְבָהּ)	שָׁמְעָהּ	מִזְבְּחָהּ
3.	כָּתְבָם	שָׁמְעָם	קָרְאָם
pl. 1.	כָּתְבֵיו		קָרְאָם
2.	כָּתְבֵיהֶם		
	(בְּ-)	בָּנָם, בָּנָהּ, בָּנָהּ	(בָּנָיו) בָּנֵיהֶם
2.			
	מִסְפָּרוּ		זָכְרָהּ
	מִזְבְּחָהּ		זָכְרָהּ
	מִסְפָּרָם		זָכְרָם
	מִסְפָּרֵיו		זָכְרֵיו
	מִסְפָּרֵיהֶם		זָכְרֵיהֶם
	יָרֵיהֶם, יָרֵיו, יָרֵיהֶם, יָרֵיו (יָרֵיו)		

NUMERALS.

These few nouns form a perfectly peculiar class, so 434 that they are most suitably described here at the end. They are like proper names which have received a more definite signification from the usage of the language: but even in the earliest time have they become so firmly fixed, that their connexion with the other living roots of the language is hard to be recognised. On the other hand, an important regularity of new formations is developed in them according to their peculiar classes and orders, which is much more faithfully preserved in Semitic than in our languages, in which the numerals become more and more mere adverbs.

We may form some estimate how old the numerals are, by the very important fact, that the numerals from 1 to 7 agree as to their roots in Semitic and Indo-Germanic, but not the farther ones. 1) Sanscrit *eka*, still in Greek in *ἐκάτης*, *ἐκατος*; 2) Semitic *the* or *tre*, Malay *toru*, Indo-Germ. *dva* (cf. the Sanscr. *dvā*, Lat. *cras*, *ἀντιον*) by means of the Sem. *tom* = twin; 3) Indo-Germ. *tra*, Sem. *slo* or, with repetition, *s'los*, with the usual changes; 4) the Indo-Germ. *quatuor* appears to be only a repetition of the short root, for *kakvar*, and the simple *kvar* accords with the Sem. רבע only that the order of the sounds is reversed, ע which answers to *k* being placed last, the ב retaining the same place as the *v*, and the ר being put first, 5) Sem. *khamsh*, Indo-Germ. *khank* or *khantsh*, as the Lat. *quinque* appears to be older than the Sanscr. *pantsh*, Gr. *πέντε*; 6) *shesh* Sem. and Sanscr.; 7) *sab'* Sem. and *sapt* Indo-Germ. — Among the others, the utmost would be to bring *alf* and the Lat. *mille* together, root *mal* or *lam*: but this is not so near and certain as the affinity of the numerals 1-7.

1. *Original* numerals (cardinals):

1) אחד, *one*: the shortest form is אֶחָד (afterwards shortened to אֶד Ez. 33, 30) for which we find אֶחָד with weak reduplication of the ה acc. to §. 70, with the lengthening of the *a* of the last syllable into *ā* אֶחָד §. 121, the usual form; *stat. cs.* אֶחָד; nevertheless, אֶחָד is also found in the flow of the sentence, as *stat. abs.* Gen. 48, 22. Zach. 11, 7. Js. 27, 12; *fem.* אֶחָד for אֶחָד acc. to §. 117; *pl.* אֶחָדִים the same Gen. 11, 1 or *some* 27, 44. 29, 20. The word has an adjective formation therefore, §. 322, only in a peculiar manner. — שְׁנֵי *two* in the *du.*, *fem.* שְׁנֵי contracted from שְׁנֵי §. 175; hence this *Dag. lene* remains after the prefixes §. 464. and in שְׁנֵי-זֶה Zach. 4, 12 as a compound syllable is thus formed before ה; but it disappears in שְׁנֵי for *two* Jdgs. 16, 28, although this too may become שְׁנֵי acc. to §. 461. Jon. 4, 11. *Stat. cs.* שְׁנֵי, שְׁנֵי. The word is properly a substantive dual, like *a pair*, formed accord. to §. 382, but already approaches very near to an *adjective*, hence the distinction of gender.

436 2) The numerals from 3 to 10 are properly *abstract substantives*, to denote a mass, a multitude. In the same way therefore as the numerals from 5 to 10 are originally *neuter* substantives in Indo-Germ., as *daçan*, *navan*, Lat. *decem*, *novem*, so have those from 3 to 10, in Semitic, the formation of the *fem. sg.* as that of the *neuter* or abstract collective §. 368, 3. If they stand quite alone without reference to a noun, this *fem.* is always used, as שְׁלֹשָׁה *three* (*trias*). When connected with substantives, they should properly as substantives be placed in the *stat. cs.*, as שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים *trias filiorum*; but they have already lost much of this substantive signification, as they seem, beside the more important noun, only to have the sense of an adjective; they are therefore also put before the noun without *stat. cs.* like adverbs, as שְׁלֹשָׁה בָּנִים, or even placed after in the sense of an adjective בָּנִים שְׁלֹשָׁה, which last, however, is late and rare. As they then thus become less and less independent in the construction with a noun, and follow the sense of adjectives proportionably more, accordingly, they also accommodate themselves to the *gender* of the substantives: their *nearest* form (with the ending of the *fem.*) remained for the construction with the *nearest gender* i. e. the *masc.*; whereas they are connected with a *fem. noun*, as a distinction, *without ending* (that is to say, in the *masc.*, if the usual rule was in force here); for inasmuch as the feminine form is the first in them, they form the direct opposite of all other nouns, in their endeavour to distinguish the gender. Nevertheless, the ending of the *fem.* is only weakened in שְׁמוֹנָה §. 369; and sometimes too the original feminine forms are found construed with feminine substantives, e. g. שְׁלֹשָׁה בָנוֹת *three daughters* instead of שְׁלוֹשׁ בָנוֹת Gen. 7, 13. Ez. 7, 2. Zach. 3, 9. They are as follows:

<i>stat. abs.</i>	<i>stat. c.</i> ¹⁾	<i>stat. abs.</i>	<i>stat. c.</i>
3 שְׁלֹשָׁה	שְׁלוֹשָׁה	שְׁלוֹשׁ	שְׁלוֹשׁ
4 אַרְבָּעָה ²⁾	אַרְבַּעַת	אַרְבַּע	—
5 חֲמִישָׁה ⁵⁾	חֲמִישָׁה	חֲמִישׁ	חֲמִישׁ ⁴⁾
6 שֵׁשָׁה ³⁾	שֵׁשֶׁת	שֵׁשׁ	—
7 שִׁבְעָה	שִׁבְעַת	שִׁבַּע	שִׁבַּע ⁵⁾
8 שְׁמוֹנָה	שְׁמוֹנֶה	שְׁמוֹנָה	—
9 תְּשַׁע	תְּשַׁעַת	תְּשַׁע	תְּשַׁע ⁶⁾
10 עֲשָׂרָה ⁶⁾	עֲשָׂרַת	עֲשָׂרָה	—

1) The *stat. cs.* has toneless ה- in all cases in which it is possible, acc. to §. 365. — 2) *a* is prefixed acc. to §. 112; but it is not essential, hence it is wanting in רִבְעֵי S. 439 and in other derivations. — 3) Reduplication acc. to §. 316. — 4) Rare form of the *stat. cs.* acc. to §. 410. — 5) see §. 409. — 6) lengthened form acc. to §. 325.

The *tens* are expressed by the *pl.* of these numerals, without distinction of gender: 30, שְׁלֹשִׁים; 40, אַרְבָּעִים; 50, חֲמִשִּׁים; 60, שִׁשִּׁים; 70, שִׁבְעִים; 80, שְׁמוֹנִים; 90, תְּשׁוּעִים; the *pl.* of עָשָׂר is not used for 100, for which a particular word was early formed §. 437, but for 20.

3) Moreover, as single words: מֵאָה 100 a *fem.* acc. to §. 380. from the root מֵאָה, *st. cs.* מֵאָה, *du.* מֵאָהִים 200 (for מֵאָהִים §. 82); *pl. st. abs. and cs.* (§. 431) מֵאוֹת, in 2 Kgs. 11, 4. 9 מֵאוֹת in the *K'tib*, as מֵאָה is shortened from מֵאָהִה §. 380. — אֶלֶף *msc.* 1000, *du.* אֶלְפִים 2000, *pl.* אֶלְפִים. — רַבְבָּה (afterwards רַבּוֹ §. 344) prop. *multitude*, to denote an indefinite number above 1000, and then a definite number for 10,000 Jdgs. 20, 10; it was only after the exile that it was united with smaller numbers.

There is not one fixed order used in the position of these numerals where many are to be named together. The first and simplest order is, to begin with the *smaller* number and to couple the following greater ones by וְ *and*. 1) This order has been established in the connexion of a *unit with the number 10*, but both words are always very closely united in a compound and inseparable word, and therefore without וְ, almost as *sedecim*, *quindecim* etc. The first word is, therefore, the ruling one according to the force of the combination, and may stand in *st. cs.* although nt. necessarily. The gender of the compound word is also regulated according to this closest connexion: because there is no separation between unit and ten, accordingly, the subordinated word i. e. the ten, accommodates itself to the gender of the unit, and the *fem.* עֶשְׂרִה is not attached to the unit, which is *masc.* as to the sense, but the *msc.* עָשָׂר, so that the nearest form is עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרִי, עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרִי etc. But as the first and ruling word of this combination may at the same time adapt itself to the gender of any given substantive acc. to §. 435 f.; accordingly, the ten also is pronounced with a weak feminine ending (§. 369) in case the unit denotes a *fem.* as to the sense, as עֶשְׂרִה (and thus עָשָׂר and עֶשְׂרִה are at the same time sufficiently distinguished in pronunciation from the numeral when standing by itself §. 436), e.g. שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרִי 13 *sous*; שְׁלֹשָׁה עֶשְׂרִי בָנוֹת 13 *daughters*. The *stat. cs.* is constantly pointed so in the first word, if the numeral has no ending, as אֶחָד עָשָׂר 11 *msc.*, חֲמִשָּׁה עֶשְׂרִי 15 *fem.*; the *Q'ri* has also always pointed עָשָׂר עֶשְׂרִי 12 *msc.* and שְׁתֵּי עֶשְׂרִי as if the *stat. cs.* שְׁתֵּי, שְׁתֵּי was there. We also find עָשָׂרִי, a word which only occurs in this combination, instead of the first numeral in אֶחָד עָשָׂר 11 *msc.* and אֶחָד עֶשְׂרִי *fem.* — 2) In the combination of the *units*

and tens 20-90, the smaller number may be placed first, but it may also be placed after, which last is more frequent in the later books; the copula וְ is, however, always placed between, as וְשָׁשִׁים וְשֵׁשׁ or שֵׁשׁ וְשָׁשִׁים 66. — 3) *Hundreds* are combined with lower numbers in the same way, either from the smallest number progressively, as 5 and 80 and 100 Gen. 5, 25, or *vice versa*; the copula is gradually omitted in later writers. In the combination with *thousands*, however, the number thousand is almost always placed first, Num. 3, 50. — The number defining many hundreds or thousands is necessarily placed before them, and the unit is then acc. to §. 435 f. dependent on the gender of מֵאָה as *fem.* and אֶלֶף as *msc.* e. g. שִׁבְעֵת מֵאָוֹת 700, שִׁבְעַת אֲלָפִים 7000, עֶשְׂרֵת אֲלָפִים 10,000 2 Sam. 18, 3. or עֶשְׂרֵת אֶלֶף (v. Syntax) Ez. 45, 1. מֵאָה אֶלֶף 100,000.

- 439 2. There are only very few derived numerals in Hebr.: 1) the ordinals, or rather *numeral adjectives*, are formed by the ending of the adjectives §. 343, and are formed in such a manner from the numbers 3-9, which have a great resemblance on the whole, that the *t* of the adjective is uniformly inserted in the preceding syllable also, as שְׁלִישִׁי *third*, רְבִיעִי *fourth*, חֲמִישִׁי or חֲמִישִׁי acc. to §. 125, שִׁשִּׁי *fifth*, שִׁבְעִי *sixth*, שְׁמֹנִי *seventh*, טְבוּנִי *eighth*, תְּשִׁיעִי *ninth*, עֲשָׂרִי *tenth*. שְׁנָיִם 2 is formed שְׁנִי (acc. to §. 275 *nt.*) *pl.* שְׁנָיִם. No such form is derived from אֶחָד *one* which is itself originally a numeral adjective and can be construed as such; *one, the one* may be at the same time *first, the first* in a successive enumeration of many in order Gen. 1, 5; nevertheless, §. 341 *princeps, primus* which is more opposed to אֶחָד *last*, may be used instead. There is no adjective derived from any numeral above 10, so that the simple numerals must be used for the ordinals also. The *fem.* of these numeral adjectives is also used as substantive: רְבִיעִי *fourth* i. e. *a fourth part*; שְׁנִי also as *adv. a second time*. — 2) The *dual* of the numbers 3-10 expresses what is *doubled, multiplied*, or more definitely *a whole divided* into so many single parts §. 362: אַרְבַּעְתָּיִם *fourfold, four times*, שִׁבְעָתָם *seven times*. — 3) Remoter derivations are: short forms after the first formation §. 317: רִבֵּעַ *quarter*, חֲמִשֶּׁה *a fifth*; עֲשָׂרוֹת *decuriae*; עֶשְׂרִי *decas*, especially *ten days* or *tenth day* (of the months), שִׁבְעִי *seven days, a week* §. 386. 410. 431; רְבִיעִים, שְׁלִישִׁים (intensive forms §. 330. 389) *the third, fourth* as a multitude i. e. *grand children, great grand children*, — 4) There are no derivations from the numerals like *ter, quinquies* etc., the word *time, vicis* (פְּעָם, רֵגַל; and the *pl.* מִנִּים Gen. 31, 7 also as *vices*) is

used separately with the numeral, as שְׁלֹשׁ הַגָּלִים *three times*; rarely are the substantives for *vicis*, all of which are *fem.* except the last rare one, left out, and the numeral which is *fem.* as to the sense, placed by itself, as שִׁבְעַת *seven times*, אֶחָדָה *once*, שְׁתַּיִם *twice*, מֵאָה *a hundred times*. Cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* 1. p. 239.

THIRD SECTION.

FORMATION OF PARTICLES.

The particles are to be described here, not so much 440 with regard to the different classes of words which may be included among them, as prepositions, conjunctions etc. (for their signification is of more importance for the Syntax), but rather only with regard to their origin and their imperfect formation; cf. §. 201 f.

I. The words of mere feeling (*interjections*), hurried sounds, chiefly aspirates, are still without any form, although every sound in them is the expression of a peculiar feeling. Thus 1) most generally הֵּה Ez. 30, 2. אָה 6, 11, or more commonly with a soft repetition הֵּהֵּה, is nothing but the expression of astonishment, of fear, like *ah! oh!* but is not so worn down as a more interjection for the vocative as *oh!* in Latin and English: yet once הֵּאָמַר *o dictum! oh the word!* an indignant exclamation Mich. 2, 7. The harder הֵּהָה, for אָהָה acc. to §. 129, 1. and §. 121, a repetition of the simple word, is the expression of joy, and also of malicious triumph. — 2) הֵּי is the obscure, deep sound of seriousness, of threatening or lamentation, therefore like the Lat. *heu, eheu* and *vae* in different circumstances; the more definite expression of lamentation is הֵּי-הֵּי Am. 5, 16, or shorter אֵי, rarely אֵיָה as feminine, once very much lengthened אֵיבֹי Prov. 23, 29 where the ו is commuted for ב, cf. αἰβοῖ. Seldom the shrill sound אֵי for *alas!* Koh. 4, 10. 10, 16 and הֵּי Ez. 2, 10. — 3) A longer, protracted loud cry, generally of *pain*, is אֵלְלִי (whence the *Hif.* הֵּלְלִי §. 239) Mich. 7, 1. Job. 10, 15. Cf. the exclamation in Waddington *Journal of Travels in Ethiopia* p. 96. 234. 274. BURCKHARDT *Notes on the Bedouins* p. 58, and words like *ejulare, ululare, ὀλοῦζεν, ἀλλῶ.*

II. The *demonstratives* are less numerous as to the 441 simplest roots, but are an exceedingly various and important part of the language in many derivations, as all pronouns, many conjunctions and adverbs, and even some prepositions are derived from them. The following are the ultimate roots and rudiments as they are discovered in the isolated stems and branches: 1) a

ha (*hu*) or, without the strong nspirate, *a* (which also becomes *i* in many languages) is the perfectly simple demonstrative and has no great power of itself; from this is formed in Sanscrit *ajam*, *atra*, *iti* etc. in Lat. *is*, *ibi*, *ita*, in Germ. *er*, in Hebr. chiefly the pronoun of the third person *hu* §. 449. — 2) more important or *definite demonstratives* whose sense depends on firm consonants and which, therefore, admit greater variety: the nearest consonant is the strong *t* which points out with a certain violence, that to which the attention must be first directed; a softer consonant and one which rather points to what is near or internal, is the lingering *n*; and *l* rather points to what is more distant; among all these lingual sounds, however, the *t* is the predominant one. The linguals in general, however, are the nearest sounds for the demonstrative: much less *k*, which, in contradistinction, can refer rather to the inward part, cf. the *c* of *hic*, the pronoun of the first pers. *ich* §. 449. — 3) Lastly, the demonstrative conceived *interrogatively*, and therefore with a peculiar tone; and moreover more definitely with the deep, strong *ka* or *qua*, which is attrited to *va* (as in German) or *pa*, *ma*. This is, perhaps, as far back as we can trace these origins. — In the life of the several languages, however, we find partly manifold combinations of the weak and short primitive sounds, partly too many changes and commutations of the sounds, and partly much that is either not developed or is only preserved in fragments. One kind of formation is indeed preserved in many demonstratives and partly as a relick of the most ancient time, but in Semitic it is always only an approach to the proper nominal formation. Particulars in Hebr. are as follows:

- 442 1. The simple הִנֵּה *here!* = *behold!* is very rare Gen. 47, 23. Ez. 16, 43. The appended *ah* הִנֵּה אַח , only rarely reduced to הִנֵּה אֶחָד ¹⁾ is, however, related to this, which, with the noun and verb, expresses motion *toward* an object §. 420, but which is also attached to the longer pronouns: הִנֵּה אֵלָיו §. 447, in which the reduplication is to explained according to §. 61.

1) With the noun הִנֵּה אֵלָיו *towards Dedan* Ez. 25, 13; 1 Sam. 21, 2. 22, 9; with the verb Prov. 24, 14. cf. 294.

Concerning other compositions and concerning the personal pronoun אֵלָיו , see below.

- 443 This demonstrative sound is very rapidly pronounced as an interrogative, הִנֵּה , and is thus used simply to render the proposition interrogative, like הִנֵּה אַתָּה , *an*, as also it can only be placed *before* the emphatic word of the question, and can never stand alone by itself. This particle is pronounced very rapidly, with the shortest *a*, yet always with a certain force and not so weak and closely as a prefixed sound belonging to the form. Hence הִנֵּה is pronounced with a full vowel and with weak reduplication before gutt. acc. to §. 70, as הִנֵּה אַתָּה , הִנֵּה אַתָּה , and הִנֵּה אַתָּה (*an sapiens?* Koh. 2, 19) acc. to §. 121; it is only before א that this weak reduplication sometimes ceases entirely §. 120, as הִנֵּה אַתָּה *an vos?* Jdgs. 6, 31. 12, 5 cf. Gen. 27, 21. In the same way הִנֵּה אַתָּה (*an bo-*

num est? Jer. 10, 19, in the concurrence of *a* with *t* against whose attraction that firm *a* protects itself by reduplication and hardening of the *j*. If the word begins with a mere appoggiatural vowel, ה must always assume a full vowel, thus הַמִּשֶׁלֶךְ, הַלֵּךְ without close attachment of syllables §. 181, hence with Dag. dirimens הַבְּהֵיחֶה §. 172, especially before the fleeting *ō*, as הַצֵּרִי Jer. 8, 22, or also הַבְּרִכָּה §. 169; if a gutt. thus begins the word without a firm vowel, this *a* is well suited to the fleeting *ā* of the gutt., as הַצֵּשֶׁר 2 Kgs. 6, 22. but the fleeting *ē* is overcome by the stronger *a* coming before it, and is changed into *a*, as הַצֵּמֶר *an dicere* Job 34, 18, as that infin. is otherwise אָמַר; before the shortest *ō* we always find *é* acc. to §. 121. The collision of many gutt. is usually avoided: הַהֲדָלָה v. §. 123. 1 Sam. 22, 15. 25. 2 Sam. 19, 23; instead of אֶחָיוֹ (your brothers, before light suff. אֶחָיוֹ acc. to §. 387) we find, after the interrog. הֲ, הַאֶחָיוֹ, the fuller pronunciation again returning by way of better separating the three gutt.

אֵי where? Hos. 13, 10. 14 (thrice, but it does not 444 occur elsewhere) is a composition of this interrogative particle and that *hé* or הִי = *here*, so that the demonstrative *here* becomes, by an interrogation, *where?* This original *a-hí*, however, is usually contracted into אֵי Gen. 4, 9; often lengthened a little at the end אֵיִה; the short אֵי is, however, also used besides in a very extended sense §. 451.

2. Among the pronominal demonstratives, the syllable 445 הַ is attrited to the frequent use and sense of the Greek and German *Article*; nay this syllable is still closer and more firmly attached to the noun than our article, and is much more shortened. It represents only a gentle reference to an object by way of rendering it prominent: and gender and number is so much the less necessarily distinguished in it, as it cannot possibly stand by itself, but only in this closest attachment. The first consequence of this is, that its ה is always resolved acc. to §. 113 into the first sound of the noun, as הַבֶּן *the son*, הַשֶּׁמֶשׁ *the sun*; הַנִּיל *the Nile*, הַמִּבְקָשׁ, הַצִּפְרָדִּים with loss of the reduplication acc. to §. 119; before gutt. with weak reduplication הַחֵיל *Jer. 12, 9*, and acc. to §. 121 הַחֵקֶם, הַעֲפָר, הַחֲדָשִׁים *pl. from הָדָשׁ*, and this weak reduplication remains very constantly, acc. to §. 120 with ה (although not in Gen. 6, 39. Js. 17, 8), and ceases more with עה, as הַעֲיֵט Gen. 15, 11, and constantly with א and ר, as הַאֵם, הַאֲנָקָה, הַאֲרָץ, הַרְבֵּי, הַרְחֹק. — Other consequences of this close connexion of the article with the noun are elsewhere explained, as §. 324. 463.

We find the Arabic article אֵל in the proper name אֵל־מוֹדֵר Gen.

10, 26, but this is the only place where it is certain that the syllable \aleph at the beginning of a word, is the article.

446 The nearest demonstrative pronoun ¹⁾ is \aleph , exactly = *da* Germ. *the, there*, Sanscrit, Greek and Lat. *ta (tu)* according to the change of the mute τ into the sibilant τ ; the \acute{e} is reduced from \acute{a} , for we also find rarely and poetically τ (\acute{u} from \acute{o}) Hab. 1, 11. Ps. 12, 8. The *fem.* \aleph is produced from \aleph acc. to §, 60. 365, as if from a former *misc.* \aleph ; the shortening of this *fem.* into \aleph or τ by the falling away of the η (cf. §. 344 at the end) is only found in Hos. 7, 16; Koh. 2, 2. 5, 15. Ps. 132, 12. Another root has, however, established itself for the *pl.*, and indeed without any visible plural ending: \aleph , unless the ending is shortened from \aleph (cf. the Aramaic and Aethiopic *elú*); still further shortened, in the connexion with the article, to \aleph , which is, however, only found in the Pentateuch (and repeated from it 1 Chro. 20, 8) for \aleph .

1) \aleph is also found as a mere adverb in statements of time, where its use is only to refer the period more definitely to the present: \aleph *this very time* 1 Kgs 17, 24. 2 Kgs. 5, 22. \aleph *thée seventy years*, cf. Gen. 31, 41; besides in \aleph *see there!* Js. 21, 9. 1 Kgs. 19, 5.

This pronoun simply refers to that to which the attention is to be first called, and is thus essentially distinguished from the pronoun of the third person which has much less power, whether the object referred to is to be first explained, as *these are the words of God: ye shall* etc. Ex. 35, 2. 5. Gen. 36, 1. Dt. 5, 26, or whether the pronoun refers to a thing already named, as Ex. 34, 27. Lev. 7, 37. It is therefore the simple *this*, or the more emphatic *he, it* (the Germ. *der*) and is used in itself without the article, which is only added by apposition (v. Syntax). — If it is to refer to a more distant object, \aleph with the article is prefixed: \aleph the Lat. *ille, ἐκεῖνος*, a very strong demonstrative which is shortened, after the Pentateuch, into \aleph , as Jdgs. 6, 20. still rarer is the form \aleph Ez. 36, 35. Moreover, this long word is not common, is without distinction of gender and without a corresponding plural; more usually the lighter \aleph , *pl.* \aleph , is put in apposition with a preceding substantive, by way of referring to a remoter object which is not to be forgotten, rather *οὗτος* than *ἐκεῖνος*, rather *the same* than *that*, rather *idem* than *ille*, and \aleph *pl.* \aleph , by way of referring to a nearer object of more importance at the moment, *this*, ὅθι e. g. \aleph *is always in those days*, \aleph *in these days* Zach. 8, 9. 10. But neither these nor other demonstratives are ever used correlatively, as *this — that* in English.

The following demonstratives are without any personal 447 reference, and are not, therefore, developed to pronouns:

1) אָ *there, then* as particle of time, *tum*, אָדע , a combination of the *a* (*ha*) and אָ , hence we also find אָאָ as the fuller, more original form which is preserved in Aramaic ¹⁾,

in Hebr. only in the later period Ps. 124, 3-5, cf. אָ and shortened אָ . It is used in a remarkable way in Koh. 2, 15

why then (אָ) *have I been wiser?* i. e. if things are so. The composition אָאָ as adverb *from then* i. e. *not from now* therefore *from ancient time, formerly*, like *olim* which is related to *ille*, Js. 16, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 34. — אָ *there* of place, also *thither* with a verb of motion, only rarely and poetically referring to an important period already mentioned Ps. 14, 5. 132, 17. Prov. 8, 27, is derived from the same *ta* (*da*) by a change of the אָ into אָ §. 106, with the אָ of place, which is found prefixed §. 338; אָ is acc. to §. 442 *thither*, seldom is the postfixed *-ah* merely *demonstrative*, as *there* Hos. 2, 17. Jer. 18, 2.

1) In which an *-n* is also attached to it at the end, אָאָאָ like אָאָאָ .

2) From the root *la*, or combined *hala*, which rather 448 points to a remote object, is derived אָאָאָ *hál'áh*, with the toneless אָ of motion: *farther, beyond*, precisely as *ultra* and *ulterius* are comparatives of *ille*; it is used in this signification of place, as אָאָאָ *go farther = away with you!* Gen. 19, 9. and of time Num. 15, 23. The part. Nif. אָאָאָ *removed* which occurs Mich. 4, 7 is only derived from it by a new formation. — On the contrary, with retracted tone and the *-óm* or *ám* of place §. 447 אָאָ *here*, with a word of motion *hither* ¹⁾ the contrary of the local particle אָ ; the *l* here is probably an early modification of *n* which would be more appropriate for the signification, for we also, and more frequently, find אָאָ for *hither*, אָאָ *as far as this*, also in a temporal sense: *until now*.

1) So only in Arabic, see EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 364 f.

3) This *n* is, besides that, chiefly found in the following particles: אָאָ referring to the nearest object, *there! = look!* often in the signification *see there = there is —!* Gen. 18, 9. Job. 9, 19. The shorter אָאָ , precisely the Latin *en*, has a somewhat weaker power; and it becomes much more frequent in certain books. This shorter אָאָ acquires a special importance inasmuch as it, as referring to an action as merely possible, and representing it with reference to a consequence, becomes a *conditional particle: if*, as is found beginning

to be established Job. 12, 14. 23, 8, and already entirely developed Lev. 25, 20. Jer. 3, 1, hence also interrogatively *if, whether*, like *et, si* Jer. 2, 10. The more genuinely Hebrew conjunction, however, is the somewhat different, softer pronunciation וְ

נָּוְ is properly *now, yet*, but is only used enclitically as a term of entreaty, calling on one to act at once in the present and notwithstanding any possible scruples, as the Latin enclitic *-dum* with the imperative, and the German *doch* (from *denn-auch*) have a similar primitive signification. This particle is very common with the imperative and imperfect in any entreaty, or even question (Ps. 115, 2) of some urgency, and chiefly used in cases where acc. to §. 294 the וְ of the cohortative is not possible. In Jerem. also וְנָּוְ אֲנִי *woe is me then!* = bewail me! 4, 31. 45, 3. Lam. 5, 16. It can never be placed at the beginning of a sentence unless it is attached to וְנָּוְ *oh!* §. 440, by which the word וְנָּוְ is formed acc. to §. 129 *oh yet!* which is common at the beginning of urgent entreaties Gen. 50, 17. Jon. 1, 14. 4, 2.

In the oldest and simplest particles of negation לֹא (from לָּא acc. to §. 50) and אֵין , concerning whose difference see the Syntax, the essential *l* appears to prove, that the idea of the negation arises from the pointing away to the distance ¹⁾. In the Indo-Germanic languages, however, this *la* always becomes *na*, and even in Hebr. we discover *n* in אֵין which is no adverb, but a stronger, completely developed substantive, and expresses *non-existence, absence, or without, un-*, and אֵין shortened from it is sometimes used to form a compound adjective as the Indo-Germanic *an-, -un-, (in-)* as אֵין-טָמֵר precisely like *unclean* = guilty Job 22, 30; proper name אֵין-בְּבוּר *ἄνιμος* from בְּבוּר *τιμή* 1 Sam. 4, 21.

1) Cf. also *alius, al-ter, an-dere*, from the same primitive root.

449

The *personal pronouns* stand above the mere demonstrative pronouns, as person is denoted by them, not according the natural relations of space, but according to the consciousness of superior human personality, and is strictly distinguished in them. Especially is the distinction of *I* from *thou* as the counterpart of *I*, and of both again from the absolutely distant, indifferent *he*, of the most importance here: *I* and *thou* are of a peculiar higher kind as to their formation also. The mere demonstrative pronouns are like adjectives, the pronoun of the third person, as a more usual demonstrative, may be also so construed: but the real personal pronoun has completely the power of a substantive or proper name, and is incapable of any other construction. Hence gender and number are fully developed here: and the personal pronoun is most variously used as verbal person and

as suffix to the verb and noun §. 281 f. 300 ff. 421 ff. The independent pronouns are:

	<i>Sg.</i>	<i>Pl.</i>
3 Ps.	(m. הָיָא he f. הָיָא she)	הֵם, הֵמָּה they הֵן, הֵנָּה they
2 -	(m. אַתָּה thou f. אַתְּ (אתְּ) thou)	אַתָּם, you אַתְּךָ, אַתְּכֶם you
1 -	אֲנִי or אֲנִיךָ I	אֲנֵנוּ (בְּהֵנוּ) we.

The derivation of הָיָא see §. 442; the constant orthography with א (which is only omitted Jer. 29. 23 *K'tib*) is a proof of an ancient strong pronunciation like *hūa*, *hū*. הָיָא is a contraction of *anta*: it is easy to perceive that *-ta* is the most essential part, like *tu* in Indo-Germ., related to the demonstrative *ta* §. 441, and this *ta* alone is always found dependent as prefix §. 281, and as suffix is always changed acc to §. 110 into *ka*; the prefixed *an* is a demonstrative particle, therefore, by which this pronoun is enabled to stand by itself, something like *-am* in Sanscrit = nominative *tvam*. As the last syllable is accented here, הָ is written acc. to §. 153, very seldom אָתָּא without הָ, as Ps. 6. 4. *K'tib*; but shortened to אָתָּא Num. 11, 15. Dt. 5, 24. Ez. 28, 14. In אֲנִיךָ (in pause אֲנִיךָ §. 132) however, the *an-* cannot have this origin, because *ni* must be a more significant sound for the first pers. (cf. the suffix and §. 240 *nt.* and *me* in Indo-Germ.): it is therefore to be considered as a union of two signs for the first pers., of אֲנִי and of *ók* (cf. something similar in Coptic and Indo-Germ.). As to use, this אֲנִיךָ is most frequent in the Pentateuch; Ezech. Kohelet, and Chron. however, only use the short אֲנִי.

The *pl.* of *hū*, according to ancient traces, was הֵמָּה, which was first shortened to הֵם, and this latter was then shortened to הֵם, acc. to §. 51, although הֵמָּה with a vowel-ending is also often found. In the same way the *pl.* of אַתָּה was originally אַתְּכֶם, of which there is still a trace §. 303, but it is now always reduced to אַתָּם. אֲנֵנוּ, however, appears to have arisen in another manner by repetition from אֲנִיךָ; it is only rarely shortened to נִתְּנוּ, and only Jer. 42, 6 *K'tib* has אֲנֵנוּ.

The *fem. sg.* הָיָא §. 209; in the Pentateuch there is often הָיָא for the *fem.* also, but it is always pointed הָיָא because the Masoretes desired it to be read הָיָא (*Q'rīl perpetuum*) ¹⁾. The *fem.* of the second pers., in the same way, was אַתְּךָ properly ²⁾, but is always shortened to אַתְּ, and is also written אַתְּךָ according to this derivation in later writers and in Cant. — The *fem. pl.* אַתְּכֶם, אַתְּכֶם Gen. 31, 6 or אַתְּכֶם Ez. 13, 20 just as the verbal person אַתְּכֶם, as suffix אַתְּכֶם, where the final *d* is primitive and essential acc. to §. 371, but is yet often shortened by the falling away of this *-a*, though more in the third than in the second person Ez. 34, 31. The *fem.* is also not unfrequently found here with the more general form, as well in the independent

pronoun **הוא**, **היא**, as in the dependent pronoun, as Gen. 31, 9. Job 1, 14. Cant. 4, 2. 6, 6.

- 1) The suffixes §. 300 ff. are derived from another feminine formation *hd*.
- 2) There is no certain vestige of a form **היא**, so that the *n* with the verb is to be explained as arising from the distinction of the fuller form from the shorter.

For the further usage of the pronoun of the third pers. see §. 446 and elsewhere. It may also be compared, in this respect, with *is* and its derivatives *idem*, *ipse*.

- 450 3. The interrogative pronoun is **מה** *what?* of things, **מי** *who?* of persons. These indeed have the full power of pronouns, but, being placed with emphasis at the beginning of the sentence, they are so little pliable, so little like adjective or demonstrative pronouns, that they neither distinguish number nor gender, like immoveable substantives: **מי** is also referred to the *pl.* as **מי אלה** *quinam illi?* Gen. 33, 5. Js. 36, 20 and to the *fem.* as **מי זאת** *quae illa est?* Cant. 6. 10.

The pronunciation **מה** belongs properly to the pause merely; there are two other short pronunciations possible:

1) In the intimate conjunction of words, it is pronounced together with the following word by a shortening of the long vowel and a reduplication of the following consonant acc. to §. 129. But if that is a gutt. this pronunciation only takes place if the gutt. can admit weak reduplication accord. to §. 120, therefore always before **ה**, often before **הה**, seldom before **א** and never before **ר**, as **מה הנה** Gen. 31, 36, **מה הנה** Num. 13, 18; and hence acc. to §. 121 **מה עשית** Ps. 89, 48. Gen. 4, 10, **מה האה** Koh. 2, 12, also **מה אלה**: but if the gutt. is too weak for this weak reduplication, the *a* then becomes long again acc. to §. 120, as **מה אלה** Zach. 1, 9. Js. 38, 15, **מה אלה** Ps. 119, 97, **מה אלה** Est. 9. 26. — 2) Where this close conjunction does not take place, and there is no pause at the same time, it is pronounced only more compressed as **מה** acc. to §. 45 (without Maqqef) as 2 Kgs. 1, 7. Js. 1, 5. Jer. 8, 9. Ps. 4, 3. 10, 13: but the *a* remains before a gutt. without being changed into *e*, as the gutt. are in general partial to *a* and the longer vowels, as 1 Kgs. 9, 13. Gen. 31, 32. Jos. 4, 6 (the Mss. and editt. often fluctuate here between the two possibilities e. g. 1 Sam. 20, 1.).

The Aramaic form **מין** for *what?* lengthened by the demonstrative *na*, is only forced into use in Hebr. in Ex. 16, 15.

- 451 The very confined sense and use of this **מה** and **מי** is the cause that the interrogative **אי** §. 444, because it can mean *where? how?* is united with any demonstrative pronoun to form more definite interrogative pronouns, as various as the demonstratives themselves, only not in a substantive sense which **מה** and **מי** have of themselves like the personal pronouns. In our languages, the demonstrative pronoun in all

forms goes over into the interrogative by the change of the first sound (*that, what?* etc.): in Semitic, where the formation is looser on the whole, the sound which contains the interrogative power is placed at the beginning by itself. Thus 1) when united with זה *this*, it forms an *interrogative adjective*: *oïos? qualis? quisnam?* precisely as *which?* is distinguished from *who?* The זה has the adjective power here, and accommodates itself in gender and number: אי possesses merely an interrogative power; זה as *neuter* can also stand alone, as אי מזה *e quali? ex quonam?* which more definitely enquires after the country, people, or business from, or on which one comes. 1 Sam. 30, 13. 2 Sam. 1, 13. Gen. 16, 8. Job 2, 2. There is another shorter word of place formed with the simple demonstrative *n*, which, however, only occurs in flexion (where the simple אי *where?* did not seem suitable): מאין *whence?* and on the contrary אנה *whither* with the ה of motion, which word is, however, so common that it is even shortened to אן sometimes; אנה ער or אן ער *how far?* when used of time *how long?* *quousque tandem?* with impatience.

1) For one of the very rare examples of the reduction of the *ai* in tone to *â* cf. the proper names דָּתָן and דִּתָּן Gen. 37, 17.

2) From כֵּה or כָּה *so* (§. 455, 2) איכָה *how?* rarely איכָכָה Cant. 5, 3. Est. 8, 6, but very often shortened to אִיָּה , afterwards הִיָּה 1 Chro. 13, 12. Dan. 10, 17.

3) From כֵּה in a local signification (§. 455, 3) איכָה *where? ubinam?* 2 Kgs. 6, 13, also איכָה according to the change of *ô* into *â* Cant. 1, 7. More frequently איפָה for *where?* acc. §, 455, 3, but also for *how?* Jdgs. 8, 18.

An interrogative pronoun, which is in its very nature 452 founded or an indefinite object, may be also so used in exclamation, that all of that kind, known or unknown, is interrogated if it belong here; and whereas the Indo-Germ. languages express this idea more distinctly by combinations of the interrogative pronoun with other particles, as *quicumque, whoever* etc. Hebrew expresses the same sense by means of the position and accent of the words: מִי מָה or מִי מָה are thus placed abruptly at the end, as לֵעָבֶר עָלַי מָה *let come upon me — what!* i. e. what will, Job 13, 13. 2 Sam. 18, 12; 22. 23. 29; or also at the very beginning of a protasis, as 1 Sam. 20, 4, especially when with a *stat. cs.* דָּבָר מָה *matter of what = whatever* Num. 23, 3. — It is only in certain phrases that the interrogative is found repeated after the manner of the Lat. *quisquis*, as אֵינָה וְאֵינָה *where and whither* i. e. *any whither* 1 Kgs. 2, 36. 42 cf. §. 51; and מִאִי מָה *something* appears to be a combination of מִי מָה .

453 *Relative demonstratives* are not primitive, but are derived either from the demonstratives or interrogatives. Demonstratives are very near, as the relative also points or refers, only in a different tone and more gently, after a substantive already named. Interrogatives are nearest in correlative propositions: *he who* — *he* —, but are also transferred to explanatory propositions, as in Latin, German ¹). Both these possibilities occur in the following relation in Hebr.

- 1) The delicacy of Sanscrit and Greek in the use of the relative is of another kind.

1) From a demonstrative root is the common relative pronoun אֲשֶׁר ¹) which explains a substantive going before, and which is itself as a substantive when at the beginning of a sentence; but, according to the essence of the relative proposition (see the Syntax) it is placed so abruptly at the beginning of the new proposition, that it is still more than the interrogative pronouns §. 450) without any distinction of gender or number. It is found so much shortened in some writings, that the *a* at the beginning falls away, the *r* is resolved into the following consonant, and the *sh* alone remains as the firmest element of the word, and indeed the *z* generally remains still (contrary to §. 47) before the reduplication of the following cons.: שֶׁנִּזְנֶה, even before a weak gutt. אֲשֶׁר Ps. 146, 5 and before שֶׁרָאשִׁי §. 124, although also שֶׁקִּמְמִי with *a* acc. to §. 46, and hence with *d* before *n* (acc. to §. 120) Jdgs. 5, 7. 6, 17; it is rarely shortened to שֶׁ Koh. 2, 22. — The article §. 445 is sometimes used in the same manner (see Syntax), and occasionally הָהָ or הָהָ §. 446 in poetry, and in that case they are, like אֲשֶׁר, without distinction of number or gender, as Ex. 15, 13. Ps. 9, 16. 10, 2. 62, 12.

- 1) The derivation of this genuinely Hebr. word is, indeed, very doubtful, yet it appears best to consider it as a different pronunciation for אֲשֶׁר, from שֶׁ = ת = ר §. 447, ל §. 448 and a prefixed *ā*, properly therefore *he there*, and fundamentally not different from اَلْهٰذَا.

454 2) הָהָ and הָהָ can at the utmost be used in the protasis and in the full power of a substantive, as also relatively (= *quicunque*) in a perfectly indefinite sense, so that they are sufficiently distinguished from אֲשֶׁר. It is only late, in Kohelet, that we find the more convenient combination הָהָ-שֶׁ *quod* as substantive, ὃ τε.

On the other hand, כִּי, from the interrogative stem, is used very frequently and in the most various modifications for the relative conjunction *quod*, ὅτι, *that*, although אֲשֶׁר (and הָהָ Ps. 62, 12) may indeed be also used as neuter *quod* and therefore as conjunction, but not so frequently nor so definitely; כִּי is most constantly and characteristically used in

those very cases in which a conjunction, in contradistinction to the substantive construction, is most urgently required. It is also used as relative particle of time *ὅτε*, *quum*, *when*. *כי* is, however, never used in a personal sense i. e. as a pronoun.

The use of this relative particle for *the comparison of* 455 *similitude*, but not of *dissimilitude*, is very remarkable, as it is a relation of mutual reference ¹⁾, like *ὅς*, *quam*, *as*, Sanscr. *jathá*, all of which are from relative stems. The word is thus pronounced quite short like a preposition *כ*, and serves, by means of composition with demonstratives, to form very many new demonstratives which refer to a *measure*, a *limitation*: 1) when combined with the demonstrative pronoun *כֵּן* (with the foretone *á* §. 37) a new pronoun, for which other languages use *talis*, *such*, shorter; in the repetition *כֵּן וְכֵן* (*such and such*, which cannot or need not be definitely stated) *ó* is used the first time for *é* (a) as it is easy for the external distinction of a small change of sound to occur in such correlative compositions, Jdgs. 18, 4. 2 Sam. 11, 25. 1 Kgs. 14, 5; *כֵּן־זֶה* the *fem.* as *neuter such a thing* is also repeated in the same way 2 Sam. 17, 15. 2 Kgs. 5, 4. 9, 12; on the contrary, *כֵּן־זֶה* without such close combination, *כ* being taken as a preposition, is *after this* i. e. *in the same way* Gen. 45, 23. Also in the *pl.* *כֵּן־הֵם*, *fem.* *כֵּן־הֵנָּה* as *those* = *such* Gen. 41, 19. 2 Sam. 24, 3. — 2) Short particles of measure: *כֵּן* (from this *כֵּנִי*, the *fem. pl.* as *neuter*) *after that* i. e. *so* in the manner already described, referring to something said before, or otherwise well known and easily understood, e. g. *כֵּן־כֵּן* as - *so*; *כֵּן* (from *כֵּן־הֵן* *after that*) *so*, somewhat weaker, referring to something present and near Gen. 15, 5. Js. 20, 6, or to something following, which is to be explained Gen. 31, 8. 32, 5. 45, 9. This *כֵּן* (or *כֵּן* §. 50) however, when repeated *כֵּן־כֵּן*, has again a stronger power *so*, and is used so to refer to something following Ex. 12, 11. 1 Kgs. 1, 48, and to something preceding or known Num. 15, 11-13. Dt. 29, 23, stronger even than *כֵּן*, hence too always by itself, never after *כ* as, as mere apodosis. — 3) *כֵּן* is transferred to the signification of *place*: *so!* i. e. in this place as the speaker points out, *ὅδε*, *here*, sufficiently distinguished, from *הֵלֶם* §. 448 by this very animated mode of denoting place; when with a word of motion *hither*, to the place where the speaker points, Gen. 31, 37, *כֵּן־זֶה* *so far* 22, 5. Ex. 7, 16; also repeated *כֵּן וְכֵן*, *so and so* i. e. *this way and that way* Ex. 2, 12. Num. 11, 31, used of time *until so and so* i. e. *not long*, but in a passage of animated imitation 1 Kgs. 18, 45.

Still more common is פה²⁾ in the same signification *here*, also written פו, and sometimes even פא.

1) Cf. especially EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* I. p. 351 ff.

2) According to the same change of the *k* into *p*, as ποτος etc. is formed from ποτος; especially as this פ is again very near to the כ §. 450.

456 This last with the newly prefixed demonstrative ע' אפיו, written ע' אפיו except in Job, is used temporally for *now then*, but always only in an animated, impatient question or challenge (by the imperative), as τοι'νυν, ποτέ or *quaeso* e.g. דע' אפיו *know then!* אפיו מי הוא *now then who is he?* Job 9, 24. 17, 15. 19, 6. 23. 24, 25. Gen. 27, 33. 37. 43, 11. Hos. 13, 10. Js. 22, 1. This is sufficiently distinguished from the interrogative אפיו §. 451 in sound and sense; the orthography also differs for the most part.

That כן with a newly prefixed demonstrative א' אפיו is *so very, so much* as an adverb, fully equivalent to the Lat. *tantum*; and is used 1) as an assurance by means of a limitation which excludes every thing else: *so much* i. e. *only, surely* Gen. 28, 16. Ex. 2, 14. 1 Sam. 15, 32. Js. 40, 6. — 2) As a restriction against something going before, as *tantum = only*, also = *but* in somewhat later writers Ps. 31, 23. Js. 49, 4. 53, 4. More frequently and at an earlier period is the abbreviation א' used as a limitation, *only, yet*; when before the perfect in the sense of the plusquamperf. *he had only gone out* and nothing more i. e. *he had scarcely* etc. Gen. 27, 30. Jdgs. 7, 19, and closely connected with the predicate, as *only joyful* i. e. *perfectly joyful* Dt. 16, 15. Js. 16, 7. 19, 19. 1).

1) Neither the derivation from the inf. abs. Hif, אפיו *stabilire*, nor that of א' from א' (like μόνον, *only*) appear so near and certain.

There are only a few and isolated vestiges of a *reflexive* demonstrative *su* or *tu*, see §. 242 *nt.* 340 *nt.*; see the Syntax for the manner in which the language expresses it in other ways. In the same way a pronoun exactly corresponding to our *self*, *the same*, is wanting; concerning which also see the Syntax.

III. Particles formed from the *verb* and *noun*:

457 1) Few are derived from *verbs*: chiefly 1) from the *imp.* א' see almost = א', hence also construed with the *pl.* Dt. 1, 8. 11, 26; א' (§. 293) *go*, for *well!* also construed with the *pl.* Neh. 6, 7. א' *give!* for *come! well!* *pl.* א' (shortened from א') from א', which verb is lost except in these persons of the imperat. — 2) Some adverbs

are formed from the *inf. abs.* as הִרְבָּה *much* cf. §. 356 *nt.* and some others in the Syntax.

2) The greatest number of particles is formed from *nouns*, as *a*) in the *msc. sg.* as רָק *want*, then *without*; רָק (thinness, emptiness) *merely, only*; adjectives, as קָל *swiftly* Is. 4, 4. טוֹב *well*, the derivative syllable ם־, ם־־ §. 341 f. which has, in this pronunciation, been almost exclusively preserved for adverbs, is especially frequent here: פְּתָעָה *suddenly* from פָּתַע §. 108, יוֹמָם *by day*, רִיקָם *frustra, in vain*, אֲמָנָם *truly*, אֲוָלָם *front, opposite part = on the contrary, but.* — *b*) in the *fem. sg.* chiefly for the formation of new adverbs, as the *fem.* is also proper to the abstracts; generally, ending in ת־ acc. to §. 365, as the adverb has here also the less animated form מְהֵרָה *swiftly*, רַבָּה and רַבָּת beside רַב *much, enough*, מִסַּף *enough*; אֲרָמִית *in Aramaic, in Jewish* (of the language); the endings ת־ and ת־ה are also often attached by means of the derived nominal forms §. 341-43, as אֲחֵרָנִית *backwards*, קִלְרָנִית (only Mal. 3, 14) *mournfully*, קִמְמִית *Lev. 26, 13 upright* (from קָמָה §. 234. *to erect*). — *c*) in the *pl.* chiefly inasmuch as it forms abstracts §. 360, as מִיִּשְׁרִים *right, justly* Ps. 75, 3. Cant. 1, 4; נִהְדָּר is properly a *pl.* compounded with a *suff.*, and is first construed with a substantive in the *msc. sg.*, as הָעָם נִהְדָּר *the people, its totalities, together*, and then with other substantives also; the ending which has become hard to be recognised, is only written יִי in Jer. 46, 12. 21. 49, 3 acc. to §. 428. — Concerning לֵאמֹר *an infin.* with the preposition ל, see §. 464. — הִלְיָהָ *to abhorrence!* (from חָלִיל *profane, abominable*) = *far be it!* acc. to §. 420.

On account of the great attrition and extreme smallness 458 of the most frequently used particles, we also find many examples of the combination of many particles in one, as עַדְּכָּה only Koh. 4, 2 and still shorter עַדְּכָּה v. 3. from עַד הַכָּה *until now* §. 448, בְּלִעְדִּי or מִבְּלִעְדִּי *not as far as i. e. besides*, from עַד §. 470 *as far as* and בֶּל (without tone also בֶּל) or מִבְּלִי (מִבֶּל) *without; what is not high = lowness, vileness, destruction*; and that bold poetical formation בְּלִימָה, a subst. *not — what = nothing* Job 26, 7. In the same way the crowding together of particles explanatory of each other in the laxer language of the late periods.

Nevertheless, although the particles are preeminently the inanimate part of the language, any one of them whose sense approaches the noun, may be again reanimated and new formed, or, at least, be construed with prepositions like the noun. Thus בְּכֹה *with so* i. e. *with such words* 1 Kgs. 22, 20; בְּעוֹד *in yet = so long as*, also with suffixes

cf. §. 466; מָחָר as adverb, לְמָחָר *tomorrow*, but where it must again pass as a substantive and be construed as such, there we have the new formation מִמָּחָר, *stat. constr.* מִמָּחָר; from מֵעַט *a little* (prop. substantive acc. to §. 319) we afterward find a newly formed *pl.* מֵעַטִּים as if from an adjective, because there exists no adjective for that idea. — In the same way, בְּפָנֶימָה *in front* is derived from the preposition לְפָנַי, which accounts for the absence of the foretone, and has the הַ of motion at the end.

459 As to power and construction, however, all particles may be divided into those which *stand by themselves*, as the pronoun and most adverbs, and those that *are attached*, which only obtain a meaning by their connexion with a stronger, more independent word. And indeed some attach themselves *backwards* to a preceding word, in the flow of the diction, serving only to explain or define what is already said, as כֵּן §. 448 and for the most part (but not always) וְ §. 456. The *prepositions* are attached to a *succeeding* word, the *conjunctions* to a whole succeeding sentence. The conjunctions are words which only express merely general relations of time and space, and are very much shortened and externally weakened in proportion to their frequent use and extensive meaning, but as they express judgments of the understanding, they have the most important power and position in the sentence. Both, prepositions and conjunctions, are always in *stat. constr.* as to their idea ¹⁾; those prepositions, however, which are derived from mere demonstratives, do not accommodate themselves to this purely nominal construction so easily as those which are derived from nouns, so that we often find בְּמָה (§. 469) for בִּי §. 455, מִי = מֵה being used as a relative conjunction *that, quod*. Many archaisms are more faithfully preserved in this *stat. constr.*, as the particles in general have retained many important remains of Antiquity:

1) The union vowel §. 406 in בְּלֹתִי *without* as prep. and conjunct. from a *fem.* בְּלָה acc. to §. 380, root בָּלָה, and the very similar זָלָתִי which, however, as preposition, is also pronounced זָלַת; מִיָּי and מִיָּי *from* are only poetical.

2) Some prepositions have more faithfully preserved the original plural formation acc. to §. 361 in the *stat. cs.* and still more before suffixes (acc. to §. 430), as אַחֲרַי *after*, often and, as adverb, constantly without ending אַחֲרֵי.

1) Some longer prepositions may also, and chiefly in poetry, be placed *by themselves* i. e. as adverbs, as תַּחַת *below*, עַל *above*, both poetical, אַחֲרֵי *post = afterwards*, perhaps also *behind* Gn. 22, 13

460 There is, however, yet another distinction between the particles which are attached at the beginning of the word, according as such a particle

may in case of need and in short phrases e. g. in an abrupt answer, be nevertheless placed by itself, referring to a completion of the sentence which may be easily supplied, as לֹא *not!* i. e. *no!* עֲדָה *again!* and other adverbs of that kind, or according as such a particle has no sense whatever of itself, but necessarily requires a firmer word as support, as the smaller prepos. and conjunct. e. g. אִם *if*, וְ *and*; the interrogative הֲ §. 443 and the article הַ §. 445.

PREFIXES.

When these prefixed particles are shortened down to a single distinct sound, a full (a cons. and entire vowel) or an imperfect one, they are then never written as separate words. Thus the interrog. הֲ §. 443, the article הַ §. 445, the relative הַ §. 453; besides these, there are the following which contain much that is remarkable:

The preposition בְּ almost always resolves its weak *-n* into the following sound, as בְּכֹל §. 113; only rarely does it remain entire in poets, and rather oftener before the article. Gutturals give up entirely the reduplication which compensates for בְּ §. 120, because the preposition does not belong intimately to the word, as בְּמֵסֶלֶם, בְּמֵאָדָם; the weak reduplication, however, remains sometimes before the hardest ה, as בְּהֵרֶם Gen. 14, 23, and before ר Js. 14, 3 in some editt. If the following consonant has a mere appoggiatural vowel, the distinct reduplication by means of the peculiar weakness of the *-n* sometimes ceases entirely even in the six simple mutes, contrary to §. 119, as בְּבָצִיר Jdgs. 8, 2. 1 Sam. 23, 28. Ez. 32, 20; cf. בְּהֵרֶם §. 464.

The three prepositions בְּ, לְ, וְ and the copula וְ are reduced to imperfect sounds i. e. without a full vowel, and as external affixes they remain so

1) before any vowel whose first cons. has a full vowel, even if the word is monosyllabic as to tone, a בְּכֹהֵן, לְמִלְכָּה, וְכֹהֵן, וְלֹו; however, as being very easily softened into the corresponding vowel *u*, is constantly resolved into *u* before a labial, as בְּבִי וְבִלְכֹהֵן acc. to §. 90. It is only in certain favourable cases that they receive the foretone *d* before a word which is monosyllabic as to tone, and then וְ also has the fuller וְ even where it might become וְ: a) *on account of the fuller tone*, the nearest occasion of which is when such a word is closely connected with a preceding one *as to the sense*, and both form a little separate member in the proposition, so that there is generally a *pause* at the same time at the monosyllabic word, as דֹּר וְדֹר *generation and generation*; וְקָר וְחֹם *and cold and heat* Gen. 8, 22. וְבֶן וְאָח *son and brother* Koh. 4, 8. Job 4, 16; two words so Ez. 27, 17, דְּבַשׁ וְשֶׁמֶן וְצָרִי. Not so often if the word

stands before a greater pause without this connexion, as *יָמָה* Gen. 14, 9. *וְהָיָה* Ex. 1, 16. — *b*) Before many *short separable pronouns and suffixes*, these prep. take *á*: always before *זֶה* and *אֵלֶּה*, as *לְזֶה*, *בְּזֶה*, *בָּזֶה*, *בְּאֵלֶּה*; on the contrary, the possible pronunciations vary in such a way with the longer *זֹאת*, that the longer one takes place when a new simple idea is formed by the combination, as *בְּזֹאת* *such a thing*, *כְּזֹאת* *like this*, quite loose, *עַל זֹאת* *on that account* and *לְזֹאת* Jer. 5, 7. Gen. 2, 23. The prep. are still more closely attached to the interrogat. *מָה*, so that *á* is shortened into *á* even with reduplication of the liquid: *בְּמָה*, *בְּמָה* *with what?* *כְּמָה* *how much?* and in the most common combination *לְמָה* *wherefore?* the last syllable has even lost the tone from the greater shortening; the original tone *לְמָה*, has only remained where the next word begins with *א* and usually when it begins with *ה* (except. Ps. 42, 10. 43, 2 and *לְמָה* Job 7, 20 without Dagesh), because final vowels generally become stronger and more permanent before gutt. and especially before the weak ones (see §. 450). — *c*) *ל* always receives *á* if it is so closely connected with some words, that it is equivalent to an inseparable letter: *α*) in the adverb *לָכֵן* *therefore*¹⁾ (not in the rarer *בְּכֵן* *much* (in number), *לְנֶצַח*, *לְנֶצַח* *for ever*. *β*) In the construction with all *infinitives*, because *ל* is very often attached to them (see Syntax) and is almost as closely connected with them as the prefixes of the imperfect §. 283: *לָתֵת* *to give*, *לְלַכֵּךְ*, *לְשַׂאף* (in which combination *שַׂאף* §. 354 is also shortened at the same time to *שָׂאף* acc. to §. 82). But *ל* remains without *á* when it is, merely for external connexion, quite loosely attached to the infinitive as to any other noun Gen. 16, 3.

- 1) That this is never used for *לֹא*, *לֵא*, *לֵא* *not so = but*, has been already observed in the *Gött. gelehrte Anzeigen* 1829 p. 1403.

163 When these three prepositions are prefixed to a word with the article *ה*, the aspirate *ה* is always suppressed in this close connexion acc. to §. 82, as *לְהַבִּין* for *לְהַבִּין*, *בְּהַבִּין*: the later writers only resolve this compressed form again, as Neh. 9; 19. Koh. 8, 1. But the copula *ו* which is less closely attached than the preposition to the noun, always remains separated, so does *כ* in cases like *כְּהַיִּיב* *as to day*, because *הַיִּיב* *the day* has become an adverb in this combination 1 Sam. 9, 13. — On the contrary, the *ה* of the *infinitives Hif. Nif. Hitp.* which is externally attached to the root, is usually maintained and is seldom inaudible after *ב*, more frequently after *ל* (acc. to §. 462) in the same way as it is after the prefixes of the imperfect §. 283, as *לְהַטִּיף* for

לְהַחֲטִיֹּא *Hif.* Job 33, 30, Js. 23, 11; hence also לְיִסּוּר *inf.* *Qal* 2 Chro. 31, 7 acc. to §. 271 at the end.

2) If the word begins with a cons. without a full vowel, 461 these prefixes must then necessarily assume a full vowel acc. to §. 66, and as such *î* is the nearest: it stands in a *loosely* compounded syllable always, except with ל before the *in-finit.* (acc. to §. 462) as בְּדַבֵּר, בְּדַבֵּר, בְּכַתֵּר, but לְכַתֵּב. Only ה is rather changed acc. to §. 90 into its nearest vowel sound *u*: וְכַתֵּב. If ו however is the first cons. of the word, so that it coalesces with that inserted *î* in *ê*, then ו must remain a consonant before this necessarily arising *ê*: בְּוִדֵּי, וְוִדֵּי. If the word begins with a gutt. and consequently with a fleeting vowel acc. to §. 70, then *u* or *î* which would disagree with such a vowel (§. 76) is not assumed, but, as there is no *per se* definite vowel there, the short vowel which is to be assumed, accommodates itself to the sound which already exists in the syllable in its fleeting vowel, e. g. ל or ו before עֲבָדִים, אָמַת, חָלִי become לְעַבְדִּים, לְאָמַת, לְחָלִי. And as the consonant is altogether very loosely attached with its vowel, the looser vocalization remains in such syllables always (yet cf. Job 34, 2); the harder one §. 168 can only take place with ל before the *inf.* as לְחַטֵּב, לְחַטֵּר, לְחַמֵּם (*inf. intrans.*) Js. 47, 14. even לְהַשׁוּחַ *inf.* *Hif.* 2 Kgs. 19, 25 *Q'rt*, shortened from לְהַשְׁאֹחַ Js. 37, 20 acc. to §. 82. In very common words, א looses its guttural power acc. to §. 341: בְּאַלְהִים (*in God*) לְאַלְהִים but not in the rarer לְאַלְלוֹתָ *to say, to this effect*, which has become an *adverb* for citation of another's words. These are examples of another sort: בְּעָרִים acc. to §. 94 Js. 15, 11 from עָרִים §. 328, מִיְּהִיתָם from יְהִיתָם, וְהָיָה from the *pl. imperat.* *Qal* הָיָה (*sg.* הָיָה: but *fem.* הָיָה) also somewhat softer וְהָיָה *sg.* Prov. 4, 4; even מִיְּהִיּוֹת from the *inf.* *Qal* הָיָה and the prepos. מִן which is capable of great shortening acc. to §. 461. — Concerning בְּהַשְׁמָה *inf.* *Hif.* root שָׁם with ב, see §. 254.

Whether therefore the vowel-sign before the Chatef-Qames in nouns like בְּאַנִּי has arisen from a mere Sh'va mobile, or whether that form has arisen from בְּהַאֲנִי (with ב and the article §. 463) and is to be read in the first case *bô-nî*, and in the second *bā-nî* (cf. §. 162) can only be decided by the sense, which will leave no doubt about the article.

PARTICLES WITH SUFFIXES.

465

These may take suffixes: 1) all prepositions, as they are equivalent in the construction to the idea of a noun in the *stat. constr.* — 2) *הֵינִי* see! because it answers to the sense of an imperative *הֵינִי*, as the Lat. *en me*; — 3) some particles which, because they include from constant use the idea of a *being*, may subordinate to themselves, as a necessary complement, the personal idea belonging to that (in the noun substantive and pronoun and, therefore, suffix) just as the verb cannot be without signification of person: a kind of imperfect verbs is thus formed, without distinction of tense and mode. These words may, moreover, differ in origin and mode of construction: *יֵשׁ* §. 318 (root *יָשַׁן* to be firm, established¹) and hence to be really) is *existence, being*, *אֵין* §. 318, 3 the contrary, both are therefore properly substantives in *stat. constr.*; on other hand *עַד* yet, an adverb from the *infinit. abs.* and *אֵי* where? §. 444 are of a different kind as to origin; also instead of *אֵינִי* where are they? may be used *הֵם*.

- 1) This root is further developed in *יָשַׁב* to sit, dwell; the Indo-Germanic *ās* (esse) has also a similar sound and origin, cf. *ās* = to sit.

466

Particles which are formed from the *stat. cs.* of a noun, receive, according to their origin, the nominal suffixes §. 421. But *הֵינִי* on account of its signification always receives the verbal suffixes §. 300, as *הֵנִי* *en me* = here am I! *הֵנִי* *en nos*, the tone remaining very strong on the end of this word, only in pause *הֵנִי* although sometimes acc. to §. 306 *הֵנִי* Gen. 22, 7. 27, 18. 44, 16. 50, 18; *הֵנִי* *en eum* Jer. 18, 3, generally shorter *הֵנִי*; *הֵנִי* *en te*, in pause *הֵנִי*, *הֵנִי* *en vos*, *הֵנִי* *en eos*. The particles also which form imperfect verbs §. 465, 3, have always rather the verbal suffixes, because they approach nearer to the verb than to the noun, and the personal pronoun is more loosely attached, as always *עַד* yet am I, *אֵין* I am not, with the 3 pers. sg. *עֹדֵה*, *אֵינֵה*, *אֵינֵה* he is acc. to §. 306 in prose also Dt. 29, 14. 1 Sam. 14, 39. 23, 23, but simply *אֵי*: *עֹדֵה*, *אֵינֵה*, *אֵינֵה*, in pause *אֵינֵה* where art thou? *אֵינֵה*, *עֹדֵה*, afterwards written *אֵינֵה* Ps. 73, 5 cf. 59, 14; *אֵינֵה*, *אֵינֵה* (1). Lastly, some prepositions which are more capable of formation also begin to assume the characteristic verbal suffixes, because the prepos. also may be gradually more loosely construed, and with the accusative instead of the genitive, thus *תַּחַתָּהּ* under her Gen. 2, 21, poet. *תַּחַתָּהּ* sub me; *בְּצַדִּי* circa me 2 Sam. 22, 37. cf. Ps. 18. 37. Ps. 139. 11.

- 1) That the relation of the accusative is actually contained in the sense of the suffix here, is shown by the later resolution into **אֵין אֶתְכֶם** Hag. 2, 17. In what manner the suffixes may be distinguished where it is necessary, is shown by **בְּעוֹדִי** in *while I am* — i. e. as long as I am — with a predicate following, and the poetical innovation **בְּעוֹדִי** in *my duration* i. e. with a complete sense in itself *as long as I live* Ps. 104, 33. 146, 2, cf. **בְּעוֹדִי** since I was Gen. 48, 15.

This has become most powerful and remarkable in the 467 preposition **מִן** *from*. The *-n* namely, which is a very weak final cons. in itself, has become, before the lighter suffixes, quite like the *-n* which is inserted before them §. 306, and as the tone and in part even the compass of the word is very much shortened thereby, the **נ** itself has been repeated ¹⁾; thus **מִמֶּנִּי** for **מִנִּי** *from me*, **מִמֶּנּוּ** *from us*, but also **מִמֶּנּוּ** for *from him* for **מִמֶּנָּה**, **מִמֶּנָּה** *from her*; **מִמֶּנִּי**, **מִמֶּנָּה** because this *-n* is not to near nor so easy to support before the rather heavier suffixes, in pause **מִמֶּנִּי**; lastly, before the heavy suffixes this formation ceases entirely, as **מִמֶּנֶם**, **מִמֶּנָּה**. The poets also omit the reduplication sometimes where it is always found in prose, partly by resolving and lengthening the prosaic form with the *-n* belonging to the suffix, as **מִמֶּנָּה** Ps. 68, 24. Job 4, 12, partly by attaching the suffixes to the entire **מִן**, as **מִמֶּנָּה**, **מִמֶּנִּי**, but the last is always **מִמֶּנִּי** in pause Ps. 18, 23. Job 21, 16.

- 1) The same thing is shown in **מִמֶּנִּי** for the *stat. constr.* **מִי** *water* §. 416, and in the very rare *infin. constr.* **לִתֵּן** *to give* for **לִתֵּן**, root **נתן** (usually **נתת**) 1 Kgs. 6, 19. 17. 14.

The difference between the lighter and heavier suffixes is 468 shown in an especial manner by the accusative particle **אֹת** (see the syntax). This is generally shortened to **אֹת־** or, without Maqqef, to **אֹת** acc. to §. 51, and the original vowel *ó* is only preserved before suffixes, because the final **ת** is separated by them, the vowel sound of the syllable is therefore opened and the original long vowel can be more firmly maintained. And indeed *ó* remains before all lighter suff., as **אֹתִי** *me*, **אֹתוֹ** *him*, **אֹתָנוּ** *us*, **אֹתְךָ** *thee*; but before the heavier suff. before which every moveable vowel is shortened §. 426, that *e*, produced by flattening, is immediately heard, as **אֹתְכֶם**, **אֹתָהֶם**; the later writers only form consistently **אֹתְכֶם** Jos. 23, 15. Ez. 23, 46 f. — This particle is therefore perfectly different from the preposition **אֵת**, **אֵת־** *with*, before suff. **אֵתִי**, **אֵתְךָ**, **אֵתְכֶם**; but as the shortened **אֹת** has become very like this prep. and, except before suffixes, has precisely the same sound, consequently, both are so much confounded together in the later period, that **אֹת** is also used before suff. for the prep. *with*.

469 בְּמִנִּי, for בְּ §. 459, is always preserved before the lighter suffixes: as בְּמִנִּי, בְּמִיָּה, on the contrary before the heavier suffixes: בְּכֶם, בְּהֶם, only poet. בְּמוֹכֶם Iob 12, 3 and בְּמִנִּי also before all nouns. As this מִנִּי as relative particle can attach any preposition, some poets have therefore attached the equally short בְּ *in* and לְ *to* with it, but not often (לְמִנִּי only in Iob) and only before *monosyllabic*, rarely before *disyllabic* words.

The prepositions and other very short and attrited particles take the longest possible pronunciation when attached to suffixes. Thus 1) constantly the foretone *ā*: בְּכֶם, בְּמִנִּי, לְהֶם, also עִמָּהֶם from עִם *with*; — 2) the longer formations לְהֶם (never לָם) לְהֵן, בְּהֵן or בְּיֵהן, and often בְּהֶם for בָּם, עִמָּהֶם, אִתָּהֶן for אִתָּם, עִמָּם; also often לְהֵנָּה, בְּיֵהנָּה for לְהֵן, בְּהֶם. — 3) *ā* instead of *ē* as union vowel of the suffix: לָנוּ, אִתָּנוּ, אִתְּנוּ, so much so that this *ā* expells the *e* of the suff. of the 2 pers. *fem.* *sg.*, as בָּךְ, אִתְּךָ, עִוְדְךָ, הִנֵּךְ. In the same way also כֹּל *omnis*, which approaches the pronouns as to idea, has assumed some pronominal peculiarities: כֹּלָנוּ *we all*, כֹּלְךָ or כֹּלְךָ *thou entirely*.

470 Vestiges of a *pl.* of prepositions §. 459, 2 are always found in אַחֲרַי *after* before suffixes, although the simple *stat. constr.* without suff. is often only אַחֲרֵי. אַחֲרֵיהֶם *under* is not found in the simple *stat. cs.* but only before suffixes in the *pl.*, although instead of the longer word אַחֲרֵיהֶם we frequently find the shorter אַחֲרֵיהֶם from the *sg.* cf. §. 430. בִּינֵי *circa* is only found in Am. 9, 10 with a plural-suff. In בֵּין *between*, the *pl.* בֵּינֵי, בֵּינֵיהֶם is confined to the case of the suffix also having a plural sense e. g. בֵּינֵי זֵבִינִיכֶם *between me and you*.

We are not to confound the forms of the prepositions אֶל- *to*, עַל *upon*, עַד *as far as* with this plural, although they resemble it externally, for those prep. being from לָהּ roots, have the ending יָ from their origin, and not from the *pl.*; this ending is always retained before suffixes cf. 426 *b*, we also find in poets אֶלִי (only in Iob), עָלִי, עַדִּי in the usual *stat. cs.* אֶ is partical to *e* acc. to §. 76. —

View of the particles with suffixes,
cf. page 275.

From	מִן	אֵת (אֵת)	אֵת	כְּ	אֵל (אֵל)
in him	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֵתוֹ	אֵתוֹ	כְּמִנְהוּ	אֵלָיו
		him	with him	as he	to him
in her	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֵתָהּ	אֵתָהּ	כְּמִנְהָ	אֵלֶיהָ
		her	with her	as she	
in thee	מִמֶּנּוּ *)	אֵתְךָ	אֵתְךָ	כְּמִנְךָ	אֵלֶיךָ
		thee	with thee	as thou	
in me	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֵתִי	אֵתִי	כְּמִנִּי	אֵלַי
		me	with me	as I	
in them	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֵתָם	אֵתָם	כְּמִנּוֹ (כְּמִנּוֹ-)	אֵלֵהֶם
		them	with them	as they	
in you	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֵתְכֶם	אֵתְכֶם	כְּמִנְכֶם	אֵלֵיכֶם
		you	with you	as you	
in us	מִמֶּנּוּ	אֵתָנוּ	אֵתָנוּ	כְּמִנּוֹ	אֵלֵינוּ
		us	with us	as we	

In the same way על
עַל, but always with a.

*) In pause בְּךָ see §. 131.

**) In pause מִמֶּנּוּ 134. 497.

THIRD PART.

THE SYNTAX.

FIRST SECTION.

ON THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION.

The simple proposition in ordinary diction is formed by 471 the juxtaposition and mutual relation of *subject* and *predicate* as its two necessary members. These members, however, may be of the most various compass and of different kinds, so that we must first show in how various relations a word may stand in a simple proposition and what compass a member of the proposition may accordingly have. Moreover, the quality of the whole proposition may be negative, interrogative, or interjectional. Hence arise the following three divisions:

I. RELATIONS OF A WORD IN A PROPOSITION.

472 There are only three relations in which a word can stand in a proposition: 1) in the relation of *independence in the proposition* and of *dependence as to the sense* or of *subordination*, in other words, in the relation of the *nominative* and *casus obliquus*. 2) The *casus obliquus* may be distinguished into two kinds: a word may either be subordinated by itself, freely, that is as the *accusative*, or in the relation of the closest and most immediate connexion of two *different* ideas by means of *mutual attraction* and *subordination*, in which the first word attracts the second and the second is subordinated to the first, which is also called *status constr.* §. 400 ff. the characteristic peculiarity of which subordination to the preceding attracting idea is, that it may express our *genitive*. And lastly 3) in the relation of *isolation* and of *apposition*, according to which a word which might be placed by itself, is further explained by one or more words loosely added and externally subjected to it (in apposition to it), as אִישׁ *man*, *some one* placed by itself, or, with apposition, הָאִישׁ *the man*, גָּדוֹל *great* *man*; there is no internal connexion whatever here, and in this respect this is the contrary of 2). This third relation may also always take place in the two preceding ones.

473 These three relations extend throughout all words in the proposition, but have most influence on the noun, less on the verb and particle: the former, because it is too complete a member, the latter, because it is too insignificant a member in the proposition.

As, on account of the want of cases, the relation of *subordination* and *dependence* can only be expressed by the mere order and position, and as these means are very limited, and are not in all instances sufficient, accordingly, the use of the *prepositions* must be very frequent and important in order to denote externally all relations which cannot be internally (virtually) signified.

474 I. Relation of *independence* and *dependence* or *subordination in the proposition*, or of the *nominative* and *casus obliquus*. In an ordinary proposition, there are only two absolutely independent ideas, subject and predicate §. 471; these two are the chief parts, the two supporters, and are therefore to be conceived in the nominative. The subject indeed must necessarily be in the nominative always, and so may the predicate if it is expressed by a common noun, as יְהוָה צַדִּיק *Jahve is just* (for it is also possible for the predicate to be an adverb or word with a preposition §. 545); the verb contains subject and predicate in itself, as אָמַר *he said*. All other words besides the subject and predicate must be in the *casus obliquus*.

II. The *casus obliquus* admits a separation and distinction 475 into two kinds: a word may be subordinated by itself, freely, or it may be strictly subordinated to a preceding word by means of mutual attraction, when the first attracts the second and the second subjects itself to the first, which is a kind of composition. Free and strict subordination may be thus distinguished, and they correspond generally to the *accusative* and *genitive* in our languages. Because these two relations are not diametrically opposed to one another, there are instances in which they border very closely on one another, and there is only a nice distinction between them, as we might either say *pulcher faciei* or *faciem*.

A. Relation of the *accusative* or of *loose, free subor-* 476 *dination*. It is the abrupt, unconnected expression of a *relation merely existing in the mind*, and conveys therefore the idea of *motion* in opposition to that of rest. This expression of relation and motion may either be interwoven in the middle of the proposition or may only express a mere abrupt, incomplete sentiment and impulse of the mind, as the infinitive *חַכְמָה* *waiting!* i. e. let some one wait. In many instances indeed this corresponds to the European *accusative*; but its compass is much wider ¹⁾. It may occur in the noun or in the verb, in the middle of the proposition or in an abrupt proposition. With regard to the interjectional proposition, however, see §. 582. — In the middle of the proposition, and first in the noun, are the following three kinds of free subordination to be distinguished:

- 1) This may be most clearly seen in Arabic, because it distinguishes the nominative and accusative by different forms. The same difference exists fundamentally in Hebr. although the form is not everywhere so distinct.

Every word, therefore, in the proposition, with the exception of those that are forcibly subordinated i. e. in the *genitive*, 'must be placed either in the *nominative* or *accusative* i. e. independently or relatively.

1. Where the verbal idea implies that *the action affects* 477 *a thing immediately*, the substantive of the thing affected is freely subordinated to the verb; this kind of accusative in the strongest and most significant, as the action does not merely extend as far as the object, but also touches and defines it; and the closest ideal bond is contained in this connexion, because the action and the object are externally quite distinct. Whether a verb may show such a power on any occasion depends less on the mere verbal stem than on the direction of the idea of every single verb; for a verb of intransitive and reflexive form can also, through such a direction, receive an immediate complement without preposition §. 240-43-50. The language often fluctuates between this

shorter construction and the mediate one by a preposition, and the poets especially have much boldness and freedom here e. g. נָשַׁק *to kiss*, prop. to join, and hence first construed with לְ of the person 2 Sam. 15, 5, then with the accusative at once 1 Sam. 20, 41; אָרַךְ *to arrange* (battle), *to encamp* with עַל of the person, but in poetry with the accusative of the person at once: *to besiege* Iob 6, 14; יָכַל *to be able*, with the accus. of the person: *to overpower*, conquer Ps. 13, 5. Jer. 38, 5; גָּר and שָׁכַן *to dwell*, poet. with the accusat. of the person for *to possess some one as friend or neighbour* Ps. 5, 5. 120, 5. Prov. 8, 12; נִמְקְדָה as *latente* Ez. 28, 3. A thing may also in many phrases be more easily subordinated immediately than a person. — It is unnecessary to enumerate every verb of this kind; the following are some classes of them:

1) The verbs of *going* thus take as their object the place which the motion directly affects and renders immediately passive, as הֵלַךְ אֶת־הַמִּדְבָּר *to go the desert* i. e. to pass through it Dt. 1, 19. Iob 29, 3. Js. 57, 2, or where going, walking is metaphorically = *to act* 33, 15. Mich. 2, 11. In the same way יָצָא *to go out*, if it is directly = *to leave*, as *exire urbem* Gen. 44, 4 and עָבַר *praeterire aliquid* 32, 33; also בָּוא *to come* = *to reach*, as *destruction reaches him* Ps. 35, 8.

478 2) The verbs of *speaking* do not only subordinate to themselves the thing uttered (the words, the purport), to which belongs also זָעַק הָמָס *clamare* = *queri injustiam* Hab. 1, 2, but also the object spoken of, even the person, although this last is very confined, as in the relative proposition אֲשֶׁר יֹאמְרוּ *of which they say* Gen. 22, 14, in the phrase דָּבַר לוֹ שְׁלוֹם *he speaks him for peace* i. e. speaks in such a manner of him that he wishes him well 37, 4, and poetically אָמְרוּ צְדִיק *say of the just* Js. 3, 10; especially in עָנָה *to inform some one*, generally *to answer*, and in the same way הָשִׁיב (with or without דָּבַר) *to return* = *to reply*, ἀποκρίνεσθαι Iob 33, 5. 32. צִוָּה *to command*, like *jubere* with the accusat. of the person, is prop. *to appoint*, *dispose*.

3) The verbs of *acting* or *treating* do not only subordinate the act, but also the person affected, as גָּבַל which signifies reciprocal action, and שָׁלַם *to recompense*. In the same way the verbs of *giving*, *bestowing*, by which also the person can be immediately affected (*donare aliquem*); whence also נָתַתִּיךָ לַעֲשׂוֹת *I gave* = *permitted thee to do*.

479 A verb which thus subordinates to itself on either side two perfectly different objects, each of which is equally near, can also connect both of them with itself in the same proposition; this power and freedom become gradually rarer in

later languages. Thus from the classes mentioned in §. 478: *מה ענה אותו* *what he answered him* Mich. 6, 5; *ענה* Dt. 1, 18; *גמלתיך הרעה* *I requite thee the evil* 1 Sam. 24, 18, *ושלם* and *עשה* *to do* Js. 42, 16; *נתן* *to give* often, in which it is followed by *הנן* *to be gracious to* = *to give graciously* Gen. 33, 5. *ברך* *to bless* in the same sense Dt. 15, 14, *קדם* *to precede* = *to grant before hand* Ps. 21, 4, *בפר* *to honour* = *to honour by gifts* Js. 43, 23, *סמך, סמך, בלבל, משה* (Jer. 31, 3) = *to prop, support* = *to bestow for support*, on the contrary *עבד* *to serve* = *to give as service* Ex. 10, 26; in the same way *ענש* *mulctare* Dt. 22, 19, *הלם* *to smite* Ps. 141, 5. *הורה* *to shoot* Ps. 64, 8. Moreover, the following classes: the verbs of *clothing, covering* of every sort (cf. *induo te vestem*), as *הגד* and *הק* *to gird* Js. 22, 21, *נעל* *to shoe*, *עטר* and *עטר* *to crown*, *משח* *to annoint*, *כסה* *to cover*, poet. *סובב* *to surround* = *to clothe* Ps. 32, 7. 10, *סבב* Ps. 109, 3, *צפה* *to overlay*, to which the verbs of *planting* and *sowing* agree, as the seed is like the clothing of the field, *נבט* Js. 5, 2, *זרע* 17, 10. 30, 23. — Moreover, the verbs of *asking* and *teaching*, as *אתהבהתיכם הורה* *interroga sacerdotes legem*, *למדתיכם תקים* *docui vos leges*, *יפר* *castigare*, *הורה* *to show, instruct* (the last sometimes with *ב* *in a matter*); sometimes nevertheless with *ל* of the person, as in later languages with the dative, Job 21, 22. — Cf. something similar in §. 239.

The case is somewhat different if a verb and a noun together are only equivalent to a perfectly simple idea, so that they take an object, as *עשה כלה* (*all machen*) *to make an end of* = *to destroy*, with an accusative Nah. 1, 8.

Utterly different from this is a second object which, if 480 it were not, together with the first, dependent on a purely active verb, would be the predicate of the first; thus with a verb of *making, destining*, not only the object primarily affected but also the new destination itself is subordinated to the verb, whereas later languages would express the latter by *to, as*. Thus *א) with the verbs of making, נתן, שום, עשה, שום, נתתיך נביא* *constitui te prophetam*. Particularly with the verbs of *preparing, building* are two constructions to be accurately distinguished: *α) if the material is first mentioned and is the nearest object*, as *בנה אתהאבנים מזבח* *he built the stones an altar* i. e. for an altar 1 Kgs. 18, 32; *β) if the work is the nearest object*, and the material or execution is the second and is put without the article, as *עץ את המזבח עץ* *he made the altar wood* i. e. of wood, wooden Ex. 37, 25. Gen. 2, 7. 6, 14 (*make the ark cells* i. e. so as to contain compartments); *עץ מזבח* *st. cs. might*

also be used here *as an altar of wood*. — *b*) With the verbs of *naming*, which is also a kind of *defining*, and, on the contrary, of altering the name, as *הִקָּב* 2 Kgs. 23, 34. — *c*) With many other verbal ideas for any kind of *destining*, *making*, as *he erected the stone מִצְבֵּה a pillar* = for a pillar; *he smote the house רָסַס to ruins* Am. 6, 11. An adjective can be subordinated as second object in the same way, as *write ye this man עֲרִירי childless* Jer. 22, 30. Gen. 33, 2.

Hither also belong; *he sees (hears, believes etc.) them עִרְיִם blind*.

481 According to the idea of *motion* which is contained in the accusative, the roots of *motion* subject the noun of the *direction* to themselves by simple subordination; but the accusative is not so strictly subordinated here, because it does not denote the object actually affected. Thus *he went הָיָךְ to the city*; the verbs which are at the same time active with two objects, as *lift up your hands תָּרַשׁ to the sanctuary* Ps. 134, 2; *the land אֶשֶׁר whither thou sentest us* Num. 13, 27. Names of persons, however, do not so easily admit of being subordinated in this way, and, where a verb of motion is not so near, only certain words of frequent use can support the idea of the direction, as *he called them הִשְׁמָה rus, to the field* Gen. 31, 4. Else the הָ of motion §. 420 is frequently used for clearness, as when the noun is put before Ex. 1, 22, also in a temporal sense in the phrase מִיָּמִים מִיָּמִים *from year to year*.

482 2. An idea is described and explained merely *as to its purport* and *nature* by means of the free subordination of a noun, so that both are not related to each other as cause and effect, but as general and particular. This is a looser construction therefore, and later languages express many relations which belong here, more distinctly and strongly by prepositions or adverbs: in Hebr., however, there is still great ease and freedom here, and especially in the poets. The verb, or the participle and adjective answering to it, may be so described:

1) by *substantives* which limit the purport of the verb more strictly to the particular part to which the whole at this time specially refers; as from intransitive verbs: *הָלַךְ אֶת־רַגְלָיו he was diseased in his feet* (cf. *ποδὸς ὄνυξ*) 1 Kgs. 15, 23, *greater than thou הַבְּסָא as to the throne* Gen. 41, 40, Ex. 6, 3, poetically *הָיוּ חֵזֶק they are mighty in strength* Job 21, 7. *אָבַד הָדָר to lose the way* Ps. 2, 12; from reflexive verbs: *הִשְׁתַּחֲוָה אָפָיו* (rarely *אָפָיו* 2 Sam. 24, 20) *to bow the face*, *נִתְרָאָה בָּנִים let us see one another* (i. e. let us contend) in person = *personally* 2 Kgs. 14, 8. 11;

hence also as second object with active verbs: *וַיִּשָּׁפֶן רֹאשׁוֹ* *he will crush thee on the head* Gen. 3, 15. Dt. 33, 11. Jer. 18, 17 cf. *וְנָפַשׁ הַכְּהֵנִי בְּנַפְשִׁי* *he smites him as to his life = to death* Dt. 22, 26. Also holder in poetry: *אֶפְרַיִם בִּי* *with my mouth* i. e. loud, *אֶפְרַיִם בְּנַפְשִׁי* *with my soul* i. e. deeply, where the particular instrument only describes the nature of the action Ps. 3, 5. 12, 3. 17, 10. 13 f. 27, 7. 44, 3. 60, 7. 66, 17. 109, 2. 138, 7. Js. 10, 30. 26, 9. — An *adjective* or *intrans.* and *pass. participle* may indeed be construed in the same way Js. 40, 20, and must be so if a word comes between Job 15, 10; but in all cases in which the *stat. cons.* is possible, it is much nearer to use it, acc. to §. 503. Such a substantive is sometimes subordinated by a preposition, in which case it at the same time does not usually continue indefinite Dt. 28, 35.

The verbs of the idea *full* especially belong here, by way of more definitely denoting the contents of the fullness: *מָלָא* Ex. 15, 9. *שָׂבַע* (*to be full of bread, of good etc.*), the contrary *חָסַר*, *חָדַל* *to want*, *שָׁכַל* *to be childless*. The verb can also denote a more definite kind of abundance by *to rain*, *to swarm*, *to swell*, *to shoot up*, as *וַיִּשְׂרַץ* and *וַיִּרְמַס* *to crawl* Gen. 1, 21. 9, 2; *הַתְּלַבְּנָה הַחֵלֶב* *flow with milk* Joel 4, 18; *הַיַּד הַמַּיִם יֵרֶדָה* *runs down with water* Lam. 1, 16; *הַיָּד הַמַּיִם יֵרֶדָה* *rises up* (by an optical delusion) *with thorns*, which always become higher Js. 5, 6. 34, 13. Prov. 24, 31. These verbs when they become active, take a nearer object, as *וַיִּמְלֵאוּ אֶת־הָאָרֶץ חֲמָס* *they fill the earth with cruelty*, from *מָלָא* or *מָלָא* *to fill*; in the same way *שָׂבַע* *to satiate*, *רָגַה* *to satisfy with drink* Js. 16, 6. *וַיִּרְעַח* *to refresh* 50, 4, *חָסַר* *to deprive* ¹).

1) Hence the possibility of the verbs of *giving* subordinating two objects §. 478.

2) The freely subordinated substantive describes, even with verbs which are not active, the ultimate *effect* of the action, or that which proceeds from the action as its consequence, as *הַר הַזַּיִת נִחְלָה* *becoming a, or into a great valley* Zach. 14, 4, *זִיּוֹן נִחְלָה* *as a field*, becoming a field Mich. 3, 12; *וַיִּפְּסֵם* *to worms* Ex. 16, 20, *וַיִּשָּׁן הַמָּוֶת* *to sleep death*, so that the sleep is death Ps. 13, 4; also in the same way, *הַיָּד הַמַּיִם יֵרֶדָה* *as a great terror*, so that great alarm was occasioned 1 Sam. 5, 9. cf. v. 11.

This comes to the same thing, in fact, as the second object of the verbs of *making*, *destining* §. 480. For this rule especially obtains: if the active verbs which subordinate two objects, acc. to §. 478. 483, be-

come passive or reflexive, the first object indeed ceases then, but the second, remoter one remains (as with Hof. §. 258), as the object of the part §. 482: *מִלְּאֶת-בָּשֶׂר עָרְלָתוֹ circumciscus est praeputium suum* Gen. 17, 11, 14, 24, 25; Ex. 1, 7; as the object of the thing of the two perfectly different objects §. 479: *מִלְּבָשִׁים בְּגָדִים induti vestes* 1 Kgs. 22, 10. Hab. 2, 19. 2 Sam. 6, 14. *קָרוֹץ בְּתִיָּהוּ LXX διαγγέλλεις ὁρὸν χιτῶνα* 15, 32; acc. to §. 480, 2 Sam. 6, 2. 1 Kgs. 6, 7; moreover *קָשָׁה שְׂלֵיָה sent with hard tidings, prop. missus ad dura* 1 Kgs. 14, 6 acc. to §. 481.

485 3) A verbal idea is immediately completed by the statement of the *manner how*, so that here too there must be an internal connexion of sense between both, as the description affects the intrinsic nature. The noun is always *indefinite*, as describing the mere manner, like an adverb. There are two chief kinds of this:

a) The verb may be thus explained by a *substantive*, for which later languages use adverbs, as *הֵלֵךְ to go* may be combined with *רוֹמָה (altitudinem)* i. e. *proudly* Mich. 2, 3, with *שָׁחוּה bowed down* Js. 60, 14, with *מְגִדְיוֹת cheerfully* 1 Sam. 15, 32, with *שָׁבִי captive* (also with *בְּשָׁבִי into captivity*), and with *קָרִי contrary to* (also *בְּקָרִי occursu*); in the same way *נָדְבָה אֶהֱבֵם I love them with freewill = readily* Hos. 14, 5; 12, 15. Jer. 31, 7. Mich. 7, 2. Mal. 3, 24; by the instrument, merely to define the manner Jos. 7, 25, also in passive construction *הָאֱכָלוּ הָרֶב ye shall be devoured by the sword* Js. 1, 20, as one could very well say *אֶכְלֵ הָרֶב sworddevoured* in *stat. cs.* §. 503¹). A smaller circle of words (i. e. some words united by apposition or by the *stat. cs.*) may also be subordinated in this way, as *to speak, to cry, to weep קוֹל גָּדִיל a great voice = loud* 1 Kgs. 8, 55. Dt. 5, 19, *they assembled אֶחָד פֶּה one mouth = with one accord* Jos. 9, 2. Zef. 3, 9; *הַיֹּשֵׁב בְּרִמְיָה he who worketh בִּקְלָה with a lazy hand = lazily* Prov. 10, 4, 6, 12; nay even an entire short nominal proposition, as *I have seen God פָּנִים אֶל-פָּנִים face to face* i. e. *evidently* Gen. 32, 31. Ex. 33, 11.

1) The usage of the language is, however, to be minutely observed here at the same time, as this freedom is by no means so general in Hebr. as in Arabic.

There is not much difference when the complement refers back rather to the subject, as *ye are left מִתִּי מְסָפָר (as) few people* Dt. 4, 27. Gen. 15, 16. Jer. 31, 8; *Jerusalem shall be inhabited בְּרִזּוֹת (as) villages = villagewise* Zach. 2, 8.

186 The nearest and simplest, and also still very prevalent, method here is, for the verbal idea to limit and explain it-

self *by itself* i. e. *by means of its abstract*, as *πόλεμον πολεμεῖν*. The verbal idea, returning on itself, can thereby become altogether contained and complete in itself, so that we might express it in our languages by *altogether*, as *הַבֶּל הַהֶבֶל* *vanitatem vani estis* = *ye are altogether vanity* Job. 27, 12; the *infin. abs.* §. 540 is more frequently and appropriately used for this purpose, cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 37 f. But by the subordination of a substantive of a more definite signification or limitation, the general notion is thus referred to the particular, and the substantive may either stand alone, as *הַלֹּם הַלֹּם* *to dream a dream* = once, *הַלֹּם הַלֹּם* *to dream dreams* (many), or with the addition of an adjective or pronoun, as *בָּכָה בְּכִי גָדוֹל* *to weep a great weeping* = bitterly, or of a *stat. cons.* as *נָסוּ מִסַּבֵּת הַחֶרֶב* *they fled the flight of the sword* = as one flies from the sword Lev. 26, 36; also attaching itself backwards, in a relative proposition, to the preceding substantive: *הַמִּצֹּק אֲשֶׁר יָצִיק* *the straight which* (= wherewith) *he will straighten, or cause* Dt. 28, 53. Ps. 89, 51 f. Later languages lose this simplicity of antique diction. — As the pure verbal idea is only farther developed by this, it is a matter of perfect indifference whether the verb is active, intransitive, or passive (as Js. 14, 2. Zach. 13, 6) and whether it already has one or two other objects Jer. 30, 14. Jdgs. 15, 8; a substantive of *similar sense* can also be so construed Zach. 8, 2. Jer. 14, 17; 23, 6. Js. 37, 6.

b) The verb is explained by an *adjective*, as *עָרִים יְרוּסָה* *he flies naked* Am. 2, 16. Ps. 15, 2; also in a subordinated predicate-member, as *הֵרָא רָקַר הַיָּרֵחַ* *he sees the moon coursing bright* Job 31, 26.

For the manner in which a *substantive* is freely sub- 487
ordinated *to another* with abrogation of the *stat. cs.* see §. 499. 514 f.; a small word can then easily come between, as *בָּשָׂר בְּשָׂרָה בְּרֶפֶת* *flesh of what* — *in the field* — *is torn* Ex. 22, 30, *הַמַּבּוּל הָיָה מֵיִם* *the flood-was-of waters* Gen. 7, 6, cf. 6, 17. 41, 29. The free subordination takes place especially easily after a statement of measure, order and weight, by the name of the material being added quite loosely as a mere specification of the contents of the measure and therefore in the *sg.* and not requiring the article; as *שְׁלֹשׁ קָמָה* *three measures meal* Gen. 18, 6, *אַרְבָּע טוּרֵיִם* *four rows stone* Ex. 28, 17. 2 Kgs. 4, 2; *שְׁנַתִּים יָמִים* *two years in days* (time) *אֲשֶׁר יָבוֹעַ יָמִים* *a week in days* i. e. *about as long*; this usage is transferred to other words 2 Sam. 24, 13. In certain common phrases, even the name of the measure which is easily understood from the material spoken of, is omitted, as *שֶׁקֶל* *shekel*, *אֵיפָה* *ephah*, *בָּקָר* *talent* Zach. 11, 12. Ru. 3, 15. 1 Sam. 17, 17.

- 488 The numerals for the *ten* §. 436 as words incapable of formation, always subordinate the noun to themselves in this free manner. And indeed the *sg.* of the object suffices with these and with all numerals above ten, as the idea of multitude is already contained in the numeral and it is enough merely to add the object as such, as עֶשְׂרִים אִישׁ *ten men* cf. 1 Kgs. 20, 16; also עֶשְׂרֵה אֶלֶף Ez. 45, 1; Adjectives, however, may remain in the *pl.* Gen. 18, 24, 28. The article, as in §. 504, does not belong to the number, but to the object Zach. 11, 12. 15. Jdgs. 18, 17. Dt. 9, 25. 1 Chro. 27, 15; yet cf. Jos. 4, 4. The adjective either strictly follows the *sg.* of this construction 1 Sam. 22, 18. Jdgs. 18, 17, or returns more loosely to the *pl.* v. 16. This *sg.* is also put so loosely and inflexibly, that it even ceases to connect itself in *stat. cs.* with a following noun Est. 9, 30.
- 489 As acc. to §. 439 there exist no adjectives for the numerals above ten, accordingly, the numeral which is expressed in the common way with the object, is subjected to the *stat. cs.* of the object, as שְׁנֵה הַחֲמִשִּׁים שָׁנָה *the year of the fifty year* i. e. which can only be produced by fifty, therefore *the fiftieth year* Lev. 25, 10 f. This *st. cs.* however is often either more briefly omitted, so that the context alone determines the point, as בַּשְּׁלֹשָׁה עָשָׂר יוֹם *on the thirteenth day*, cf. Gen. 14, 4; or the last substantive is wanting, although the gender of the numeral remains the same, which method prevails more and more in the later period and is applied to all numbers, as בְּשָׁנָה שְׁלֹשׁ *in the third year*.
- 490 3. The noun is freely subordinated to the whole proposition as *word of relation*, as every general relation of measure, space, kind, and mode has a complete sense only when in reference to a thought and only refers to that. The historical progress of the language, however, must be attentively observed here in particulars. Thus 1) in statements of *measure*, if measure or degree in general is spoken of in the proposition, as *the water rose 15 cubits* Gen. 7, 20. 31, 23. 2 Sam. 14, 26, which is also like the case in §. 485; then in general estimates of space and time, as הַשָּׁמַיִם *the heaven* = *above* 1 Kgs. 8. 32 ff., שְׁלֹשׁ רָגְלִים *three times*, הַפְּעָם §. 533; *he journeyed רַבִּים יָמִים many days*, the whole period mentioned, or thus, *this year thou diest* Jer. 28, 16. Jdgs. 7, 19; this might be more definitely expressed by prepositions. Ps. 122, 4. 127, 2.
- 491 2) Many have thus become *adverbs*, partly constantly, partly being still more fully construed with prepositions, as בֹּקֶר *in the morning*, לְנֶצַח or shorter נֶצַח *for ever*, יוֹם יוֹם *day by day*, סָבִיב *round about*; מְאֹד *very*, שְׁלוֹם *well* Gen. 43, 27. cf. 29, 6; בְּטָח *for security* = *securely*, אֲמִנָּה *steadily* Ex. 17, 12. פְּלִאִים *wonderfully* Lam. 1, 9; some adjectives of measure and kind, as רַב or רַבָּה *much* Ps. 123, 3. 4, קַל *swiftly*, מֵר or *fem.* מְרָה *bitterly* with זָעַק *to cry*; cf. other adverbs §. 457, 2. Later writers extend much of this to a greater degree, as לְמְאֹד *to very much* 2 Chro.

16, 14. Every adverbial addition is in free construction with the verb, and may also be put before it with emphasis; but the adverb must always follow the simple adjective in apposition, as *גְּדֹלָהּ מְאֹד* *a very great city*.

3) In the *stat. constr.* מִסְפָּר *number* = *in number* — (as לְמִסְפָּר is also possible) Job 1, 5. Ex. 16, 16. Jer. 2, 28. Some relations of space in the *stat. cs.* as פֶּתַח *door* for *out of doors* at —, בֵּית (or more complete בֵּיתָא) *house* = *in the house*, the same as the Lat. *apud*, hence also בֵּית־לֶחֶם by itself, for *at Bethlehem* 2 Sam. 2, 32; moreover מִן־עֵלֹת *coram*, and similar words above §. 338 *nt.*; lastly, all *prepositions* belong here, cf. §. 507 and further §. 518 ff.

Although there is generally no external characteristic of a word freely subordinated, nevertheless Heb. has a particle to denote it externally. This *preposition of the accusative* is אֵת (§. 468) properly a reflexive pronoun *self*, *ipse* (cf. §. 242 *nt.* and the Syriac *ܐܬܝܬܝܫ se ipsum*) and hence serving as a reference, to carry the relation of that which is freely subordinated backwards to the chief word; its use is, however, confined within the following limits (cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 175 ff.):

1) אֵת is only *necessary* with the personal pronouns, in case they cannot be used in the *suffix form* §. 300 ff.; for the idea of independence and dependence has been so entirely separated in these pronouns in the form, that they must necessarily be used as *suffixes* where the idea requires dependence; and when external difficulties oppose the attachment of the *suffix* to the verb itself, this אֵת must then support it. Thus a) if the emphasis renders it necessary to place the accusative before the verb, or even quite alone by itself, as אֵתְּךָ הָרַגְתִּי *thee I had slain* Num. 22, 33. Jer. 7, 19; — b) if a verb has two objects, and both are personal pronouns, the second must stand by itself then, as the verb can only support *one* suffix, as הֵרַאֲנִי אֹתוֹ *he let me see him*; in the same way with the infinitive, בִּרְאֵתוֹ אֵת *in their seeing him* = when they saw him. — c) Moreover, with the *infinitive* in many cases, as with the *inf. abs.* because it is too inflexible acc. to §. 355, 1 Sam. 2, 28, with the *inf. constr.* because a noun intrinsically nearer is put before, §. 554, as דָּרַשׁ אֶתְּךָ אֹתוֹ *thy brother's seeking him* i. e. that thy brother seeks him Dt. 22, 8, or for the purpose of marking a suffix as the *accusative* Gen. 4, 15 (acc. to §. 555). This placing of the pronoun by itself, however, also becomes more and more frequent without urgent necessity.

493 2) *אֵת* is indeed not uncommon before *substantives*, especially if they are *placed before*; its use is nevertheless still very fluctuating and confined, namely, only before *definite nouns* §. 535, and even then more before words of *persons* than of *things*, because such words, as having more force and independence, are on that account easily more strongly and clearly subordinated, as we saw *אֶת־הָאָרֶץ* the land, they annointed *אֶת־דָּוִד* David §. 534 they brought *אֶת־אָבִיו* his father, *אֶת־מִי* whom? Js. 6, 8 (but not with *מַה* what), *אֶת־זֶה* this man, *אֶת־אֲשֶׁר* whom or that which Gen. 9, 24; *אֶת־עֵינָהּ* the weary Js. 50, 4 (because the article is not necessary in poetry), *אֶת־כָּל* the whole, *אֶת־כָּל עוֹף* all fowls (acc. to §. 505. 512) Gen. 1, 21. 29. 30. 8, 21. 9, 3. Dt. 2, 34 (3, 6.) Jdgs. 7, 8. 2Sam. 6, 1; with numerals 1 Sam. 9, 3. 2Sam. 15, 16 acc. to §. 516; also when the *sg.* is used for the whole species, as *אִישׁ* man Ex. 21, 28. Lev. 20, 14. 2 Sam. 4, 11; or with the *participle* in the signification of *he who* Ez. 2, 2. Thus *אֵת* alone clearly shows when a word without the article has nevertheless a more definite signification. Moreover, rather more with the nearer complements than with the remoter (Gen. 17. 11. 14. 25, cf. v. 24), and not at all with adverbs or adverbial expressions; rarely too with statements of time Ex. 13, 7. Dt. 9, 25, and with the statement of going toward a place Jdgs. 19, 18. Finally, all this only applies more immediately to ordinary Prose: Poets use this particle still more sparingly.

This particle, however, can never denote the nominative; yet it is often only the general sense of the sentence which produces the accusative, as the active construction intrudes on all occasions as the nearest, as *יִתֵּן אֶת־הָאָרֶץ* *detur* (= *dandum est*, let some one give) *terram* Num. 32, 5. Gen. 17, 5 acc. to §. 572; *אַל יֵרָא בְּעֵינֶיךָ אֶת־הַדָּבָר* let not be evil in thy eyes i. e. do not look with displeasure on this matter 2Sam. 11, 25. 1 Sam. 20, 13; Jos. 22, 17. For greater irregularities in the later language, see 2 Kgs. 18, 30. Dan. 9, 13. Neh. 9, 19. 34.

494 The prepositions also belong here, inasmuch they are all in the *accusative* themselves, as may be easily seen in Arabic; but it will be better to treat of them afterwards where we speak of the genitive, the case they govern.

495 B. Relation of the *genitive* or of *strict subordination*. This is a kind of composition, and where the two ideas are most discordant and most violently resist one another because the one contains no part of the other, as *king-Egypt*, *fear-I*, there must the combination be strictest and firmest, there must the first word try to retain the second forcibly in dependence on itself, as *Egypt's-king*, *my fear*; on the other hand, where the two ideas are not so discordant, where the first already contains something of the second, there is this close construction nearer to free subordination, as we not only say *pulcher faciei*, but *pulcher faciem*. This mode of composition is more strongly expressed in the Indo-Germanic languages by the subordinated word being *placed first*, as *πολυσθενής*; but, in Semitic, the words remain in their natural order, in which the defining word is put last. But the

defined (the first) and the defining word §. 400 are placed in such a mutual connexion here, that the first is not pronounced as independent, by itself, but as seeking its end and aim in the following word, and, as the second is attracted by the first and is subjected to it, they both conjointly form a higher whole. Thus the two substantives *wisdom - Solomon, king-land* combine in a higher idea *the wisdom of Solomon, the king of the land* מֶלֶךְ הָאָרֶץ. The only limits to this relation are, that the first member must contain the idea of a noun i. e. of a word which is not complete in itself (as the verb is); the second member is, as to the idea, always immediately subordinated to a noun, and answers to our *genitive* for the most part, but has no further limitation. The defining member, however (if it is a noun) may be itself defined by an immediately following defining word, and two, or even more, nouns may thus follow in the *st. cs.*, as פְּרִי גִדְל לֵבָב פְּרִי גִדְל לֵבָב הַמֶּלֶךְ הַשְּׂמִיר *the fruit of the greatness of the heart of the king of Assyria* i. e. of his pride Js. 10, 12. The great frequency of this relation, however, is partly to be explained from the compressed conciseness of the ancient language, and partly, from the want of more definite and current adjective formation.

- 1) The Indo-Germanic languages use nominal composition for the most cases, which is of a similarly extensive signification and equally depends on an ideal combination, only that they place the defining noun first; for which reason the compass of this relation does not remain altogether as free as it does in Hebr.

1. *Compass of the stat. constr.* — The easiest method 496 of understanding the different kinds of this infinitely manifold construction, is by considering what ideas are capable of entering into such a combination itself. There are, however, three:

- 1) two nouns *perfectly unequal to each other* in sense, but equal in power and independence, enter thus into a combination together which is the more close the more their ideas repel each other; see §. 495. Both must be substantives therefore, either from their nature or in consequence of their power and position at the time. — If the first substantive denotes action or passion, it may then be referred to the second either in such a sense, that the action must be conceived as proceeding from the second (*genitivus subjecti*) or that the second is affected by the action (*genitivus objecti*); the context will always easily determine the particular sense of every passage, later languages, however, generally express the latter use more clearly by propositions, e. g. פֶּחַדִּי *my fear*, which I feel, or *fear of me*, which others feel, זְכוֹרְךָ *thy remembrance*, which thou hast, or *the remembrance of thee*, חֲמַס יְדֶיךָ *the cruelty of your hands*, but חֲמַס

לְבָנִי *the cruelty of Libanon* which it suffered Hab. 2, 17,
 אֲבֵל יָחִיד תְּשַׁנֵּת טָאוֹל *the report about Saul* 2 Sam. 4, 4,
 lamentation for the only (son) Am. 8, 10. בְּרַבִּי *my way*,
 but בְּרַבִּי הָיָה הַדֶּרֶךְ *the way to the tree* Gen. 3, 24.

- 497 Proper names are too complete and perfect in themselves, and therefore too unpliant and immovable to enter easily into such a combination. Nevertheless, some examples of it are found, chiefly on account of the very frequent use of the language: יְהוָה צְבָאוֹת *Jahve of hosts*, which is sometimes more completely and easily expressed by יְהוָה אֱלֹהֵינוּ *Jahve, the God of hosts*; often in the names of towns, as גַּת פְּלִשְׁתִּים *Gath of the Philistines* = the Philistian Gath (as in Lat. Ascalon Judaeae), although the looser construction is also not rare here, Am. 6, 2. Dt. 23, 5. 1 Sam. 17, 12; דַּמַּשְׁק אֱלִיעֶזֶר *Damascus (the city) of Eliezer* Gen. 15, 2.

- 498 2) the two nouns are not each perfectly different as to *sense* and equally independent, but the *first* remains the more important and independent, and the second is less closely attached, so that it may even stand more freely i. e. may be subordinated in the accusative merely. This takes place if the one describes a *property*, or *essence*, and *object* of the other, so that the *first*, the one described, predominates and remains more independent, while the second is less closely construed, and the whole construction, as will be plainly shown in many traces below, remains looser and may be easily dissolved. The first member now may be either a substantive or an adjective, in either case, however, it must be capable of limitation, not a proper name, for instance, as that at the utmost can only be further described by apposition.

a) a substantive is thus described by another in such a manner that the last only expresses the quality of the first, and is therefore in itself placed without the article (cf. §. 511), a mode of construction which becomes more frequent in proportion as adjectives are either yet wanting or are not usual, as גִּבּוֹר הֵרֹל *hero of might* = mighty hero Jdgs. 11, 1, מְרִדְנִים אִישׁ *man of strifes* i. e. a quarrelsome man; there are no adjectives as yet derived from many names for external objects, as *silver*, *gold*, hence they are used in the *stat. cs.* אֲרוֹן גֵּץ *ark of wood* = wooden, אֱלִילֵי כֶסֶף *idols of silver*; or the adjectives denote persons acting, and are not used for things, as צַדִּיק *just*, קָדוֹשׁ *holy*, hence זְבָחֵי *sacrificia juris* = *justa*, בְּגָדֵי קָדֶשׁ *vestes sanctitatis* = *sacrae*.

This want of the frequent use of adjectives is also the cause that abstracts or neuter substantives are often construed with general names of persons or names which denote the possessor, the origin, the derivation: a) often with אִישׁ *man*:

אִישׁ תָּמַר *vir formae* = formosus 1 Sam. 16, 18, אִישׁ
דְּבָרִים *vir verborum* = facundus Ex. 4, 10; — b) often
with בָּעַל *lord, possessor*: בָּעַל דְּבָרִים *having words*
(cause of complaint) Ex. 24, 14; בָּעַל חֲלֻמּוֹת *having dreams*,
a dreamer Gen. 37, 19; — c) with בֶּן *son*, to denote deri-
vation or relation: בֶּן הַחַיָּל *filii roboris* = robusti Dt. 3, 18,
בֶּן הַכּוֹת *a son of beating*, belonging to beating, worthy of
stripes Dt. 25, 2. 1 Sam. 20, 31; בֶּן לַלַּיְלָה *son of night*,
sprung up in the night and dependent on it Jon. 4, 10.
Poets go still farther in such constructions Js. 5, 1.

According to this, it is not surprising then that many substantives 499
whose idea only denotes measure, number, or time, and which therefore
are most easily subordinated loosely after the manner of adjectives, gra-
dually separate themselves as second member from the close construction,
give up the *stat. cs.* and are subordinated freely (in the accusative, ad-
verbially) as אֲנָשִׁי מִסָּפָר *men of number* i. e. easy to be counted, few,
and even יָמִים מִסָּפָר *a few days* Num. 9, 20; the ancient מִתִּי מְעַט
and the later מְעַט מִנְּשִׁים *a few men*; עוֹלַת הַמִּזְבֵּי *offering of conti-*
nuance = continual offering, and עוֹלַת ה' Num. 28, 3. 6.

If the principle of this combination were stretched to a 500
wider use, it would be possible to connect by the *stat. cs.*
not only a substantive, but any word and any proposition
which might be added for the *description* of the first sub-
stantive ¹⁾. Hebr. however, rather leaves these additions and
complements looser, without close connection by the *stat.*
constr. Nevertheless, there are some incipient attempts of
that more extended use, and chiefly in the bold diction of
poetry: 1) adverbial additions are sometimes closely connected,
as הָאֱלֹהִים הַרְחֹקִים and הָאֱלֹהִים הַנִּזְכָּרִים *innocent blood*,
Gods — from afar = strange Gods Jer. 23, 23; מִבֵּית בְּלָתִי
blow-without ceasing i. e. incessant Js. 14, 6. The
adjective, on the other hand, is more loose and easily in-
telligible in itself; when placed after, however, as a neuter,
it has another sense, as יַיִן הַטוֹב *wine of the good* absolute-
ly, *of the best wine* Cant. 7, 10. Js. 22, 24. Prov. 6, 24. —
2) Before an entire relative proposition, as אֲדִירִי כָל-הַנְּבִיִּים בָּם
the nobles — in whom all my delight is = the nobles
dearest to me Ps. 16, 3. — 3) Still more with the *z* of the
stat. constr. §. 406-408.

1) As in Persian by *āzād*, and compositions in Sanscrit, German
etc. *Großkönig, Mahārājā* etc.

If the adjective, instead of being placed afterwards with- 501
out power, as is usual §. 537, is rather placed in the *stat.*
cs. before the substantive as an independent neuter acc. to
§. 496, the idea of the property (of the adjective) is thereby
rendered very significantly prominent as the strongest, or

most important for the time being, as אֲמִיץ כֹּחַ *the power of strength* (τὸ κρατερόν τῆς ἰσχύος) = the very great strength Js. 40, 26; Ps. 46, 5. 68, 14, רַב טוֹבָהּ *the abundance of thy goodness* = thy abundant goodness Ps. 145, 7; yet this is rare and only poetical, cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 18. 156. A substantive otherwise serving for description, may be rendered prominent in the same way.

It also produces great emphasis if the individual is prominently distinguished by *the stat. cs.* from the whole immediately following, which may take place partly by combination of the same substantive, as קֹדֶשׁ קֳדָשִׁים *the holy of holies* i. e. what is most holy, עֶבֶד עֲבָדִים *slave of slaves*, lowest slave Gen. 9, 25. Hos. 10, 15; partly by the adjective of a peculiar kind being expressly rendered more prominent by its place before the following plural or collective, as קָטָן בָּנָיו *the little one (least) of his sons* 2 Chro. 21, 17; זָקֵן הָעָם *the eldest of the people* Mich. 7, 4. Gen. 24, 2; רָעִי גוֹיִם *wicked (worst) of nations* Ez. 7, 24. 1 Sam. 9, 21. 17, 40. Job 41, 22; also with the adjective used as a neuter, as פְּרִיץ הַיּוֹת *the ravenous (most ravenous) of beasts* Js. 35, 9. In the same way: פָּרָא אָדָם *a wild ass of a man* i. e. a very wild man Gen. 16, 12. Job 11, 12. Prov. 15, 20, cf. *nara-sinha* (man-lion) in Sanscrit.

- 502 Such constructions are for this reason especially important and necessary, because the language, having no form for the elative or superlative of adjectives, is obliged to have recourse to circumlocutions of various kinds as they happen to be suitable. Besides the circumlocutions above mentioned, another substantive of a suitable idea may be put before in the *stat. cs.* as נִבְחָתָר עֲמֻקָּתָהּ *the choice of thy vallies* i. e. thy best vallies, or the whole may be more loosely combined by *in*, among with the adjective, as הַיְּפֹתָהּ בְּנָשִׁים *the beautiful among women* = the most beautiful woman Cant. 1, 5. Am. 2, 16. Jdgs. 6, 15. If the whole is already mentioned or is easily understood, it is sufficient to render the adjective prominent by the article in the general ideas of good, great, near, as *Isai had eight sons, and David was* הַקָּטָן *the little one*, where it is clear from the comparison and the connexion of the sense that *the least* is meant (or, if the comparison can only be between two, *the lesser*) 1 Sam. 17, 12-14. 9, 21. Gen. 1, 16. 19, 38. 29, 16. Joel 4, 5. Dt. 21, 3. Where the whole, however, is not at all mentioned, but a high degree absolutely is to be expressed, for instance, in the proposition, *the question is very hard*: then this idea (unless it is contained in a verbal or adjective formation) can only be expressed by adding מְאֹד *very*, or by repetition of the same word or an accumulation of similar ones.

- 503 b) Every participle or adjective may be limited by a following substantive, if its verb, or the verbal idea which it represents, is only of such a kind as to admit an immediate complement or the reference of the universal to the particu-

lar. Therefore, whenever the verb subordinates an accusative to itself freely from any cause acc. to §. 477, then is the closer subordination by the *stat. cons.* always the nearest here; for the *stat. cs.* is the same thing in the noun which the accusative is with the verb. Only that there is greater freedom and boldness in the subordination by the *stat. constr.* than in the more external construction with the accusative. But as the first member is merely described by something particular, and consequently remains the most important one, and as the substantive is also often quite separated in the accusative, accordingly, this combination also is looser and weaker as to the idea. Thus 1) from active verbs: *אֲהָבִי אֱלֹהִים* *amantes dei*, *מְאִיר עֵינַיִם* *eye - enlightening*, *אֹכְלֵי שֻׁלְחָנְךָ* *who eat thy table* i. e. thy bread 1 Kgs. 2, 7; *בָּאִי שַׁעַר* *who come to the gate*, *יֵצְאֵי יֵר* *egredientes*, or *egressi*, *שְׂאוֹל* *going down to Orcus*, *שׁוּטֵי כֶזֶב* *who turn aside to deceit* Ps. 40, 5, as these verbs of motion are construed immediately with the accusative §. 477-481; bolder combinations are *זֶהְרֵי עָפָר* *dust - creeping* (serpents) *שֹׁכְבֵי קֶרֶב* *lying in the grave* Ps. 88, 6. — 2) From passive verbs, in various ways: *הַגִּידֵי שַׁק* *sackcloth - clad*, *פְּצוּטֵי דָבָה* *broken to pieces* Dt. 23, 2, in which the substantive would be the second accusative in the verbal construction §. 484; *יְלֹדֵי אִשָּׁה* *woman-born* because this is equivalent to *whom a woman has borne*, in which the second member is therefore more closely connected and could not be easily separated in the accusative; in the same way *בָּעֶלֶת בָּעַל* *lord - ruled* i. e. married, *תְּבָבִיר* *idol-allied*, *קְרָאֵיהָ* *those invited by her* Prov. 9, 18; lastly, even *נָשָׂא עוֹן* *he who is of forgiven sin* i. e. whose sin is forgiven Js. 33, 24. Ps. 32, 1, *קִרְשֵׁי בְגָדִים* *those of torn clothes* (or with torn cl.) 2 Sam. 13, 31, because the participle in itself expresses the idea *he who* (is of); even in cases in which its substance, i. e. its verb, does not immediately affect that person, but belongs to the idea of the following substantive 1). — 3) Simple words of property or condition, adjectives or participles, as *גָּדֹל בָּחַ* *πολυσθενής*, *נֹרָא תְהִלָּה* *who is of awful deeds* Ex. 15, 11 *לֵבֵב רַךְ* *soft-hearted*, *טִמְא שְׂפָתַיִם* *impure of lips*, prop. who (is) of impure lips; moreover *אֲהָבָה הוֹלֵת* *lovesick*, *שׁוֹבֵי מִלְחָמָה* *averse to war* Mich. 2, 8; *שָׂרָף אֵשׁ* *fire-burned*, *חֲלָלֵי חֶרֶב* *sword - pierced*, *מְלַחְמָה עָרוּדָה* *battle - arrayed*, *יֵצְאֵי צָבָא* *service - equipped*, *יֵצְאֵי צָבָא* *going out to service* (i. e. forced to serve in war) 1 Chro. 7, 11, and many similar instances. This construction occurs before a long description Dt. 3, 5, and even before a small explanatory proposition *שִׁכְרָתָא וְלֹא מִיָּנֶן* *not - with - wine - drunken* Js. 51, 21, exactly as the Sanscrit *apā-namatta*.

1) Cf. EWALD's *Gramm. Arab.* II. p. 242 ff. and similar Sanscrit compositions.

504 3) The first member may represent the *relations* of the second to space, number, existence, nature etc. In that case, the first is therefore a word of purely ideal signification, for the most part externally weak and not independent in itself, like a particle, whereas the second is externally the firmer and more important. Under this rule are included

a) the simple and numerals from 2 to 10, שְׁנָיִם and אֶלֶף, which are properly to be considered as substantives in *stat. cs.* hence too with suffixes, as שְׁנֵינָה *we two*, שְׁנֵיהֶם *they two*, שְׁלֹשָׁהם *they three*, but then also separated and standing alone without close subordination, see farther §. 436. Among the numerals from 3 to 10 which express the feminine, חֲשֵׁשׁ and שְׁבַע are only placed in *stat. cs.* before another closely connected numeral, הַמָּשׁ only before a definite substantive Ex. 26, 3. 9, שְׁלֹשׁ also before an indefinite one Gen. 18, 6. — In the same way מִשְׁנֵה *duplum* in *stat. cs.* Dt. 15, 18, or by itself as adverb *duplo* Ex. 16, 22.

505 כֹּל prop. *totum, universitas*, is always used in *stat. cs.* only, for our *all* and *whole*, cf. farther §. 512; this word, as answering to the idea of an *adjective*, is indeed sometimes placed after also (in apposition) but, in that case, the substantive already placed before it must be repeated after it in its suffix, because כֹּל always remains a substantive, as כֹּל־יִשְׂרָאֵל *all Israel*. It is only rarely that כֹּל is used by itself for 'the perfectly indefinite *every thing*, or *all, every* Gen. 8, 21. 9, 3. 16, 12. Jer. 44, 12; then by degrees also הַכֹּל with the article for *all that, all they* Ps. 49, 18. Dan. 11, 2; cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 11. 343.

506 b) The negative אֵין §. 448, as אֵין יוֹסֵף *no Joseph*, אֵין נָתַן *ungiven*, and בְּלִי or בְּלֹתִי §. 459 which also form negations of simple adjectives, as בְּלִי מִשִּׁיָּה exactly like an Indo-Germanic *unannointed*, 2 Sam. 1, 21. The opposite of these negations is יֵשׁ §. 550.

Substantives also which are still used on other occasions in a more primitive, freer signification, may serve for such an ideal usage. Thus especially נַפֶּשׁ *soul* = internal, independent life = *self*, to express *self, ipse*, in cases in which pronouns alone would not be sufficiently clear, although it is chiefly used of animate objects only, or those that resemble them Js. 46, 2, and especially with the suffixes to express the reflexive, as נַפְשִׁי *my soul* = *I myself*, נַפְשָׁם *they themselves*; גֶּזֶם *bone* = body, is rather used for inanimate objects in the same sense, as גֶּזֶם הַשָּׁמַיִם *heaven itself* Ex.

24, 10; when followed by יהוה acc. to §. 446 it refers to what precedes, and signifies *the very same* Gen. 7, 13.

c) Moreover, all prepositions belong to the same class properly, as they express certain relations and references of the following noun quite as ideally, however various in other respects the origin of the several prepositions may be as to their roots.

Substantives also which only define the space, time, kind 507 or manner of the following action in a general way, may in the same manner be placed in *stat. cs.* before a whole proposition, as יום דבר י' on the day — God spoke i. e. on which day = *when* Ex. 6, 28. 1 Sam. 25, 15; על דבר אשר לא קדמו by reason — that they did not come to meet you = *because* Dt. 23, 5, cf. below on the relative proposition.

Still farther than all these cases, which amount essentially to subor- 508 dination, extends the mode of combination by means of *coordination*, by which two ideas, in themselves equal, are united to form a single higher one, as is very common in Sanscrit cf. §. 13. This is, however, hardly found even in an imperfect rudiment in Hebr.; yet חכמה ודעה wisdom and knowledge Js. 33, 6 belongs here, and another example 35, 2; moreover certain numerals §. 438. But not cases like נהר פרת the river Euphrates, ארץ מצרים terra Aegypti, בת ציון daughter, i. e. poetical title of honour for city, Zion, (this can only be expressed by apposition in our languages, daughter Zion, but the Heb. could say river of Euphrates) שבט המנשה the tribe Manasseh; for, in these instances, a more general term is actually described by a more particular one, although it is true on the other hand, that apposition can very well take place here, as far as the idea is concerned, and that it often does take place (e. g. הארץ Num. 34, 2. הבה Lam. 2, 12) and those shorter constructions are chiefly found in certain common expressions only.

2. *Consequences of the stat. constr.* Since the *stat. cs.* only consists in the power of the closest mutual construction, in such a manner that the first member attracts the second, accordingly,

1) no adjective nor pronoun nor other word can in- 509 trude between the defined and the defining noun; for any word thus intruding would amount to a substantive defining the *stat. constr.* and would thus confound the sense. Every apposition of the *stat. cs.* by means of an adjective or pronoun 1) §. 532 must therefore be placed at the end after the defining substantive, and where two connected substantives do not differ in gender and number, then the general sense of passage can alone show to which of them the apposition is to be referred, as בן-המלך הגדול might either be *the son of the great king*, or *the great son of the king*. The ה of motion §. 420 may however be attached to the *stat. cs.* as it does not constitute an apposition, Gen. 24, 67. Ex. 10, 19. — Only after כל §. 505 can a little word be interposed, because it begins to be treated more as a particle, 2 Sam. 1, 9. Job 27, 3. Hos. 14, 3.

- 1) If a substantive stands in apposition, the *stat. cs.* is sometimes continued 2 Kgs. 10, 6. Jdgs. 19, 22. Js. 23, 12. Gen. 14, 10; such instances are rare on the whole. Here also belongs אֶתֶּדֶר one Js. 36, 9, which generally separates itself more from the adjectives (2 Kgs. 12, 10).

510 The interposition of a preposition, however, and especially of a small one, does not hinder the *stat. cs.* very much, although it is rather the poets only who take this liberty; the following word with the preposition may describe a property of the first substantive, as נְבִיאֵי מִלְּבָבָם *prophets out of their heart* i. e. of their own discretion Ez. 13, 2. Js. 9, 2 or the preposition may only render the relation clear, as הָהָרִים בְּגִלְבֹּאֵי mountains in Gilboa 2 Sam. 1, 21 (without בְּ in prose v. 6. 1 Sam. 31, 1). Ps. 58, 5. Prov. 24, 9. Job 18, 2, especially if it belongs to the construction of a verb which has become a participle Ps. 2, 12. 84, 7. Job 24, 5. Js. 9, 1. Jdgs. 5, 10. 8, 11, and in an unusual manner Jer. 33, 22; besides these, in cases in which לְ is inserted acc. to §. 517 and the *stat. cs.* nevertheless remains before it, as מִיְּמִין לְבַיִת from the right of the house Ez. 10, 3. Jos. 8, 11; lastly, with לְ of the *infinitives* acc. to §. 544. Js. 56, 10.

511 2) The first noun cannot have the *article*, which would detain the tone and the rapid pronunciation in general (cf. §. 324 *nt.*); it can only stand with the last, but in such a way that its power is extended to the first also on account of the intimate union of both nouns. If therefore 1) both nouns are definite of themselves, the article, nevertheless, stands only with the second, as גְּדוֹלֵי הָעִיר the great men of the city; hence also with derivations from compound proper names acc. to §. 216, as בֵּית הַלֵּהֲמִי the Bethlehemite from בֵּית לֵהֶם (*). — 2) if the first is definite and the second indefinite, the latter, however, only contains the particular of the former acc. to §. 498 *ff.* and so far both belong together as to the sense, then the second receives the article, as רֶחֶל לָבֵב a coward, רֶחֶל הַלָּבֵב the coward Dt. 20, 8, שְׂדֵיף הָקָדִים an ear blasted by the east wind, שְׂדֵיף הָקָדִים the ear blasted etc. Gen. 41, 6. 23. 27; 37, 3. 23. 1). On the other hand, if they are more different, and the second indefinite word is the chief one, the article falls away entirely, as דְּבַר יוֹם the matter — of a day i. e. enough for a day Ex. 16, 4, כָּל יַד הַכֹּל the hand of all, חֶרֶב אִישׁ the sword of every man Gen. 16, 12. Jdgs. 7, 22. — 3) If the first is to be considered indefinite, but the second is definite in itself, the first may still be put indefinitely in *stat. constr.* before the article, if no ambiguity arises from it, as שְׁלַל הָעִיר spoil of the city 2 Sam. 12, 30. Gen. 16, 7, אִישׁ הָאֲדָמִי

*) In such derivations, the *plural* is denoted in the *first* noun if it is a personal one, as בְּנֵי-יְמִינִי a Benjamite, *pl.* בְּנֵי יְמִינִי 1 Sam. 22, 7, as בֶּן son is easily formed in the *pl.* Cf. בְּנֵי אִישׁ Ps. 4, 3.

a husbandman 9, 20; if, however, any ambiguity would arise from it because a thing individual and indefinite in the genus must be necessarily denoted by the first word, then the first word *cannot* be connected by the *stat. constr.* (§. 517).

- 1) If the second noun is easily placed as *object* (§. 503, 2) the article may be used with both, as לְבוּשׁ בָּדִים *indutus vestes linteas* Ez. 9, 2. 3. Jdgs. 18, 17.

A proper name or pronoun, when used as second noun, has the same influence acc. to §. 535 as nouns with the article; e. g. in בְּנִי *my son*, בֵּת מִי *whose daughter?* בֶּן-יִשָּׁי *the son of Isai*, the first noun is rendered quite as definite by the second as it is in בֶּן-הָאִישׁ *the son of the man*; but the proper name nevertheless takes the article in all cases in which it is possible, as שֵׁבֶט מְנַשֶּׁשֶׁה *the tribe Manasseh*.

§. 505 is used in such a manner with a *definite* 512 *noun sg.* which one can only conceive as singular as to sense, that it signifies *totus, whole*, as כָּל-הָעָם *the whole people*, although the article is not indispensably necessary in poetry Ez. 36, 5; if it is used with a *sg. noun* which we can conceive as plural in its kind according to the sense of the passage, then it means *omnis, all or every*, therefore with an indefinite noun generally, as כָּל-עָם *every people*, yet also before a definite noun Dt. 4, 3. 1 Sam. 2, 26 in a relative addition. Inasmuch as כָּל, however, has something definite in itself like a pronoun acc. to §. 505, a singular denoting the whole genus may be added to it without any new definition, as כָּל חַי *every living thing* Gen. 8, 21. 1, 29. 30. כָּל בָּחֹר *all the youths* 2 Sam. 6, 1.

The same rules (§. 509-511) hold if many nouns in *st.cs.* 513 follow each other. If the second substantive merely describes the property of the first noun or is in any other way closely dependent on it, the third noun refers to both the preceding ones equally, as הָרֵי מְרוֹם יִשְׂרָאֵל *the mountains of the height of Israel* i. e. the high mountains etc. Ez. 34, 14. Dt. 31; 16. זְמֵרֹת יִשְׂרָאֵל *suavis carminum* i. e. *suavis poeta Israelis* 2 Sam. 23, 1; but as *two merely descriptive* substantives cannot be thus placed after the *stat. cs.* on account of the obscurity, the *stat. cs.* is either repeated as in Dt. 9, 9, or the third noun is separated by a preposition acc. to §. 517. — That connexion of three substantives answers to the connexion of two substantives which belong intimately together as to their idea, with the pronoun suffix as third noun, as הִל קִדְשִׁי *the hill of my holiness* i. e. my holy hill; כִּלְי מִלְחָמָהוּ *his weapons of war* Dt. 1, 41,

his right hand (יְמִינָהּ prop. *the right* as a substantive); the poets may, however, attach the suffix to the first substantive, to which it belongs as to the idea, and then subordinate the second freely, as מְחַסֵּי עֹז *my refuge in strength* i. e. my strong refuge, שָׁאֵר שְׂאֵרִי *my causeless foes* Ps. 71, 7. Hab. 3, 8. Ez. 16, 27. 2 Sam. 22, 33; in prose, the *stat. cs.* is rather repeated in this case Gen. 37, 23, except with little words, Lev. 6, 3.

- 514 There are a few cases only in which the first member, in the *stat. cs.* receives the article, contrary to §. 511: 1) on account of the loose construction, according to which the first member more easily separates itself acc. to §. 498 ff. therefore when the second substantive only describes the property or substance of the first, as הַמִּזְבֵּחַ הַזֶּהָבִי *the brazen altar* 2 Kgs. 16, 14. 1 Sam. 2, 13, הַחֹתֶם הַטֵּהָבִי *the coat of fine linen*, in which the article has also not been attached to the second, in itself, indefinite word, Ex. 28, 39; or when a mere participle or adjective is described, as Jdgs. 8, 11 where a preposition is interposed at the same time §. 510, the active participle especially may receive the article with some force before the suffix, as the suffix might also be the accusative, as הַפֹּדֶה *who redeemed thee* Dt. 13, 6. 11. 8, 14-16. 2 Sam. 1, 24. Job 40, 19. Js. 9, 12. Ps. 103, 4. Also before the *stat. cs.* with the הַ of motion Gen. 24, 67. Cf. *Gram. Arab.* 11. p. 25 f. 157. — 2) Rarely without this before the suffix as a lighter word Mich. 2, 12. Lev. 27, 23. Jos. 7, 21. 8, 33. — 3) It is new before two substantives which are always united to form a proper name 2 Sam. 24, 5. Besides these, sometimes in the more negligent language of the later period, most easily when a somewhat stronger relatively demonstrative power may exist in the article Jdgs. 16, 14. 1 Kgs. 14, 24. 2 Kgs. 23, 17. Jer. 32, 12; 25, 26. 38, 6, and besides this where a third substantive is rather the beginning of a new sequence Jos. 3, 11.

- 515 If the first member, however, which should stand in *stat. cs.* detaches itself more by the assumption of the article, it then returns sometimes even to the *stat. abs.* again, as הַבֶּקֶר הַחֹתֶם *the brazen ox*, כּוֹס הַיַּיִן הַחֵמָה *the cup of the wine of wrath*, הָעָם הָאֵלֶּם *the people of Ai* 2 Kgs. 16, 17. Jer. 25, 15. Jos. 8, 10 f. Ez. 45, 16. 2 Chro. 15, 8. This is most easy when the first member would be in itself also distinct as to the usage of the language, as הָאָרוֹן הַבְּרִית *the ark of the covenant* Jos. 3, 14, although the first word which is placed by itself, is more accurately repeated in *stat. cs.* as הַנָּהָר הַזֶּה *the river Euphrates* Dt. 11, 24; Ex. 38, 21.

It may be seen from §. 498 to what extent the same freer subordination of the second member is permitted with indefinite substantives also, as יַיִן הַרְעֵלָה *wine of staggering* Ps. 60, 5, אֵילִים צֹמֵר *rams of wool* = *woolly* 2 Kgs. 3, 4; מַיִם לַחַץ *water of affliction*, metaphorically = which does not profit, Js. 30, 20. cf. also מַעֲשֵׂה מַקְשָׁה 3, 24.

The article is originally used with the second word acc. 516 to §. 511 with the numerals mentioned in §. 504, as שְׁלֹשֶׁת הַקְּטָצִים *the three arrows*, and remains with the second word even when the numeral is placed before it without being in *stat. cs.* Jos. 15, 14. Nevertheless, the numeral placed by itself without *stat. cs.* may also freely subordinate the following substantive without any further definition whether it be definite according to the sense of the whole or not, because every number is *definite in itself* like a proper name, as Gen. 21, 28-30. 2 Sam. 15, 16. 20, 3; compare a similar instance with כל §. 512. The numeral, when placed after, is without the article 1 Kgs. 7, 44; אֶחָד *one* is also sometimes placed after without the article in the same manner, as being definite of itself Gen. 42, 19. Num. 28, 4. 1 Sam. 13, 17 f. Jer. 24, 2. — The numeral placed without a substantive, may receive the article when repeated in apposition of an adjective or pronoun, as הַשְּׁשִׁי הַנּוֹתָרִים *the remaining six* Ex. 28, 10. Dt. 19, 9; on the contrary Gen. 9, 19. 1 Sam. 17, 14 cf. v. 13. — In the compound numerals 11-19 §. 438, the article is either attached to the second member, as הָעֶשְׂרִים הַשָּׁנִי *the twelve* Jos. 4, 4, or to the first at once 1 Chro. 27, 15. — Concerning other peculiarities of the numerals, see §. 488 ff.

3) The noun which follows the *stat. cs.*, the defining 517 noun, almost always expresses the idea of our *genitive*; but where a substantive is placed alone, without a preceding noun, or where the preceding noun either is not or may not be connected in the *stat. cs.* then the language must necessarily have recourse to a *preposition* to express the idea of our genitive; it must use the *mediate* instead of the *immediate* construction; and לְ, which is generally the preposition of the dative (§. 520) is usually found thus employed, as the genitive generally expresses *appertaining to*, possession ¹⁾. Thus 1) if the first noun is altogether wanting, as in an inscription: לְדָוִד *Davidis* (carmen); or where *son*, *day* are omitted: אֲמֹנָן בֶּן־אֲחִינוֹם *Annon the son of Achinoam* 2Sam. 3, 2. 3. 5. Dt. 1, 3; or if a genitive is to be placed *first* for the sake of the emphasis Jer. 22, 4. — 2) If the second in itself definite noun must be separated acc. to §. 511, 3 from the first in order to leave the first indefinite: בֶּן לְיִשָּׁי *a son of Isai* (יִשָּׁי would necessarily be *the son of I.*) 1Sam. 16, 18. Gen. 41, 12. מֶלֶךְ שָׂר צָבָא לְשָׁאוּל *a captain of Sauls host* 2Sam. 2, 8; מִקְדָּם לְדָוִד *a psalm of David*; *I have come first of the house* רָאשִׁי לְבֵית 2Sam. 19, 21, where the noun belongs rather to the verb. — 3) if a word is interposed or the sentence is interrupted, as especially happens after statements of time, as בְּשָׁנָה שְׁתַּיִם לַמָּלָךְ

in the year two of the king Hag. 1, 1. Gen. 7, 11. — Sometimes, too, if the first two of three nouns belong more closely together acc. to §. 513, although the separation does not always take place here, and is only preserved on account of its facilitating the construction, as דְּבַר הַיָּמִים לְמַלְכֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל *the daily events (Chronicle) of the kings of Israel*, 1 Kgs. 15, 23. Gen. 41, 43. Jdgs. 3, 28. Ruth 2, 3. 4, 3. — Lastly, it is also possible if the *article*, either for emphasis sake or because the narrator had not the following complement already in his mind, is used with the first word contrary to §. 511, as אֲנָהּ הַשָּׂרִים לְשֹׁלֹמֹה *these are the princes of Solomon* 1 Kgs. 4, 2. Gen. 29, 9. 40, 5, cf. v. 1; the *stat. cs.* might be often used here also without the article, and this more prolix mode of expression is especially peculiar to the later prose. — The noun with לְ can also be attached by means of the relative אֲשֶׁר *which* to the word which is completed by this absolute genitive, as לוֹ בְּרֶכֶת הַמִּשְׁכָּה אֲשֶׁר לוֹ *his chariot of the second rank* Gen. 41, 43, which construction is especially suited for small additions, as with the personal pronoun ²). This אֲשֶׁר cannot, of course, be used where the genitive is placed first, or when the sentence is interrupted.

- 1) Or, with a different notion, with לְ of the *part*, or *descent* §. 519; also with other prepositions which may be more appropriate, cf. Ewald's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 91-95.
- 2) There thus arises an incipient attempt to form the possessive pronoun, which is otherwise altogether wanting in Hebr., as אֲשֶׁר לִי *mine* 1 Kgs. 1, 33. cf. v. 38.

518 All the *prepositions* (with the exception of בְּ cf. §. 455) have originally a *local* signification, which is, however, transferred to a *intellectual* signification, or entirely lost in it, in the greater part of them. They represent the general relations of space, time, means, and effect, *by themselves*; they are, however, more frequent and in part more intellectual in proportion to the want of proper cases, and to the inadequacy of the external power of the *stat. cs.* and accusative for many instances. On account of the total want of all composition, the prepositions are also always only loosely placed with the verb.

Moreover, the great moveability and boldness of the Hebr. language is shown also in the use of the prepositions as also an uncommon brevity of expression. This is especially shown in the fact, that the prepositions of motion are brought together with verbs with which the idea of motion is by that means only associated (the so called *constructio praegnans*), as הָרַד, פָּחַד *to tremble, to fear* with לְקִרְאָה *before* some one, With אֶל *towards* some one (throwing one-

self down); הָלַל לְאָרֶץ *to defile to the earth* (casting it down); הֶחָרִישׁ *to be silent* with מִן *from* some one (turning oneself away); אֶל *to* some one (turning toward him to listen to him in silence); שָׁמָּה *to hear, answer* any one with מִן *out of* suffering, with הָ *leading* him *into* happiness, Ps. 22, 22. 118, 5.

The not infrequent fluctuation of the construction between a preposition and an accusative, depends on a fluctuation and uncertainty of the verbal idea itself, according as a verb of absolute signification goes over into an immediately active signification, or the reverse. The latter is often the case with a new, figurative signification, as נָשָׂא *raising* and *taking away* sin = *to forgive* with לְ of the person, *the sinner*, then also with הָ of the offence, although fluctuatingly Gen. 50, 17.

A. Simple prepositions. 1. There is only one preposi- 519
tion for the idea of motion *from* and *out of* a thing, מִן, in which these two ideas are not strictly separated; hence where it is important to signify the local distinction minutely, combinations with other prepositions must be used §. 528. According to its original local signification, מִן is especially used with the ideas, *to snatch away, to help, rescue, avenge* from some one; *to conceal, keep, fear, take care, have abhorrence, warn, abstain* ¹⁾ from some one, in which the idea of removing to a distance is always discoverable; moreover, in many single constructions, as בּוֹשׁ מִן *to be ashamed away from* some one, so as to leave him from shame at him; רָשַׁע מִצִּדִּיק *to sin from God*, deserting him Ps. 18, 22. The following are a few frequent applications: a) A nominal idea is represented together with another as removing itself from, *avoiding, disappearing*, as *their houses are well*, מִפֶּחַד *away from fear* i. e. safe from fear Job 21, 9, Js. 23, 1. 22, 3. *he has rejected thee* מִמֶּלֶךְ *from king* i. e. that thou be no longer king 1 Sam. 15, 23; *the eyes were weak* מִרְאוֹת *far from seeing*, so that he did not see Gen. 27, 1; thus מִן is also a term of comparison between higher and lower degrees, by denoting that the first thing is removed from, is higher than the second with respect to a third thing ²⁾; and this expression for our *comparative with than* is equally appropriate and possible with all nominal forms, and also with a preceding verb denoting the *quality*, as טוֹבָה חֲכָמָה מִדָּהָרָוּן *good is wisdom away from gold*, leaving gold behind it, therefore *better than gold*; אֲנִי חֲזָק מִמְּדִי *they are stronger than I*, קָצָוּ מִסָּפֵר *they are greater than counting*, than that they might be counted Ps. 40, 6, רַב מִדִּהְיוֹת *more than that be* = *too much* Ex. 9, 28. — b) מִן expresses the *separation of a part*; when it is placed before a substantive which is the object, it expresses, of itself alone, an indefinite part of the whole, as קַח מִזִּקְנֵי הָעָם *take of the elders of the people*

(hence especially with the verbs of *giving*, *taking*, and those corresponding to these, of *teaching*, *relating*), also before *the subject*, as יֵצְאוּ בֵּן הָעָם *there went out of the people* (some, an indefinite number) Ex. 16, 27, but very seldom where *one* indefinite thing is meant Ex. 6, 25. According to this common use of בֵּן of the part, it is often combined, in the signification of *any*, with the similar word אֶחָד *one* ³⁾, as יֵצְאוּ אֶחָד מֵאַחֶיךָ *any one of thy brothers* Dt. 15, 7. — The Hebrews often say *from the side*, *from the right*, *the left*, where we, according a different view of the relation, say *at the side*, *to the right*. Hence בֵּן expresses the farther side generally, and is used in many combinations which become adverbs, as מִמְּקָדָם *eastwards*, מֵעַל *above*, מִתַּחַת *below*, מִרְחֵק *from afar*, also construed with a verb of motion, *far away*, *μᾶλιστα*, מִכָּכָבִיב *κύκλωθεν*, *round about*, *on all sides*, — 2) Transferred to *time*, as מִנְעֻרִי *from my youth on*; if the action of the period of time follows, then it expresses (somewhat different from אַחֶר §. 525) the action beginning *immediately at the close of the period*, as מִיָּמֵינוּ *from two days on*, immediately after two days Hos. 6, 2. — Transferred to an action which proceeds from a thing as its immediate cause, as *they could not drink the water מִמְּרָה from bitterness, or on account of bitterness*.

- 1) In Jer. 2, 25 an adjective also follows, בְּיָהָרָה *that it be not bare*; hence בֵּן may, by itself alone, signify *that not* (retiring that something may not happen), once construed poetically as a conjunction with the imperfect Dt. 33, 11.
- 2) Hence the ablative is used with the comparative in Sanscrit and Latin; the Hebrews use the ablative merely without a definite form for the comparative, as the Sanscrit also can.
- 3) Concerning such combinations of particles in which the stronger word is placed first cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 201 nt.

520 2. For the idea of motion to a thing are used 1) אֶל *to*, *ad*, πρὸς ¹⁾; also *towards*, *at*, but not so strictly as בָּ §. 521 (as אֶל-הַשָּׁמַיִם *in heaven* 1 Kgs. 8, 30, אֶל-הַשֻּׁלְחָן *at the table* 13, 20), יָתַן אֶל *to place in*, but not so strictly; in an intellectual sense *according to the rule*, *resemblance* (secundum, ad) as אֶל-פִּי *according to the mouth*, *command*; with words of inclination, to denote the object to which they incline, as אֶל בְּקָה *to weep over some one* 2 Sam. 1, 24; with the words of *speaking*, it may denote the person to which one speaks (but צִוָּה אֶל *to command to some one* i. e. to give order to him) and the person or thing to which the words spoken refer, Gen. 20, 2.

- 1) It is related to وَلِي *accessit*.

2) הָ, shortened from this אֶל and used in the same significations, is much more frequently used, however, and in many other applications: 1) from the original local signification is a) the idea of motion, of passage into a place, transferred to the transition into a condition; hence הָ is used with

the verbs of *changing*, of *making into* something; of *making in thought* = of *esteeming as* something; with הָיָה when it signifies *to become*, as הָיָה לְאֲנָשִׁים *become men*, and in similar constructions, as יָצָא לְחֶפְשִׁי *he goes out free*, becoming free, Ex. 21, 2; also without such a verb, לְ signifies *for, as*, Gen. 9, 5. — *b*) *in reference to*, as הָיָה לְעֹשֶׁר *as to wealth*; לְשָׂרִים *with regard to the princes* Js. 32, 1; hence לְ also denotes the object to which the intention of the action passes over, as הִתְחַנֵּן לוֹ *he prayed for him*. — *c*) לְ also expresses *possession*, and is thus the sign for our *dative* ¹⁾, as נָתַן לוֹ *he gave him*; there was *nothing* לְרֵשׁ *to the poor, he had nothing* (which verb the Hebrews have not got in our sense). It is also used, as denoting the *dative*, with passive verbs to express the action being referred to the agent, as *death is chosen* לְכָל *by all* Jer. 8, 3. — It is used with indefinite plurals to denote the single parts of which they consist, as לְמֵאוֹת *by hundreds*, לְבֹקְרִים *every morning* Job 7, 18. — 2) Used of time, *towards*, as לְרֵיבָה *towards evening* (the wind of the day ¹⁾) Gen. 3, 8; or referring to a future time, as לְמָחָר *to-morrow* Ex. 8, 19. Gen. 7, 4; in the same way, *and the gate was* לְסָגֹר *about shutting* i. e. was about to be shut Jos. 2, 5. cf. Gen. 15, 12. 1 Sam. 4, 19. — 3) It is used of the external cause or of the action in reference to which and immediately after which any thing happened, as *they fled* לְקוֹלָם *at or on account of their voice* Num. 16, 34. Gen. 4, 23. Ex. 12, 42. — Concerning the infinitive with לְ see §. 544.

- 1) Hence it is used in certain cases for the genitive acc. to §. 517, to which also belongs the case when the whole is again connected, after a long digression, by לְכָל *of all* Gen. 9, 10. 23, 10. Ex. 14, 28. Lev. 11, 42. It is very seldom used for the accusative *when the object is placed before* (therefore where the mediate construction rather takes place in the same way) Js. 11, 9. 1 Sam. 22, 7 and in later writers for אַתָּה after the Aramaic dialect §. 518. Jer. 40, 2. 1 Chr. 16, 37. Ps. 69, 6. As the nominat. Ps. 89, 19.

3) לְ properly *progress, continuation, usque*, as a preposition expresses *a*) continuation of the action, with the infinitive, *while* Jdgs. 3, 26 *b*) progressive motion either until a certain, or the highest, point is attained, which is conceived as being at the same time reached and touched, as *from the foot* לְרֹאשׁ *to the head*, the latter being included; *there did not die* לְאֶחָד *even to one, even one*, Ex. 9, 7 cf. v. 6. 14, 28; *to return altogether to Jahve*; or merely with the accessory idea of duration, as הִשְׁמָעֵנִי לְ *to listen continually* i. e. attentively Num. 23, 18. Thus it is always somewhat different from אֵל and לְ.

3. ׀ *in* is of a very extensive use: 1) from the primary ⁵²¹ local signification are derived the following applications: *a*)

none remained בָּהֶם in iis, among them; he slew בְּפִלְשְׁתִּים *among the Philistines*, in their compass, an indefinite number 2 Sam 23, 10; in the same way בָּ to *bear a burden*, the preposition denotes *to partake of* it, Neh. 4, 11. Job 7, 13. b) *they came בְּשֵׁבַע in seventy souls*, consisting of 70 persons Dt. 10, 22. 28, 62; hence ב is used when a whole is briefly comprised as to its contents, as בְּעוֹף וּבְבְהֵמָה *in, of fowls. beasts etc.* Gen. 7, 21. 9. 2. 10. 15. 10, 5. 20. 31, 32. 23, 18. Moreover, ב is used to state the substance, nature of which a thing *consists*, first in constructions like *I appeared בְּאֵל שַׁדַּי as Almighty God* (consisting of that name) Ex. 6, 3; then also to subordinate the property, the predicate, in which any thing consists, but this use is very rare and confined to poetry, as הוּא בְּאֵהָרָה *he (God), is one* Job 23, 13. Ps. 68, 5; but בְּרַעַת Ex. 32, 22 is *in wickedness*. c) The verbs of motion can also be construed with ב if the thing moves *into the place* and remains there, as נָתַן בְּיָדָהּ *to give into the hand*; he sends enemies בָּם *into them*, into the midst of them; in this respect ב differs from the prepositions in §. 520. Hence too בָּ עָצַר *to hold in, constrain, rule*, as מָשַׁל and רָדָה *to rule*, when construed with ב, express the power which presses into any one, which he experiences; בָּ נָשַׁב *to press into any one, to force him*. Therefore ב is also very often used in a hostile sense, as the Latin *in* with an accusative, to express the enmity directed against the inward parts, as with בָּלָהָם רִיב *to contest against*, דָּבַר *to speak against* Num. 21, 5. 7, בָּלַל *to curse against*, צָחַק *to mock*, הָתַל *to be angry*, קָנָא *to be envious*. — 2) The local signification may be merely so extended that ב denotes the *immediate neighbourhood*, the most intimate connexion and as it were entrance of one thing into another (the German *an*), as שָׁנָה בְּשָׁנָה *year by year*, עֵין בְּעֵין *eye to eye*; בָּ נָשַׁב *to approach to* some one, striking against him Am. 9, 13. Js. 65, 5; in the same way בָּ קָרָא *to call on*. Hence the verbs of *hanging, attaching, adhering*, are used with ב, as בָּבֶק *inhaerere*, אָחַז, הִתְחַזֵּק *to seize, take hold of*; and many kinds of verbs of more intellectual ideas: a) those of *trusting, believing*, which is also an adherence to some one, and those of the contrary, אָחַז *to sin*, שָׁשַׁב, בָּזַל, בָּרַד, בָּרַח, *to be unfaithful*, בָּהַשׁ *to deny*; the former are followed by those of asking also, שָׁאַל, דָּרַשׁ, when they signify *to seek an oracle of the Deity*. β) Those of *delight* with which we cleave to an object: רָצָה, בָּהָר; also those of the opposite signification בָּזַז, בָּזַל *to despise*; then שָׂמַח *to rejoice*, נָצַח *to exult in* or over any thing, קִיט *to have disgust at* any thing. γ) Those of *seeing* which lingers over an object, cleaves to it with joy, astonishment, pity,

Gen. 21, 16. Job 3, 9; in the same way שָׁמַע בְּקוֹל to *hearken to the voice* and obey it. δ) Moreover, ב denotes the object *in* or *on* which the thought or discourse lingers (*concerning* which it is, as we would say), as שִׁיתָ to *meditate on* some one, הִגִּיד, הִזְכִּיר, to *testify of* some one (either *for* or *against*, as the context will determine). — 3) Every accessory matter which accompanies the action, and every instrument, may be annexed by ב, so that it answers to our *with*, *by*, inasmuch as the matter meant is not an independent one, but merely accompanies the action and is subservient to it, as to act בְּכֹחַ *with strength*, to slay בְּחֶרֶב *with the sword*; this construction can only be transferred to persons, if the person is used as means or instrument, as עָבַד ב to *perform labour by, through* some one i. e. to use him for labour, to compel him Ex. 1, 14, נָשָׂה ב or הִשָּׂה to *take interest through* some one i. e. to have lent him money Dt. 25, 2. Neh. 5, 11. Hence arise two very common constructions: a) to buy *with money*, מִכַּר בְּכֶסֶף = *for money*, hence ב is used generally to state the thing *for which* any thing is exchanged or bought; then in a more general sense *for*, *propter*, *on account of* Gen. 18, 28. b) To swear בְּשֵׁם *with or through God, the king* etc. i. e. so as to make God a witness and judge, a mediator, where we say *to swear by God*, according to a different application, — ב is used *of time* precisely as our *in* ¹⁾.

- 1) In most instances, this ב corresponds exactly to the *locative* case in Sanscrit.

בֵּין *between* (which is connected etymologically with ב, as *in* with 522 *inter*) can only be used with the *plural*, *dual*, or with *two substantives*; in the last case, it is most simply repeated, as בֵּין טוֹב וּבֵין רָע *between good and between evil* Lev. 27, 12; nevertheless, the second בֵּין can also be left out, especially in short sentences, and the following noun be construed with ל ¹⁾ which briefly denotes the direction, as בֵּין הָאֵלֶם וּלְמִזְבֵּחַ *between the porch and the altar* Joel 2, 17, then without ו, as בֵּין מַיִם לְמַיִם *between water and water* Gen. 1, 6 (in the later period, this use is confused, בֵּין-לְבֵין Js. 59, 1). According to its first signification, בֵּין is frequently used with the verbs of *deciding*, *separating*, *judging*, *testifying*, *estimating*, *discerning* between two opposed things or persons.

- 1) Properly *between* from — *to* —, both limits of the interval being given. Cf. بَيْنَ - الِی EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 79.

בְּ (אֶת-) ¹⁾ *with* and, with a trifling difference, אֵת (אֶת-), 523 expresses a more independent association and accompanying, in which respect it differs from ב §. 521, 3; when used of place, it signifies *close by* Gen. 25, 11; *with* is also =

like, as (it is even used for the connexion of two adjectives 1 Sam. 17, 42), hence *לְהִשָּׁב גֵּן* *to be considered equal* to Ps. 88, 5. To say a thing is *with me* may mean in my possession, or in my soul, my thought and intention Job 15, 9. 9, 35. Dt. 8, 5. These prepositions are especially used in actions against and with another, as *with to contend, to be angry, to do good or evil with* any one.

- 1) Instead of *לְעִמִּי* *with me* we very often find *עִמִּי*, in which the *י* of a more largely developed root of the same primitive word has, as it seems, established itself before the weaker suffix. For the signification *to stand for* *עִמִּי* comes from that of *to be collected in itself, to be firm*. — *אֵת* (from *ent*, cf. LUDOLFI Lex. Aeth. p. 363) is properly *at*, but in Hebr. it is not very different from *לְ*.

524 The prepositions which express more definite local relations are: 1) *עַל* *upon, over*, of a very frequent and wide use, also used of any thing that is high, prominent beside any thing low, flat, as *עַל הַיָּם* *at the sea, at the fountain, at the river* etc. because the banks are higher than the water; with verbs of motion *up to* a thing, as *to hang* *עַל עֵץ* *upon a tree* Gen. 40, 19; *to go up* *עַל בֵּיתוֹ* *up to his house* (inasmuch as the house stands higher than the ground). These are particular applications: *עַל* is used *α)* of the material *upon* which we write, as *עַל כָּתֵב* *to write upon a leaf*; *β)* of the body or member *upon* which, on whose surface a garment, or any kind of covering or ornament, lies, as *הַשְּׂמֹנֶה אֲשֶׁר עָלָיו* *the garment which is upon him*, which covers him 1 Kgs. 11, 30. Gen. 24, 47; hence the verbs of *covering, protecting*, are construed with *עַל*, and in the same way *עַל נִלְחָם* *to contend for* some one, *to protect* him; it is used in an intellectual sense of the *protecting, favouring* love and inclination with which one embraces any one, 2 Sam. 14, 1, hence with *הִסָּבֵל* and *הִנִּיל* *to spare*. *γ)* It is used of the person *upon whom* a heavy, or oppressive, dangerous matter rests, so that *עַל* expresses the so called *dativ. incommodi* in various ways, as *לְבִמְשָׁא הָרִיתָ עָלַי* *thou wast a burden to (upon) me* 2 Sam. 15, 33, *רַע עָלַי* *it is evil upon me* i. e. displeases me; also as one of the two members of the proposition: *לָהּתָּ עָלַי* *it is incumbent upon me to give* 2 Sam. 18, 11; hence it is used with many verbs which have the idea of *hostility, sudden overpowering, burdening*, as *עָלָא* *to come upon* any one, *to attack*, *עָלָף* *to be angry at* any one; moreover, in the common phrases, *my heart rages over me* i. e. overpowering me, so that I am subdued Ps. 42, 5. 6; but also *עָלַי שָׂפָר* *it pleases me very much, captivat-*

ing me Ps. 16, 6, cf. 1 Sam. 25, 36. δ) In the enumeration of cognate things, *over* is a stronger expression for *together*, as עַל בְּנֵי הָאִם *the mother together with the children* Gen. 32, 12. Ex. 12, 9 (*insuper*), hence too עַל is found in constructions like, *this happens* עַל דַּעְתְּךָ *over thy knowledge* i. e. notwithstanding thy knowledge is, *although thou knowest* Job. 10, 6. 7. 16, 17. — It is used intellectually of the object *of*, on which we speak or hear; and of the remoter, mediate cause, like our *on account of*. — עַל therefore is properly different from אֵל , and there is almost always a distinction in their use in the earlier writings; in the later period, however, they are confounded with each other on account of the similarity of their sound, and אֵל becomes rarer, so that עַל is used for *to, toward* generally 1 Kgs. 17, 21.

תַּחַת *under*; תַּחַת יָד *under the hand*, in the power of; *I, under me* Hab. 3, 16 may mean, *I in the lower members of my body, knees, or I on the place beneath me, where I stand* Ex. 16, 19. For it properly means *depression, sinking* (related to נָחַת), hence *ground, what is beneath*; and figuratively *instead of (loco)*.

2) אַחֲרַי *behind, after* used of place and time (§. 518), often used 525 with the verbs of *persecuting, seeking* after any one; לְהִלֵּךְ אַחֲרַי *to go behind any one, for to follow*, for which idea there is no single verb extant in prose.

In the contrary signification, נֹכַח (properly *to be prominent, distinct*) *plain before, before the eyes*; לְנֹכַח *straight before, like our for, in defence of*, Gen. 25, 21; נֹכַח *opposite*, and most frequently לְפָנַי *prop. towards the face of, turned toward the face and lying before, hence before*, also used in a temporal sense, and as adverb in that sense returning to the *stat. abs.* לְפָנַי *before*; עַל פָּנָיו *upon the face of* is *just before*; מִלְּפָנָיו *back from before, on account of* with a hostile cause.

3) בְּעֵד (related as to root with בָּגַד *to cover*) is divided 526 into two significations: 1) *about*, although not so strictly as סָבִיב *round about*, corresponding in many of its uses to the Greek περί, ἀμφί , Ps. 139, 11. Joel 2, 8. Am. 9, 10; thus with the verbs of surrounding, including, covering *about* a thing Job 1, 10. 9, 7; *about* is also used figuratively for *for* (cf. Ps. 4, 3) to protect and defend, whence to *pray, ask, to forgive sins for* some one Gen. 20, 7. Js. 8, 19, or *to be for* = *to be serviceable for*, he used for anything 32, 14; — and 2) *covered by a thing* i. e. *behind* it Job 22, 12. 25, 20. 21. Jdgs. 5, 28; and in this respect differing from אַחֲרַי §. 525 which only expresses a wide distance.

אֵצֶל *beside, by*. — עֵבֶר *that side of, beyond*. — לְקִרְאָת §. 82 *against, prop. in occursum* is a compounded prep. as are some others.

527 כִּי as, like §. 455, somewhat different from the other prepositions, and sometimes loosely prefixed to a word rather as a conjunction. The comparison is sometimes not entirely completed, when the signification of the chief word of itself gives the general sense, as *give us a king like all nations* i. e. as all nations have such a one 1 Sam. 8, 5; *thou destroyest the wicked like the day of Midian* i. e. as on the day of Midian Js. 9, 3. כִּי may be thus prefixed even to the object or subject at once (cf. כִּי §. 519), as *oh had I כִּי כְּכִיָּהּ like the months of the former time* i. e. months like those, כִּי אֵין כְּיָהּ there is not — as Jahve any one; *to be as* often expresses our *to appear*, for which the language has likewise no verb. It is also poetically construed with the verbs of resembling, Job 30, 19. — When transferred to estimates of number and degree, with substantives, it means *about*, as כִּי שְׁנַיִם about two thousand; in the same way כִּי יוֹם כְּדֶרֶךְ like a day's journey, about a day's jour. Num. 11, 32. כִּי הַיּוֹם about the heat of the day, noon, Gen. 18, 1; on the other hand, when before an event, therefore before the infinit., it expresses the coincidence of two events, as כִּי בִּדְבָרָהּ as her speaking, as she spoke; כִּי בִּדְבָרָהּ in her speaking is rather *while she spoke*:

B. The very frequent composition of prepositions has three different causes and kinds:

1. A preposition of motion is put before another not signifying motion; namely,

528 1) מִן, by way of denoting from what part or side of a thing the motion proceeds; in which use the language shows a great precision of thought. Thus a) מִן מִבֵּין from between, as מִן מִבֵּין עֲנָאִים from between the branches Ps. 104, 12. — b) מִן מֵאֵת from with, the second preposition retaining the signification ascribed to it §. 523; as *Moses went מִן מֵאֵת פַּרְעֹה from with Pharaoh* i. e. from Pharaoh with whom he then was. Because *with me* is equivalent to *in my power*, מִן is used of a thing which is removed from, or derived from the possession or power of any one, with the verbs of *buying*, *taking* from the possessor Gen. 17, 27. 23, 20; with those of *begging*, *asking* from one who possesses or knows the thing 1 Sam. 1, 17; הִן מֵאֵת פַּרְעֹה a law from Pharaoh who has authority over it Gen. 47, 22; especially where God is spoken of who possesses every thing, as *this happened מִן יְהוָה from Jahve*, in whose power it was Ps. 118, 25. — c) מִן מֵעַל from upon, as *he destroyed them מִן מֵעַל הָאָרֶץ from upon the earth*, so that they should no longer dwell upon it. The manifold significations of מֵעַל §. 524 return here also again: a) *to seek* מֵעַל

הַסֵּפֶר *from upon the leaf*, from the leaf upon which it is written Js. 34, 16. β) of the removal of the garment or covering or ornament which is upon the body or member Gen. 41, 42. γ) *all who stood by (over) him* **עָלָיו** *went from him* (who was sitting) Jdgs. 3, 19. δ) of the removal of an oppressive object, as **לִּי מֵעָלַי** *depart from me* (thou who art burdensome upon me), Ex. 10, 28. ϵ) of the removal of longing and love to any one Hos. 9, 1. Js. 7, 17. — d) **מִתַּחַת** *from under*, as *I lead you from under the burdens under which you now are* Ex. 6, 6; **זָנָה מִתַּחַת אֱלֹהִים** *to go a whoring away from God* (deserting God) *under whom* one is, to whom Israel is subject as a wife Hos. 4, 12¹); also where **תַּחַת** is used of the place below Ex. 10, 23. — e) **מֵאַחֵר** *from behind*, *from after*; used figuratively of the cessation of obedience Num. 14, 43. — f) **מִלְפָּנָי** *from before*, as **לְפָנַי** appears to be a simple preposition as to sense; **מֵאַחַד** *from beside*. — The combination of prepositions to express a single idea §. 530, is of a perfectly different kind.

1) Cf. **مَعَ** used of the relation of the married wife in the Koran, Sur. 66, 10.

2) **אֶל** *to* is placed before the same prepositions which do not denote motion, by way of expressing the idea of *motion to the particular part or side*. This composition, however, is much rarer, because the idea of motion *to* the thing may easily follow from the verb of motion itself and from the context: **אֶל** is never found before **עַל** which is very frequently used with verbs of motion; but sometimes **אֶל-אַחֵר** *to behind* 2 Kgs. 9, 18. 19. Zach. 6, 6; oftener **אֶל-תַּחַת** *to below, beneath* with our accusative Jer. 38, 11, because **תַּחַת** is seldom subordinated to a verb of motion; moreover, **אֶל-בֵּין** *to between* Ez. 31, 10. **אֶל-נֹכַח** and **אֶל-מִוָּל** *opposite*, **אֶל-עֵבֶר** *to beyond*; in the same way **אֶל-מִחוּץ** *to without of* (§. 530) Lev. 4, 12. In our languages, the simple prepositions are used with the accusative in which the motion is already contained; but as the Hebrews have no such cases, they are obliged to prefix the prepositions of motion. — In the same way **עַד לִבְרָחָק** *until before*, and **עַד לְבִרְחָק** *to a great distance* (**לְבִרְחָק** as adverb §. 519) 2 Sam. 7, 19. In later writers especially we find an extended accumulation of prepositions and adverbs: **עַד לְמֵאד** *to very much* 2 Chro. 16, 14; **עַד אֶל** *even to* 2 Kgs. 9, 20.

2. A word which the language conceives more independent, and which it, therefore, uses more by itself, not as preposition but as adverb, must be mediately joined to the following noun i. e. by means of **ל** acc. to §. 517; thus **לְכָרִיב** *round about the object*; the compositions **לְמִבְּרִית** *within*, **לְמִחוּץ** *to the north of*, **לְמִיְמִין** *to the right of* the object,

which words, compounded with *בְּ* acc. to §. 519, may however also be used in *stat. const.*, as the use of the word by itself, as adverb, is only commencing here, and *ל* is sometimes wanting (2 Kgs. 23, 13 compared with 1 Sam. 23, 19). The same construction is also (although not *quite* constantly) found in some prepositions which are compounded in the same way: *בְּעֵל* in the signification *suprà*, *over* (not immediately *upon*, but, at a certain distance, *above*) *בְּעֵל* *above*, *לְ* *בְּתַתָּה* *beneath*, *בְּבֶעַר* *from behind* — (and for that reason *בְּבֶעַר* for *בְּעֵר*), *לְ* *בְּנֶגֶד* *opposite to*, *לְ* *בְּעֵבֶר* *beyond*. In the laxer popular idiom and in the later period, long prepositions may be also used by themselves and the following substantive be construed with *לְ*, as *לְ* *בְּתַתָּה* *under* Cant. 2, 6. cf. without *לְ* 8, 3.

- 531 3. *אֵל* or *לְ* placed thus before other prepositions in such a manner as to have an adverbial sense: 1) *אֵל* in *אֶל-מִצְּרַיִם* *even from the thorns* Job 5, 5, *אֵל* expressing the progress, the intension (cf. *עַד* *even* in 1 Sam. 2, 5). 2) *לְ* is placed before *בְּ*, when an enumeration *mounts up* to its highest degree, to denote the point from which it sets out, so that *לְבָרֵךְ* corresponds to the Latin *inde a*; this is most frequent with two correlative propositions, as *לְבָרֵךְ הַיּוֹם וְעַד הַיּוֹם הַזֶּה* *inde ab illo die — et ad hunc usque diem* Jdgs. 19, 30; *לְבָרֵךְ הַגָּדוֹל וְעַד הַקָּטָן* *inde a magno et ad parvum usque* 2 Kgs. 23, 2; more rarely before single propositions, as *לְבָרֵךְ הָרוֹק* *inde a remoto* (tempore) Js. 37, 26.

- 532 III. In the relation of *isolation* and of apposition, the latter only requires explanation. None but mere external complements can be thus adjoined to the substantive; a merely explanatory substantive, an adjective, or a pronoun. All such nearer definitions, however, are properly arranged in their natural order in Hebrew, *after* the substantive §. 16, and only few are placed before it, which rather produces an external subordination of the lower to the higher. Short demonstratives alone can go before the substantive, and among them chiefly the article *הַ* §. 445, a small but very important part in the proposition, which must first be treated of.

- 533 1. The *article* is used very frequently in the ordinary language, either in reference to a thing before mentioned Gen. 6, 14. Jer. 13, 1. 2, or to things of a particular kind which are always evident, as *הַשֶּׁשֶׁשׁ* *the sun*, *הָאָרֶץ* *the earth*, to which class the use of the article to mark generic ideas also belongs, often in the sg. as *הַלֵּוֹי* *the lion* Am. 5, 19. 1 Sam. 17, 34, *הַחֲמֹר* *the mule*, *הַעַלְמָה* *the virgin*, *הָאִישׁ* *the man*, *הַקַּדְמוֹנִי* *the ancient*, *אֲנֹכְחִי* *pedes*, *הַפְּגִישׁ* *the fugitive* Gen. 14, 13. 2 Sam. 15, 13 (the article

here has a force like *the lion* and not the ox, *the virgin* and not the wife), especially with names of nations, as הַכַּנְעָנִי *the Canaanite*; or lastly, if the definiteness proceeds, and is evident, from the circumstances of the sentence itself, as in the established phrases, הַיּוֹם *hodie*, which also means *that day, that time, then*, if the time spoken of be the past 1 Sam. 1, 4; הַלַּיְלָה *this night*, הַשָּׁנָה *this year*, הַזֶּמֶן *this time*; moreover, if the speaker presupposes the individual to be known to the hearer, as הַחֲמֹר *saddle me the ass* i. e. *my ass* 1 Kgs. 13, 13. 23. 27. 2 Sam. 19, 27, or if the narrator assumes a particular thing to be evident from the circumstances, as *he sat down by the well* Ex. 2, 15 because there is generally only one well for the cattle in the neighbourhood of a town; and *the servant told Moses* Num. 11, 27. 2 Sam. 17, 17, because there is generally a particular servant who waits on his master. — The article is generally rarer, however, in the poets (as in Sanscrit, Latin) as their diction is shorter and more antique; e. g. Mich. 7, 12 in very hurried diction.

The *proper names*, all of which, according to their primary signification, may have the article by way of distinction, lose it the more frequently in proportion as the language drops their original meaning, and the more they become short ideal notions and are definite in themselves; the *names of persons* seldom have it therefore, but the names of places frequently; some have always retained it as a distinction, as הַנָּהָר *Euphrates* (prop. the river), הַבַּל *Baal* (prop. the lord), הַיַּרְדֵּן *Jordan*, הַלְבָּנוֹן *Libanon* (the last two are also used without the article in poetry); others lose the article by degrees only, as הָאֱלֹהִים and אֱלֹהִים *God*, הַיְבוּסִי and יְבוּסִי *the Jebusite* as generic term 2 Sam. 5, 6. 8; הָאָדָם and אָדָם (1 Sam. 24, 10) *man, mankind; foreign names* which are not clear, usually do not have it, as פָּרָה *Euphrates*. Any proper name with the new adjective formation, on the other hand, has the article much more constantly, especially in the sg., although the article may be gradually dropt even here.

The infinitive as standing too near the verb §. 352 does not receive the article, except in such perfectly isolated instances as הֲלֹא הָיָא הַדָּעָה אֵתִי *is not that the knowing me?* Jer. 22, 16, where there is uncommon power in the question. To which is to be added, that precisely הֲדָעַת is more frequently used as a substantive than other infinitives.

The pronouns in the same way, whether placed alone or as suffixes, are of themselves definite words which do not require the article, but are yet equivalent, as to sense, to any noun with the article, as זֶה *this*, מִי *who?* אֲנִי *I*, בְּנִי *son of me* = my son.

Thus all *nouns* are divided, either by their nature, or by election, into *definite* and *indefinite*; and every substantive in the proposition must be conceived as being necessarily in one of these two relations. This alternate relation of the definiteness of nouns (either by means of the article or by their nature) or of their freely chosen indefiniteness, is very important and significant, because it must also react upon the words in the neighbourhood of a noun, and because a definite noun has much more power and weight in the proposition than the contrary. This opposition between the two extends through a great part of the Syntax.

536 The absence of the article in a noun capable of receiving it, is of itself sufficient to denote a thing designedly placed as single and indefinite, as אִישׁ *a man*; it is only rarely, and chiefly in writings posterior to the Pentateuch, that אֶחָד *one* is used for that purpose, first in connexion with the *pl.*, as אֶחָד הַבְּלִיָּוִת *one of the foolish ones*, a foolish one Job 2, 10, then as adjective, placed after, as אִישׁ אֶחָד *a man* Jdgs. 13, 2. but more rarely used of *things*, as כַּל אֶחָד *a basket* Ex. 29, 3; it is even put before an adjective in Dan. 8, 13.

537 2. The *adjectives* and *pronouns* can only be placed after the noun, and must accommodate themselves in sense and construction to the gender and number, definiteness or indefiniteness, of their preceding noun. If therefore that is a *definite* noun, either by having the article or by its nature, this power still continues in the apposition, and the adjective must receive the article, as הָאִישׁ הַגָּדוֹל *the great man*, בְּנִי הַגָּדוֹל *my eldest son* (properly, *the son of me, the eldest*); if there are more adjectives than one, the article must be repeated with each Gen. 41, 35. Dt. 28, 58. The pronoun also, although of itself definite, must nevertheless continue the article in apposition, as הַדּוֹר הַהוּא *the same generation*, הָאִישׁ הַזֶּה *ὁ αὐτός ὁ αὐτός*. Nevertheless, the pronoun by itself often has not the article if the substantive has only a *suffix*, as אֶתְּנִי אֵלַי אֵלֶּיךָ *these my signs* Ex. 10, 1; but very rarely if the substantive itself has the article, as הַדּוֹר הַזֶּה Ps. 12, 8. Gen. 32, 23. The *adjective*, however, must much more regularly continue the article (it is seldom wanting after the *suff.* Gen. 37, 2. 43, 14. Cant. 6, 12. Hag. 1, 4. Ez. 34, 12, still seldomer after the article Ez. 39, 27; oftener before אֶחָד *one* 10, 9. cf. §. 516). — That negligent brevity which places the power of the definition only *in the middle*, after the subject, is a rare and chiefly late custom, as הַר הַגָּדוֹל *the great mountain* Zach. 4, 7. 14, 10. 2 Sam. 12, 4. Gen. 41, 26; with numerals Gen. 1, 31. 2, 3. Dt. 5, 14; cf. especially Jdgs. 6, 25 with the still more definite expression v. 26, 28.

The simple demonstrative pronoun only is sometimes put before a definite noun, as *זֶה הָעָם* *this people*, *זֶה מֹשֶׁה* *this Moses* (contemptuously, like *iste*) Ex. 32, 1. Jos. 9, 12 f. Js. 23, 13. — Among the adjectives, *רַבִּים* *many* is the only one which is put before the noun in a few passages, in indefinite diction, Jer. 16, 16. Ps. 32, 10. 89, 51.

3. A *substantive* also may be added in apposition, as *אַבְרָהָם אֲדֹנָיו* 538 *Abraham his lord*, *דָּוִד הַמֶּלֶךְ* *David the king*, or, if the idea of *king* is the nearest, *הַמֶּלֶךְ דָּוִד* *the king David*, often too in cases in which we would use adjectives, because such adjectives are not yet formed or developed in Hebr. and substantives are generally more numerous, as *נַעֲרָה בְּתוּלָה* *puella virgo* 1 Kgs. 1, 1. 2 Sam. 15, 16. 20, 3, *דְּבָרִים* *thank-offering* Ex. 24, 5, particularly in poetry, as *דְּבָרִים נְחֻמִּים* *words consolations* (comforting words) Zach. 1, 13.

RELATION OF THE SUBORDINED VERB.

The *verb* indeed also suffers free subordination §. 476, 539 but within much narrower limits. According to the antique simplicity of the language, namely, every idea which may be conceived as a verb, appears perfectly as a *finite verb* i. e. as a perfect, living member beside other equal members, and thus many verbs of relation whose idea later languages are wont to subordinate in an adverb or in some other form, are independently connected to another verb of a firmer idea by means of the copula, as *וַיִּשָּׁב וַיְדַבֵּר* *he turned and spoke* i. e. he spoke again, *וַיֹּסֶף וַיֹּאמֶר* *and he added and said* = moreover, he said. Nevertheless there is also a strong attempt to subordinate a verb, visible: the second verb is annexed to the verb of relation without copula, that is, in a state of free subordination, as *תְּרַבּוּ הַדְּבָרִים* *you make much* — *speak* i. e. you speak much 1 Sam. 2, 3; *וַיֵּשֶׁבְּתָה יָרֵד* *and thou dost on the third day* — *descendest* i. e. thou descendest on the third day 20. 19. Or the second verb is more easily connected acc. to §. 544 by means of *ל* *to* and the *infinitive construct*, as *הִרְבָּה לְהִתְפַּלֵּל* *he multiplied to pray* = prayed much 1, 12. But the most appropriate and prevailing form for the free subordination of the verb after the manner of §. 485 is the *infinitive absolute* §. 355, a very important, although very simple, part of the sentence and possessing a peculiar signification in Hebrew:

The *infin. abs.* is thus 1) *loosely* put after the previously 540 mentioned action, for the purpose of further explaining and describing its kind or manner, which may be either done by the same verb, as *then we destroyed them* — (some other words intervening) — *לְהַרְסָם* *to destroy* (destruendo) or, so that we destroyed *all cities* etc. Dt. 3, 6. Js. 31, 5; with

another infinitive besides, as *God will smite him. — to smite and heal* i. e. so as to heal also, Js. 19, 22. Jer. 12, 17. 1 Kgs. 20, 27; or by one or more *inf.* of different verbs, as *I will accomplish it* הַחֵל וְהַסֵּל *beginning and ending* i. e. completely. from beginning to end 1 Sam. 3, 12. 2 Sam. 8, 2, Gen. 21, 16. 30, 32. Ex. 33, 7. Dt. 9, 21. 27, 8. Js. 30, 14; הַרְבֵּה *to multiply* and הַיָּטִב *to make good* are especially frequently placed after verbs in this manner, and even after an *inf.* *abs.* itself. In the same way, where the action is already strongly referred to, so that it is then sufficient to name it briefly, as in *this let a man glory: to be wise and to know me!* Jer. 9, 23. Js. 5, 5. 20, 2. 58, 6. 7. Zach. 14, 12 (Jos. 9, 20 where וְ and intervenes). Cf. besides EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 40. 134.

- 541 2) When the *inf. abs.*, however, is closely subordinated to the *finite verb* of its own root, so that both form a whole, then the pure verbal idea is complete in itself and its power is contained within it acc. to §. 486, but becomes by that more complete, more finished, more certain, so that our *entirely, altogether, always, further, without doubt*, according to the difference of the context, are contained in it; in Latin, this corresponds to *usque*; as שָׁמָּעַ שְׁמָעָה *hear hearing* i. e. hear attentively, or, hear always, הָלַךְ הָלַךְ *he is gone altogether!* הֵלַךְ גַּם-לְמַטְּהָ *I will lead thee up also altogether, without doubt* (not only lead thee down) Gen. 19, 9. 31, 15. 46, 4. Num. 11, 15. 32. 16, 13. 23, 11. 24, 10. Jos. 24, 10. 7, 7. 2 Kgs. 3, 24. 5, 11. Js. 6, 9. Jer. 22, 10. 23, 29. Zach. 8, 21. Dan. 11, 10. Job 13, 17. 21, 2. 37, 2. Another verb may be also thus added at the end by means of וְ, especially with a verb of motion, as רָצָא וְשָׁבָה *he went ever to and fro*, הָלַךְ הָלַךְ וְבָבָה *he went on continually, weeping* Gen. 8, 7. Jos. 6, 13. Jdgs. 14, 9. 1 Sam. 6, 12. 2 Sam. 3, 16. 15, 30. 16, 5. 13. 2 Kgs. 2, 11 (without a verb of motion Joel 2, 26); הָלַךְ *to go* expresses, even in this combination, merely the continual increase of a thing, as וַיִּגְדַּל הָלַךְ *and he continually increased in greatness* Gen. 26, 13. Jdgs. 4, 24; lastly, a frequently used infinitive of this kind may be placed in the middle with an almost adverbial signification, as וַיָּשָׁבוּ הָלַךְ וְשָׁבָה *and they returned more and more continually* Gen. 8, 3. 12, 9, שְׁלַחְתִּי הַשָּׂבָא וְשָׁלוּחַ *I sent earnestly* (prop. *early*) *continually* Jer. 7, 13, 29, 19. — The chief verb, as being too far distant, is repeated in a participle in Jer. 41, 6. The last verb may also fall back into the narrative form instead of the *inf.* *abs.* Jos. 6, 13. 2 Sam. 16, 13, or the participle of the verb at the beginning may be continued v. 5. Jer. 41, 6, which is possible even instead of the first *inf.* (as the participle, as expressing *duration*, is nearest to the idea here) 2 Sam. 15, 30; as also the second verb too

is annexed in the participle Gen. 26¹, 13. Jdgs. 4, 24. The shortening of the phrase by aid of the simple verb of *being*, is also remarkable: הָרַרְוּ הָלוֹךְ וְתָכַר *they decreased more and more* Gen. 8, 5.

After this, it is easy to conceive how some infin. abs. have become 542 perfect abverbs: הֹנֵהֵךְ לֵבְךָ *to walk humbly with God* Mich. 6, 8, בְּהָרַר *hastily* Jos. 2, 5 (as *finite verb* 1Sam. 17, 48) הִשְׁתַּבַּח *diligently*, הָיָה *well, very*, all of which, however, can only be construed with verbs, but הִרְבָּה *much* is even construed with a noun, as נִצִּים הִרְבָּה *many pieces of wood* Js. 30, 33 (before the substantive as in *stat. cs.* הִרְבֹּת Am. 4, 9. after it Prov. 25, 27).

This last and all similar adverbs, inasmuch as they are only simple 543 words, may again occur in every relation in the proposition acc. to §. 458: e. g. as subject, as הִרְבָּה הָרַבָּה *much* (of the people) *fell* 2Sam. 1, 4; as predicate, *my days are few and evil* הָיָה יְרֵמְיָהּ *few and evil*, הַשְׁלוֹם אֲבִיכֶם *is your father well?* Gen. 47, 9. 43, 17. Job 8, 9; and like adjectives in apposition, as בְּרִיקָה רִיקָה *my persecutor without cause* = my undeserved enemy Ps. 7, 5.

Where the connexion of the sentence requires the verb 544 to appear indeed as a substantive (infinitive) but not so much as an inanimate and abrupt one, subordinated *by itself* after the manner of the adverbs, as *in the current of the proposition*, namely, first and chiefly as intimately interwoven as a noun with a succeeding or preceding noun, and secondly, rather as a kind of the ordinary accusative dependent on the action of the verb (hence it is poetically used after the *stat. constr.* of 'a participle Ps. 127, 2) or lastly, as subject of the proposition acc. to §. 546 ¹), in these cases, the *infin. constr.* is used in contradistinction to the inf. abs., see §. 353. The construction of this *inf. constr.* with the prep. לְ *to* which offers the easiest and nearest subordination (resembling the same use in later languages) has, however, increased to a great extent in Hebr.: active verbs as הָיָה *to begin*, הוֹסִיף *to add*, אָבָה *to will*, are construed with the infin. with or without לְ; it is more necessary with intransitive verbs and adjectives, as יָצָא לֵצֵאת *he ceased to go out*, תָּמְנוּ לָמוּת *they have finished to die* = are all dead, although the poets again are more sparing in the use of this לְ, as נִלְאֵתִי נִשָּׂא *I am weary to bear* Js. 1, 14, עָתִיד עֲרֵר *paratus excitare* Job 3, 8; לְ is also used with the subject placed dependently, as טוֹב לְשֹׁבֵת *it is good to dwell* Prov. 21, 9, cf. the same without לְ v. 19, and very rarely even after a loosely placed substantive, as עֵת לְלָדָה *a time to bear* Koh. 3, 2. 4. The infin. of some verbs with this לְ becomes even an adverb: לָרַב *in number*, לֵאמֹר §. 464 *to say*, used to cite the words, or, *with a following thought* (Ex. 5, 19), for it always refers to words quoted immediately after (like *iti* in Sanscrit).

With the negation *it is not do to* = can or may not be done Jdgs. 1, 19. Am. 6, 10. 2 Chro. 20, 6; also without negation *it is to do* = one must do 19, 2. Hos. 9, 13. Job 30, 6. Ps. 68, 19.

- 1) Nevertheless, the *inf. abs.* is still found sometimes in the last two cases in which it is actually easily possible according to the idea, see the passages §. 355 *note*, and Prov. 25, 27.

545 In the same manner as the *inf. abs.* cannot be dependent on a *stat. constr.* or even on a preposition, so also it cannot itself stand in *stat. constr.* nor assume *suffixes* in any sense whatever, but can only remotely subordinate a noun (cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 140). The noun, however, which is subordinated to an *inf. constr.* may either be referred to the subject, if the finite verb was used, as *בְּשִׁמְעוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ* *at the hearing of the king* i. e. as the king heard, or to the object, as *עָשׂוֹת מִשְׁפָּט* *to exercise justice*. If the *finite verb* would merely stand in the nearest, most indefinite person, that is, in the third, without a definite subject being added, then the *inf.* also is used as merely dependent on the construction of the sentence without supplying such a subject, whether the *finite verb* be to be conceived in the *sing.* as *בָּרָא אֱלֹהִים* *as he saw the ring* Gen. 24, 30, or in the *pl.* as *בָּגְזוּ אֶת־צֹאֲנוֹ* *when they shore (גָּזְזוּ) his flock* 1 Sam. 25, 2. Gen. 25, 26. 33, 10. Ex. 9, 16. Ps. 42, 4. Job 20, 4¹). — Whether the noun, then, which is subordinated, if the *finite verb* were used, be to be taken as subject or object, it can still be attached to the *inf. constr.* as to a *stat. constr.*, and this infinitive does take suffixes; but, notwithstanding, the attachment to the *inf.* is not so close, as it would not take place with the *finite verb* for which the *inf.* is a substitute; the noun especially often stands separated as object (Js. 11, 9), and with *אֵה* §. 492 f.; and here the suffix also may be separated by this *אֵה*, and is regularly so separated when the *inf.* is used for the third person of the finite verb without a definite subject, as *בָּרָאֵהוּ* *as he saw*, *בָּרָאֵה אֹתוֹ* *as he saw him*, 2 Sam. 6, 21. *בָּגְזָהּ* *when one bore them* (a common expression which has its origin in polygamy) Gen. 25, 26; hence too *אֵה* after the *inf.* of a passive (acc. to §. 572) *בְּהִמְשָׁה אֹתוֹ* *when one anointed him* 21, 5. Lev. 13, 55. 56. Num. 7, 10. Ez. 16, 4. 5. Moreover, cf. §. 554 f.

- 1) It is in a similar manner to this, that it is sufficient for the verb, when it would be used in the third pers. merely, without a more definitely named subject, to go over into the *participle* without the addition of the personal pronoun: in the *pl.* as *אֹמְרִים* *they say* Ex. 5, 16. Gen. 37, 17, and in the *sg.* as *יֵצֵא* *he goes out* Ex. 7, 15. 8. 16. Gen. 41, 1, *קָרָא* *there calls* Js. 21, 11 acc. to §. 551, Ps. 97, 10. 66, 7. 33, 5. 7. 22, 99.

II. ENTIRE PROPOSITION.

I. Nothing is required, according to §. 471, to form an ⁵⁴⁶entire proposition, but the logical combination of subject and predicate, in whatever form and even with whatever compass either may appear. Two ideas which are combined by the thought are always necessary to form an entire proposition in ordinary diction, e. g. לִי גְבִירָה *to me* (mine) is *strength*, אֲנִי יְהוָה *I am Jahve*, הוּא צַדִּיק *he is just*, שָׂרָה בְּאֶהֱל *Sara is in the tent*, קָצִיר הַיּוֹם *harvest is to-day*. The subject, however, always has the power of a substantive, either from its own nature or by transference, whereas the word which is added as predicate, may vary much more in form and power, and is even more easily placed as dependent. As subject in the stricter sense, the *inf. constr.* alone can be placed dependently (because it represents a mere possibility), in propositions like טוֹב לְשֹׁבָה *good is it to dwell* (= that one dwell) quietly, precisely as in English, cf. §. 544.

An adjective, when used as predicate, generally does not ⁵⁴⁷require the article, but represents the quality quite simply, as צַדִּיק בְּהוּדָה *just (is) Jahve*; the sense, however, may necessarily require the article, as on account of the superlative §. 502, or when a participle renders a quality emphatically prominent, so that it separates itself more with the article, and the article conveys the sense of *he who*, as עֵינֶיךָ הָרְאוּהָ *your eyes (it is) which saw* Dt. 4, 3. 11, 7. Js. 14, 27. Gen. 45, 12; Ps. 19, 11.

Instead of an adjective, an abstract substantive also may be used as predicate, especially in poetry, as *the judgments of God are truth*, אֱמֶת *truth*, true, Ps. 19, 10, or if an adjective is not yet formed, or not yet currently used, as קִירֶיהָ עֵץ *its walls are wood*, wooden (cf. §. 498 where there is the same thing fundamentally, and still more §. 480) Ez. 41, 22. 1 Sam. 21, 6. Ex. 9, 31. Gen. 11, 1. Jer. 24, 2. Ps. 110, 3; with such predicates, the subject which is mentioned a little previously, may be easily repeated in thought, in *st. cst.* as a part of the predicate at the same time (*its walls are walls of wood*), which case also occurs in the following example, בְּסֹפֶה אֱלֹהִים *thy throne is (the throne) of God* = divine, Ps. 45, 7; cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 146.

The use of the *copula* between the subject and predicate ⁵⁴⁸is only gradually introduced: 1) the pronoun of the third person, as the personal pronoun contains the idea of substantial existence in its very nature, and that of the third person

most simply e. g. *אני הוא* *I am he*; but there is no verbal or temporal power whatever in it, and its use is primarily only on occasions when the subject is most indispensably to be separated from the predicate, namely because both are *definite* nouns Dt. 12, 23, *דָּוִד הוּא הַקָּטָן* *David is or was the least* 1 Sam. 17, 14, §. 502, where one might easily construe *הַקָּטָן* in apposition acc. to §. 537, *the little David*; in the same way after the pronoun which is more emphatically placed separately at the beginning, especially with persons, as *מִי הֵנּוּ אֵלֶּה* *what are these?* Zach. 4, 5. Gen. 25, 16. It is different when the subject is placed first acc. to §. 557 and is of longer compass, and the sentence is, therefore, somewhat interrupted, as *these men — peaceful (are) they* Gen. 34, 21. As this pronoun of the third person is used most simply as the copula, accordingly, even the second or first person may go before, as *אַתָּה הוּא הָאֱלֹהִים* *thou art God* 2 Sam. 7, 28. ¹⁾

- 1) The poets moreover use this personal pronoun by itself also, for *he is* with a preceding *stat. cs.* (§. 507), in a half finished proposition therefore, Nah. 2, 9. Js. 18, 2. 7.

549 2) The verb *הָיָה* is properly only used on occasions in which a *verb* is required for the idea *to be, to become, to exist*, therefore for the past or future absolutely, as *אִישׁ הָיָה* *a man was* (once); and often for the jussive, just as it is constantly used for the imperative. A participle *being* is, with the exception of Ex. 9¹, 3, only found in later writers, as there is generally no copula at all used for the present as the nearest tense, or the personal pronoun is sufficient of itself; *הָיָה* is also rarely used of the past in parenthetical propositions Jdgs. 8, 11. — In the same way as the verb *to be* is construed immediately with the predicate, in the same way may the verbs *הָיָה לְ* *to begin to be, to become* Gen. 9, 20. 1 Sam. 3, 2, and *יָהָר* *to cease to be* Js. 33, 1, *הָיָה* Ps. 9, 7, which describe a more definite kind of being, also be construed.

550 §. 506 is less than *הָיָה* to be called a copula, as it is properly always placed independently at the beginning of a proposition, to represent an emphatic *there is*; it is also chiefly used before indefinite nouns only, as *יֵשׁ הִקָּה* *there is hope*, *יֵשׁ אֹהֶב* *there is a friend* Prov. 18, 24, *יֵשׁ שׁוֹמֵר* *there is one who hears thee* Job 5, 1, very rarely before a definite noun Jdgs. 6, 13, and from a special cause §. 623. For the rest, although the word is primarily always placed in *stat. const.* acc. to §. 506, yet, as it always bears rather a mere verbal idea, it can also be more freely placed, with a word coming between, as *יֵשׁ לִי רַב* *there is to me* (I have) *much*, or the noun being placed before it on account of a particular reason Jdgs. 19, 19. Js. 43, 8.

As, according to all this, there is no copula corresponding to our *to be* in current use in Hebr., it is not surprising, therefore, that the language possesses another means of distinguishing the predicate, see §. 521.

The more *definite subject* is often omitted, if it is easily understood from the sense of the proposition or expression, or if it cannot be mentioned; the verb therefore is then placed by itself in the third person. Thus, when 1) *persons* are spoken of, a) the *plural* is used when there is no need of stating who and how many do a thing, as יֹאמְרוּ *dicunt*, a construction of infinite frequency, especially because the active constructions are used, in all possible cases, in preference to the passive §. 251, so that we even find such a combination acc. to §. 539 as לֹא תִקְרָא לָךְ *thou wilt not add — they call thee* = thou wilt not any more be called, Js. 47, 1. — b) The verb is much more rarely placed alone in the *sing.* as the individual is not so easily left indefinite as the number is; the chief cases are: α) the phrase קָרָא שֵׁם *one called the name* of the city, of the child etc.; for it is uncertain who devised the name, though only *one* can have devised it; β) when we can determine the agent from the action mentioned, as יִתְּרֹשׁ *he ploughs* (the labourer) Am. 6, 12. Js. 53, 9. γ) when the particular person may be gathered from the context of the narration, as יִתְּנֵה *then said he* (the person asked), 1 Sam. 19, 22; or when the person follows from the antithesis, as *every one before whom he* (his neighbour) *mentions it, will tremble* Js. 19, 17. δ) rarely in other cases, as יִתְּנֵה *he* (a man, indefinitely) = *one said* 1 Sam. 23, 22. 24, 11. Ex. 10, 5. 21. ¹). Because the *sing.* is thus more indistinct in itself, therefore the participle of the same stem is, with greater clearness, used as subject, as הַזֹּכֵל *the falling one* i. e. he who falls, some one or other, *falls* Dt. 22, 8. Jer. 9, 23; this is rare with the *pl.* poet. 31, 5,

1) This use is also found in Sanscrit.

The address in the second pers. *sg.* for *any one*, is only found in Hebr. in the common phrase by which one shows the way, עַד בֹּאֶיךָ *until thy coming* = *as far as*, which has become so very much an adverb, that we even find בֹּאֶיךָ alone.

2) As no definite form for the *neuter* has been developed, accordingly, when *things* are to be signified indefinitely, the verb, just as is the case with the adjective and pronoun §. 364, is placed either in the *msc.* or in the *fem. sg.*; in the verb, however, the use of a) the nearest, the *msc.*, is most frequent, as יִקָּשֶׁה *it is hard* Dt. 15, 18. רְחֵה לוֹ *it is wide to him*, easy, he recovers, 1 Sam. 16, 23, especially for the passive constantly, as הִתְעַלֵּה *coemptum est*, שִׁדְרָה *dirutum est*,

נִשְׁמָע *there is spoken* Ps. 87, 3, which passive acc. to §. 572 is often construed like the indefinite third pers. active, to whose sense it corresponds. — *b*) the *fem.*, especially in occurrences produced by a mysterious power from without, as *הִשְׁכָּה* *it has grown dark*, *הַיָּמִינִי* (it makes rain, some uncertain cause) *it rains* Am. 4, 7. Jer. 13, 16. *קִטְקִיטָה לִי* *it is narrow to me, I am oppressed* Js. 38, 14. *צָרָה לִי* Jdgs. 10 9.

It is somewhat different when the easily understood subject (like the object in others) is gradually left out in some very common expressions, especially a member of the body, as *נִחָסָה (עֵינָיו) עָלָיו* *there looked softly (mercifully) upon him (his eye)* i. e. *pepercit ei*, once 1 Sam. 24, 11; often *בִּיהָר לֵו* *then was inflamed to him* (אָזַן his nose, his wrath).

553 The possible compass of the parts of the proposition is clear from §. 471 ff. The whole can also be explained by the individual in apposition, as *both supported Moses* *נִצָּחַ וְנִצָּחַ אֶחָד וְנִצָּחַ אֶחָד* *on the one side* (prop. as a neuter *ab hoc*) *one and on the other one*, as such prolix descriptions are still prevalent in Hebr. Ex. 17, 12. Especially can a *pl.* be immediately explained by *אִישׁ* *man* i. e. *each* in such a way that the further additions must accommodate themselves to that *sg.* as *הִקְרַב אִישׁ הָרֶבֶב* *gird ye, each his sword*; and, where reciprocal actions are spoken of, there is *אָחִיו* *his brother* or *רֵעֵהוּ* *his friend* used together with this *אִישׁ* *man* (which our languages, no longer separating the two members, more concisely express by *each other*, *ἀλλήλων*) even with non-personal objects (Ex. 26, 3) as *אָמְרוּ אִישׁ אֶל־רֵעֵהוּ* *they said to each other*, prop. *man to his friend*, *אִישׁ אָחִיו לֹא יִדְהָקֶנָּה* *they do not crowd one the other* (each other) Joel 2, 8; and subordinated, *I deliver them each into the hand of the other* i. e. into mutual captivity Zach. 11, 6. It is remarkable that this *אִישׁ* without the article, though still a very powerful word, instead of being subordinated to the *stat. constr.* is rather abruptly put before, as *אִישׁ בְּהָרָה* *each its half*, for *the half of each* Gen. 15, 10. 9, 5 (*from the hand of the brother of every one*). Job 1, 4 (*in the house of the order of each*), cf. Gen. 42, 25. 49, 28. Num. 17, 17, and as subject Ex. 16, 19.

554 II. Three principles regulate *the position of the words* in an entire proposition: 1. There is a definite order established for the usual unimpassioned arrangement of words¹, which is so much the more immutable in consequence of the want of cases for the noun; to what extent this is the case in the several members of the proposition, is more fully stated above. The nearest place for the *predicate*, however, is *before* the subject, because it is generally the property which is espe-

cially new and important, which the speaker desires to mention, as **נְהַיָּה just (is) Jahve**; the *verb*, however, is so much the rather placed before, as, just as all verbal persons, so also the third properly contains a subject in itself §. 471, and the more definite subject is originally only an apposition to that third person, as **אָמַר נְהַיָּה there spoke Jahve**. The object then, according to the most natural order, follows the subject thus placed after the verb, and is distinguished by this very position, as **שָׁלַח דָּוִד מַלְאָכָיו David sent messengers** 1 Sam. 25, 14. Gen. 42, 30. This tranquil order is especially observed immutably when the proposition has already begun with power with a closely construed, firm word and returns to rest, either by a strong conjunction being placed at the beginning, as **כִּי that**, **לֹא lo**, or by a substantive being placed first (e. g. §. 557); cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 164. — If it so happens that the verb is placed in the *inf. cs.* according to the construction of the proposition, the same order is preserved, nay is for the most part more indispensably necessary; the noun which would have been subject with the *finite verb*, is placed next in order, so that the *inf.* can be placed in *st. cs.* acc. to §. 545; the object remains object as to form also, and is placed last, as **בְּשִׁמְעוֹ הַמֶּלֶךְ in the hearing of the king** i. e. as the king heard; **בְּשִׁמְחַת נְהַיָּה אֶת-סֹדֹם in the destroying Jahve Sodom** i. e. when he destroyed, Gen. 13, 10. 29, 13. Ez. 34, 12. Yet cf. §. 555.

Little words and accessory definitions are always inserted in the firmer 555 chief elements of the proposition, as **אֶתֵּן לְךָ הָאָרֶץ I will give to thee the land** **מַה זֹּאת עָשִׂינוּ what (how) have we done this?** Nay a little word may even intrude between the *inf. constr.* and the subject of the infin. as verb, which is then altogether put before as such (which is contrary to §. 554) because the construction of the *inf. constr.* is not very close acc. to §. 545, as **בְּשִׁלְחָה אֹתוֹ תַרְתֵּן in Tartans sending him** Js. 20, 1. 5, 24. Gen. 4, 15. Jos. 14, 11; or an accusative, which is remoter as to the sense, is earlier attached as a smaller suffix Dt. 31, 7. The *participle in stat. constr.* also, whose construction is not very close acc. to §. 503, can also be so separated, as **מִשְׁלִיכֵי בִיאָר הַכֶּבֶד they that cast in the river the angle** Js. 19, 8. Cf. also with כֹּל §. 509 f. — It is for a similar reason that the weak **הָיָה fuit** is interposed in Job 1, 1.

2. We are clearly to distinguish from this the formation of 556 a *descriptive proposition* (or rather, *proposition of state*) which is produced by the particularly significant arrangement of the words. For as the *subject* is placed first, contrary to §. 554, and the predicate follows, it is not the action, its development and progress, which is brought in the fore-ground, as in the ordinary, narrative diction §. 554, but it is the thing or the person which is described in a certain condition, and the

whole proposition, in direct opposition to the usual narrative style, paints the even tenour and tranquillity of permanence, of continuance, according as the speaker conceives it; and this reversed arrangement of words is extremely important and significant for this purpose (cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 168). The verb also is then usually placed in the participle acc. to §. 350, as, in this condition, the action is generally conceived as still continuing. Thus Ex. 12, 11, where the condition is even introduced with the words, *thus shall ye eat it*: **וְהָיָה בְּהִנָּחְכֶם** *your loins girded* etc. Jdgs. 15, 2. 1 Sam. 12, 17. Hence **עַד** *still* §. 465 and **אֵין** *there is not* are exceedingly well suited to these very propositions, Ex. 3, 2. 5, 16. 9; 2. All this is of greater importance afterwards in §. 607-609.

This order is especially important, inasmuch as the participle so placed serves, acc. to §. 350, at the same time as a *tense-form* for the action continuing at this very present, for the *praesens relativum*, as **הִנֵּה אָחִיךָ בִּהְיָהּ** *behold thy brother is angry* Gen. 27, 42, or for the future which the speaker contemplates as quite near at hand or, at any rate, as certain in his mind as if it were present (*fut. relativum*), as **אֵין בִּי** *en me allaturum = en allaturus sum* Gen. 6, 17. Much remoter and rarer is the use of the *praeteritum relativum* by itself to place the hearer at once in a definite condition of the past, as in the description of a dream: **וְהָיָה לִי** *lo I was* (during the dream) *standing* Gen. 41, 17.

הִנֵּה *behold* is very frequently used at the very beginning with this participle and in other descriptive propositions to call the attention to a condition. It is, however, a general consequence of the sense of this **הִנֵּה** that it subordinates the subject to itself at once, where the subject can be placed separately, and a personal pronoun then usually becomes a suffix. When **הִנֵּה** is not used, the participle, as a simple form for the *praes.* and *fut. instans*, may be put before like the other tenses (compare the Aramaic) Gen. 18, 13 f. 31, 20. Num. 20, 29. Jdgs. 15, 11.

- 557 3. A word, contrary to the usual order §. 554, is rendered prominent for the sake of *emphasis* or *antithesis* and is placed first, which mode is very frequent in Hebr. as a language of youthful animation. When the subject or object has thus the force of the preposition, the verb is then primarily placed in the middle always, as **לֹא שָׁפְכוּ דָם** *our hands have not shed blood* (and the antithesis is, *our eyes*) Dt. 21, 7; **אֲבָדוּ אֲבָדוּ** *stones (even) do the waters wear away* Job 14, 19; after a word with a preposition, e. g. a statement of time, the order is, verb, subject, object Gen. 1, 1. The following arrangements are rare and rather poetical: object, subject, verb 2 Kgs. 5, 13; subject, object, verb Js. 13, 18, and very rarely verb, object, subject

Ps. 34, 22; interrogative substantives have the first place from their nature acc. to §. 577. It often happens that a substantive which is placed before for sake of emphasis, is with very great emphasis repeated again by means of its personal pronoun, as בְּרִכַּת יְהוָה הוּא the blessing of Jahve — it maketh rich Prov. 10, 22. 24; אֲתֵּיבְרַךְ אֹתוֹ יְהוָה Jahve — him should you sanctify Js. 8, 13. — A substantive so placed before, is also often repeated by means of its personal pronoun (or, if long words come between, by itself) in the usual position and without further emphasis, as אֲתֵּיבְרַךְ הָעָם הַזֶּה the people — he led it over Gen. 47, 21.

The chief noun, of which something is to be predicated, is very often placed quite abruptly at the beginning of the proposition, where the speaker places it, as the most important word, first by itself, and is obliged to repeat it afterwards by means of its *pron. suff.* in the place required by the construction of the proposition, as בְּהִנֵּה בַשָּׁמַיִם בֵּיתוֹ Jahve — in heaven is his throne Ps. 11, 4. Nah. 1, 3. 2 Kgs. 10, 29; it is very rarely that such a substantive continues without such a repetition, when the following proposition by itself also gives a complete sense, so that the construction is easily understood from the context, as a soul hungering i. e. according to the force of the participle §. 607 when a soul hungers, then all bitter is sweet to it Prov. 27, 7. Ps. 115, 16. Js. 2, 18.

The verb alone cannot be rendered prominent by an unusual position merely, because it, of its own accord, occupies the first place in the ordinary proposition acc. to §. 554. Nevertheless, in the exceedingly animated Hebrew language it is often rendered emphatically prominent by the *inf. abs.* being placed before the *finite verb* of the same stem, which usage is almost peculiar to Hebrew, concerning which see §, 584.

The pronominal ideas also are very often so confined to an, in itself, definite order of the words in a proposition, that their emphasis can only be externally and sensibly expressed by means of repetition. Thus a) the emphasis of the verbal person is signified by the addition or, properly, repetition of the personal pronoun, as וְאֶנִּי נִצַּחְתִּי וְאֶנִּי and I only escaped Job. 1, 15; only later writers, and especially Kohelet, add the separate personal pronouns to the verbal persons without emphasis, for distinctness only, and on account of their laxer diction. In the same way, to render the emphasis of a substantive already named very prominent: וְהָאֵל יָבִיאוֹ אֲבֵל but Abel, he also brought Gen. 4, 4. However, הוּא = *avtós* can be very well placed before a noun to be strongly marked Ex. 12, 42, where הוּא-יְהוָה *ipse-hic* come together; and in the same way where the sentence merely refers to what has been already mentioned Hos. 4, 14 (where הֵם, *avtót*, they themselves refers back

to the adult Israelites), Js. 7, 14. *for God* שֵׁשֶׁת הוּא *judges, himself* Ps. 50, 6. הוּא אֵתָה *tu ipse* Jer. 49, 12 ¹). — b) The strong emphasis of a *suffix* pronoun attached to a noun, which is of itself very much shortened without any emphasis and which nevertheless cannot be separated and placed before, is expressed in the same way by adding (or prop. repeating) the personal pronoun, as הוּא נַפְשׁוֹ *his, his soul, his own soul* Mich. 7, 3. אֲנִי בִּי *in me* 1 Sam. 25, 24, especially with particles which require the emphasis, as בִּי הוּא *in his mouth also* 2 Sam. 17, 5. Gen. 4, 26. 10, 21. Prov. 23, 15 ²). A *verbal suff.* however, is seldom repeated in this way (only when אַלְּ also is placed after, Gen. 27, 34. Prov. 22, 19) because it can be easily separated and placed before acc. to §. 492. — An adverb also must be rendered emphatical in this way, as בְּכֵן יִבְיֶכֶן *because, yea because* Lev. 26, 43. But a substantive or adjective is seldom repeated in this manner, as they may be distinguished by their position, except in an unusual oratorical style Dt. 16, 20.

1) It is moreover used as sole predicate even, הוּא, ὁ αὐτός, *the same* (properly *he* and none other) Job 3, 19. Js. 41, 4. Ps. 102, 28,

2) Yet, in Canticles, instead of בְּרָמִי אֲנִי *my vineyard*, בְּרָמִי שָׁמִי §. 517 is used, the writer having avoided using the pronoun for the direct case.

561 We are, however, clearly to distinguish between this *rhetorical* repetition of a word according to the emphasis of a single word in the proposition, and the repetition which is necessary for the expression of a single, in itself, firm thought or idea: 1) to express a *high* or the *highest degree* (cf. §. 502), which is necessary in Prose even, with adverbs, as מְאֹד מְאֹד *very much*, but is in other respects rather peculiar to the lofty diction of poetry. Words too which are merely similar, may be placed together, with or without copula, as שְׁמִיָּה וְשְׁמִיָּה *desert and desolation* Ez. 6, 14. Job 30, 3; הִתְפַּלֵּה וְהִתְפַּלֵּה *to wonder, wonder* Hab. 1, 5. Zeph. 2', 1. Js. 29, 9. — 2) to express the idea of doubleness, variety, as אֶבֶן אֶבֶן *stone, stone i. e. double, different, false stone* Dt. 25, 13, also with the copula לֵב לֵב *heart and heart, double heart* (cf. bilinguis) Ps. 12, 3. Somewhat differently בִּי וְבִי *who and who?* i. e. what particular persons, precisely as in English, Ex. 10, 8. — 3) to denote an equable advance from one to more, a continuance and repetition of the same thing, as בַּדֶּרֶךְ בַּדֶּרֶךְ *on the way, on the way i. e. without stopping* Dt. 2, 27; שָׁנָה שָׁנָה *year, year, yearly* 14, 22; בְּאֵרוֹת בְּאֵרוֹת *pits pits* (in the *stat. constr.*) many in succession, *nothing but* pits Gen. 14, 10, Joel 3, 14; moreover with adverbs: מִעַל מִעַל *above - above i. e. higher and higher over* Dt. 28, 43; מְעַט מְעַט *little little, by little and little* Ex. 23, 30; especially with *numbers*, when the same number is applied more than once to single objects, as Hebrew has not any form for *distributive numerals*, as שִׁבְעָה וְשִׁבְעָה *by sevens*

Zach. 4, 2. also without a numeral, as מַטֵּה מַטֵּה *staff staff* i. e. each a staff Num. 17, 17.

Before the noun is mentioned, there is sometimes allusion 562 made to it by means of its pronoun, when a Poet especially, full of the thought of the object, presupposes its being already known Js. 13, 2. If such a pronoun suffix is immediately followed by the proper noun, as שָׁחַרְו מִיָּסָר *he seeks it, correction* Prov. 13, 24. Ex. 2, 6. מִטַּהוּ שְׁלֹמֹה *his bed, Solomon's* (§. 453. 517) Cant. 3, 7, then this is produced by a small emphasis of the substantive, especially in the looser popular idiom which first more briefly and conveniently alludes to the noun, and must afterwards repeat it for distinctness.

An apparently superfluous personal pronoun is often placed in the 563 dative in a complete proposition, which pronoun however, in particular reference to the subject, expresses that one should do, or does something for his advantage or for himself alone; or that the speaker has a particular interest in the action; especially in addresses, and most frequently in the broader, free language of the people, as הֵן הֵן *go for thyself!* לוֹ הֵן *he is gone for himself* = has departed, is utterly gone Cant. 2, 11.

Sometimes too, from the influence of this popular idiom, 564 some later poets use the softer suff. מִי *me* and תְּךָ *thee* for the stronger לִי *to me* and לְךָ *to thee* in the flow of the diction, and indeed primarily, only for the unimportant, briefly added pronoun Ez. 29, 3 cf. v. 9 where it is wanting, Js. 44, 21. 65, 5. Job 31, 18; it is only emphatic in Zach. 7, 5, where it is, however, rather the *accusative*.

On the other hand, an object merely consisting of the suffix may 565 also be left out when it may be easily gathered from the context; e. g. when the object is already mentioned (in a substantive or in a whole proposition), especially easily with *things*, as *he saw and told* (what he had seen) Gen. 9, 22. לְהַחֲיוֹת *to preserve* (them) 6, 20, equivalent to *to be preserved*. — In the same way, when a word already mentioned in the *stat. constr.* is used immediately after as subject, it does not require to be again specially mentioned as subject, as the person of the verb contains a reference to it, as בְּצַלְם אֱלֹהִים עָשָׂה אֹתוֹ *in the image of God made he* (God) *him* Gen. 9, 6. 14, 1. 2.

In consequence of the language possessing no current re- 566 flexive pronoun *se, himself*, it is obliged 1) to use the *pronoun suffix* of the *third person* instead, when *another noun* (or, which is the same thing properly, a *preposition*) separates the *suffix* from the subject, as אָמַר בְּלִבּוֹ *he said in his heart*, לוֹ עָשָׂה *he made himself, or for himself*; but the *suffix* in immediate connexion, without such an intervening noun, as *interfecit se, laudat se*, can never have this

signification. The *suffix* of the third person, however, may be very properly attached reflexively to אָה (especially according to its primitive signification §. 492), as אָהוּ *se ipsum* Ex. 5, 19. 2 Sam. 15, 25. Jer. 7, 19. Ez. 34, 2. 8. — 2) Where this pronoun cannot be used, the pronoun *suffixes* are construed with נַפְשׁ *soul*, as *I know* יָדַעְתִּי נַפְשִׁי *my soul* i. e. *myself*, cf. §. 506.

567 III. The parts of a proposition must have a *harmony of gender and number* in the construction of the adjectives, pronouns, and verbs, with their substantives. The manifold departures from this rule are not wanton irregularities, but arise from the great freedom and lightness of the Hebrew language, which does not regard the external form of words where it is permitted by their *position* or their *idea*.

1. When the predicate is mentioned before the subject is named (and before it is distinctly present to the mind), it may be placed in the nearest, still indefinite form i. e. in the *masc. sing.*, especially as the predicate, according to its usual position, precedes the subject §. 554: the verb too is then placed without definite relation to the subject; but if the subject is mentioned, this indefiniteness cannot take place or be continued; as עָבַר הַרְצָה *the cry passed through* 1 Kgs. 22, 36; הָיָה יָדָיו *the hands were* Jos. 8, 20; יִשְׁתַּמֵּר הַקְּוֹה *the laws are kept* Mich. 6, 16; it is rarer for an adjective to be so placed as predicate ¹⁾.

1) It is, besides, very rare for an adjective, as a predicate expressing a mere property, to be so placed without a more definite number and gender, as *they go* עָרֹם *naked* Job 24, 7. 12, 17, although the adjective is not the nearest predicate there.

568 2. The greatest number of departures from the concord arise from the external form being disregarded on account of the *idea*:

1) Inasmuch as the *feminine* is the proper form for *abstracts* §. 364, and as the individuals of the plural may be comprehended in an abstract, any *plural* may be construed with the *fem. sing.* of the predicate. This is especially easy with inanimate objects, beasts, and suchlike, in which the action of individuals is not so prominent (in contradistinction to §. 569), as הִנֵּה בְּהֵמוֹת, τὰ θηρία ἀναβλέπαι, *the beasts look up* Joel 1, 20. Js. 34, 13. 2 Sam. 24, 13; also with the dual, as נִיזְרוּ קָמָה *his eyes were fixed* 1 Sam. 4, 15; with an adjective as predicate Mich. 1, 9; but never with adjectives or pronouns which are placed immediately after in the closest construction, in apposition, although it may with *pronouns* which refer remotely to a *plural* Job 39, 15. Ps. 119, 98.

K'tib 2 Kgs. 3, 3. This construction, however, is rare on the whole, and almost exclusively poetical.

2) The form and the gender of the *sing.* or *plural* are disregarded in the construction when the sense predominates over the external grammatical form; thus *a)* a *sing.* can be construed with the *plural* (the so called construction of the *collectives*) when the object consists of many equally independent and active parts; this construction is most frequent when the *sing.* signifies living and active persons or animals, and is rarely used of inanimate objects; and even in that case, the *plural* cannot enter into the apposition (cf. §. 568, except with the participle which is rather placed by itself with the article acc. to §. 596, Num. 14, 35), but only in the predicate, and frequently only in the progress of the sentence, when the form of the subject is not so distinctly present to the mind. The gender accommodates itself merely to the sense in the same way, thus *הָעָם הַזֶּה* *the people cry* (the men and women); *הָעִיר הָרָחֵק* *the city (inhabitants) fear* Js. 25, 3; *הַאֲרֵב* *the liar in wait* = those who are in ambush Jdgs. 20, 37, *מִלְחָמָה* *war for enemies* with a *masc. pl.* 1 Kgs. 5, 17; *צֹאֵן* *small cattle* often with a *fem. pl.*, *רֶכֶב* often *vehicle* in general, for the *pl. chariots* Nah. 2, 5; *אִמְרָה* *speech* for *words* Ps. 119, 103; moreover, with *כָּל* *all* Dt. 28, 60. Ez. 28, 3, and with an adjective of indefinite, general signification, as *אֲחֵר* *another, others* Job 8, 19. Js. 16, 4. Ps. 11, 7.

b) Every number and gender may also be disregarded in many single instances, when the speaker keeps fast a sense at variance with the external form, as *רִנְנִים* *clamores*, then *הַנְּסִיחָה* *ostrich*, hence as *fem.* or *masc. sing.* Job 39, 13-18; *הַשָּׁמָה* *sin* as a *masc.* Gen. 4, 7 on account of the image of a lion; *הַשָּׁמָה* *idleness* = the sluggard, as *masc.* Prov. 12, 27; *הַהֲדָה* *vanum* = idols, as *pl.* 1 Sam. 12, 21. The grammatical gender also often changes for the gender of the sense or image: *נֶפֶשׁ* *soul* = *man*, *fem.* or *msc.* Gen. 46, 27. Lev. 20, 6. 22, 6. Num. 31, 28; *צֹאֵן* *sheep* metaphorically for *men* *pl. fem.* and *masc.* Jer. 23, 2-4. Ez. 34, 1 ff. *עֲצָמוֹת* *bones and dead bodies* 38, 1 ff. *שֶׁמֶשׁ* *sun* §. 366 on account of a poetical image, *masc.* Ps. 19, 6. —

c) *Plurals* whose signification appears to be that of a *sing.* are gradually construed with the *singular*, as *הַיַּמּוֹת* *moenia* (§. 362) Jer. 51, 58; *הַיַּמּוֹת* *floods* = the sea, as *fem. sg.* Ps. 78, 15, *פָּנִים* *face*, and *מַיִם* *water* (§. 361) sometimes construed with the *sing.* 2 Sam. 10, 9; *שָׁמַיִם* *heaven* as *sing.* in remote construction Job 38, 33; *שָׂדֵה* *poet. arva*, without *sg.*, hence construed with the *sing.* as being almost synonymous with *שָׂדֵה* *field*, Hab. 3, 17. Js. 16, 8. — *אֱלֹהִים* §. 361, 3, is only very often and designedly construed

with the *pl.* where polytheism or idolatry is intended Ex. 32, 4. 8, or where the angels may be understood at the same time Gen. 35, 7; otherwise, in accordance to the Mosaic monotheism, it is, almost without exception (2 Sam. 7, 23) construed with the *sing.* of the predicate, and rarely also with the *pl.* in apposition Jos. 24, 19. 1 Sam. 17, 26; the construction fluctuates between *sg.* and *pl.* with *הַרְרֵי* *penates*; concerning *זָלָל* and *אֲדֹנָי* *lord* whose plural forms are always treated as *sing.* cf. §. 361, 3.

570 3) When two substantives are connected together by the *stat. constr.*, the predicate accommodates itself properly to the first as the chief noun; sometimes, however, rather to the second, if the first is of much less importance than the second as to the sense of the whole construction, therefore especially when the first only contains a property or relation of the second, as a) almost always when *כָּל* *universitas, all*, is the first, as this word is only equivalent to an adjective apposition acc. §. 505, as *כָּל יְמֵי* *all his days were*; *וַתִּשָּׂא בָל-הַעֲדָה* *then the whole congregation raised a cry*; it is only exceedingly rarely that the predicate does still refer to *כָּל*, Prov. 16, 2. Js. 64, 10. — In the same way b) with *קוֹל* *voice*, which often expresses nothing more than the idea of our adverb *aloud*, 1 Kgs. 1, 41. Js. 52, 8. Iob 29, 10, cf. Gen. 3, 8; — and c) when any abstract at all is placed before a substantive, especially before a personal one, so that the abstract has only, as it were, the sense and power of an adjective; as is the case with *מִבְּחָר* *choice*, *הַמְּדֵה* *desire = choicest, most desirable*, as *וַתִּשָּׂא הַמְּדֵה הַזֶּה* *venierunt desiderium* (desideratissimae) *gentes* Hag. 2, 7. Ex. 15, 4; *רַב* *abundance = many*, Iob 32, 7; *מִסְפָּר* *number* Iob 15, 20. 21, 21. 38, 21; also when another noun stands before a much more important personal one, so that the former may be conceived in a similarly subordinated idea, as *וַתִּשָּׂא הַבֹּיֹת הַהֵם* *the bow of the heroes* (heroes armed with the bow) *are confounded* 1 Sam. 2, 4. Jer. 2, 34. Js. 2, 11; these constructions are for the most part only poetical. It is only seldom, besides this, that the predicate, when placed after, refers to the second substantive which stands nearer to it, although the last may have the predicate as to the sense 1 Kgs. 17, 16 (on the contrary v. 14). Lev. 13, 9. Zach. 8, 10. such constructions were so much the more easy in general, because the noun which is subordinated to the *stat. constr.* does not alter its form in the least, has not, for instance, the form of our genitive.

571 3. Lastly, apparent deviations arise from the indefinite diction: a) the sentence may first put an individual instead

of all similar beings, and then advance to the plural which is no less in the mind of the speaker, as *he whom I loved, they turn against me* Ps. 14, 1. — b) On the contrary, the sentence may begin (and in universal propositions also) with the plural, and the matter be then confined to an individual of the multitude, Prov. 3, 28. 29. 16, 13. Am. 6, 9 f., or to many individuals Zach. 13, 4-6; but neither of these can take place in closely connected words of the same proposition; nevertheless, a *participle* may constitute a small, separate proposition, as *מְלַכֵּי יְהוּדָה יְרֵמְיָה* *they who curse it* (= if any one curses it) *he shall be slain* Ex, 31, 14. Gen. 27, 29. cf. 12, 3. Zach. 11, 6. Ps. 62, 5.

This rule does not at all apply to the cases in which the third pers. 572 sg. msc. of the passive, without a more definite person §. 552, is construed with an accusative, as the active constructions are in all cases the nearest in the language, as *מִצֹּת רָאָבֵל* *unleavened bread shall one eat*, *הַבָּנִים יֶאֱשֶׁר יֵלֵךְ* *which one has borne* (as the mother is not so much regarded in polygamy) *יִבְרַח מִפִּיהָ* *one speaks glorious things* (for the participle also can be construed so as a verb acc. to §. 350) Ps. 87, 3, cf. farther §. 493. — Also *לִי הָיְתָה* *there was to me* i. e. *I had* (which verb of later languages Hebrew does not possess) construed with the accus. Koh. 2, 7. Gen. 47, 24. Ex. 12, 49. Num 9, 14. 15, 29.

III. PARTICULAR QUALITIES OF THE SIMPLE PROPOSITION.

I. *Negative propositions.* 1. לֹא and אַל §. 448 are used 573 as negations of the whole proposition ¹⁾, and are therefore generally placed before the verb as the chief word in the proposition, or, when they are, on account the sense, placed before another word, yet it is always in such a manner that they relate to the whole proposition; they cannot, however, be placed *after* the verb, although they are easily so placed that the whole proposition is not expressed, is only understood, as לֹא as an answer *not!* i. e. *no!* וְלֹא-יָאֵץ *yet not!* as a deprecation. How partial these particles are to the full finite verb, and how much they avoid the nominal proposition where it is possible to do so, is particularly seen in the fact, that לֹא can never be placed before a participle or before the infinitive; the participle goes over into the finite *tense* Ex. 13, 21. 22. 1 Sam. 1, 13, and the *infinit.* in the same manner §. 619. — They are always distinguished from each other, by אַל being, like *μὴ*, only a negation according to the feeling and thought of the speaker, and being, therefore, only used with the *imperfect*, and indeed generally with the jussive or cohortative, as אַל יָמוּת *let him not die*, אַל יִבְשֶׁה *let me not be ashamed!* P. 25, 2; לֹא on the other

hand is the direct *non*, *לֹא*, and before the imperfect (rarely the jussive Gen. 24, 8.) expresses, in contradistinction to *אֵל*, a command according to external, objective necessity, in a much more emphatic expression therefore, as *לֹא תִרְצֶחַ* *thou shalt not kill!* *אֵל תִּרְצֶחַ* *kill not!*

- 1) *לֹא* is sometimes used with emphasis by the poets only, for the negation of a single nominal idea, as *לֹא-אֵל* *a no-God = idol* Dt. 32, 17, 21. Js. 55, 2; accordingly *אֵל-מָוֶת* Prov. 12, 28 is τὸ μὴ θνήσκειν, placed as a merely imagined proposition, as *שׁוּם לֹאֵל* Iob 24, 25 εἰς μηδὲν τιθέναι, German *zunichte machen*.

- 574 2. *אֵין* §. 506 *without, there is not* —, generally before an indefinite noun ¹⁾, as *אֵין מִסְפָּר* *without number*, *אֵין מֶלֶךְ* *there is not a king* or *no king* —, *אֵין עֹשֶׂה* *there is not any one doing*, or *no one does*; yet also before a definite one, as the word is more and more used (cf. Gen. 7, 2 with v. 8) as an imperfect verb to describe non-existence in general, and indeed in the indefinite tense i. e. primarily in the present, as *אֵין יוֹסֵף* *no Joseph* i. e. Joseph has disappeared Gen. 37, 29 (where it is a praesens praeteritum), then of the perfect also Gen. 5, 24. When no other definite noun is there, it is used with the *suffix*, as *אֵין עֹשֶׂה* *he does not* *אֵין עֹשִׂים* *they do not*. Since it is a word of purely nominal nature, the personal verb, when it is to be construed with it, must appear in the *participle* ²⁾, even after the subject, as *בָּסֶפֶר אֵין נָתַן* in which the idea of the present is contained, *silver is not given* Ex. 5, 16 (differently in v. 18). As it has generally become much more frequent in use and freer than the intrinsically similar *לֹא* §. 550, accordingly, it can also be placed much more freely in the proposition, nay even quite at the end or abruptly (Gen. 30, 1) in which case the *stat. abs.* *אֵין* is then found. Also *לֵב מְלָכִים אֵין תֵּקַר* *the heart of kings is without searching* i. e. precisely as an adjective *inscrutable* Prov. 25, 3. It is even used before an infinitive, *אֵין עֲרָה* as an exclamation *no comparing!* (is possible) Ps. 40, 6. — *בְּלֹא* *with not* i. e. *without* is also used to subordinate a single substantive Num. 35, 22, and poetically *לֹא* alone Iob 38, 26. Ps. 59, 4. 2 Sam. 23, 4, in prose only in 1 Chro. 2, 30. 32.

- 1) In the same way *לֹא* is used with the accens. without nunation, EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 45. — Moreover *אֵין לֹא* (§. 49) may be used together 1 Sam. 21, 9, just as *אֵין עוֹד* *there is not any longer*.

- 2) The only exception is in Jer. 38, 5, on account of *יִבְלֵל* §. 246.

- 575 3. *בְּלֹא* §. 459 *prop. want, is without, except*, before a whole proposition Gen. 43, 3. (*זֶה הוּא* is *except* rather before

a single word); it is only used for *not* when in close construction with nouns or prepositions, in cases in which לֹא cannot easily be used acc. to §. 573: especially before the *infinit.* with לֹא §. 544, as לֹא תִשָּׁמַר וְלֹא תִסָּבֵר *to observe and not to turn aside* Dt. 17, 19 f. Somewhat weaker and softer is בְּלִי which is placed after prepositions, as עַל בְּלִי הִגִּיד *because he did not tell* Gen. 31, 20, but also poetically signifies *without* before a substantive Job 8, 11, and forms a compound with an adjective, as בְּלִי מְשִׁיחַ *unanointed* §. 506, and lastly, is even placed before the verb as לֹא לִי Job 41, 18. Hos. 9, 16 *K'tib*. The form בִּל, shortened from this, is only poetical and altogether equivalent to the simple negation no. 1. On the other hand, the stronger מִבְּלִי prop. *from want*, in the poets perfectly the same as אֵין, is used before an indefinite noun. — אֵין *want*, usually before propositions containing limitations, as אֵין אֵפֶס *except that*; very rarely *there is no longer* 2 Sam. 9, 3. It is also used by itself as *only* Num. 22, 35.

Two such negatives are sometimes conjoined without a high intension 576 of the signification Ex. 14, 11; in the same way בִּיאֵין *that there is not no one* (any one) Jer. 10, 6. 7. Js. 5, 9.

If the negation is used with כֹּל in such a manner that it signifies *omnis* acc. to §. 512, then the two words express the idea *nullus* (as such compound words are unknown to the Hebrews, cf. also בְּמִאֲבִיחָה, לֹא דָבָר, *not something, nothing*), as *ne edas כל טְמֵא omne impurum* (nihil impur.) Jdgs. 13, 4; אֵין כֹּל *nothing at all* 2 Kgs. 4, 2 and אֵין-דָּבָר Ex. 5, 11, Jer. 38, 5; but where כֹּל signifies *totus*, the negation applies to that idea alone, as בְּלִי לֹא תִרְאֶה *thou shalt not see the whole of him* Num. 23, 13.

II. *Interrogative propositions.* The interrogation may 577 be expressed by the mere tone (Job 2, 10), but it is rare and chiefly found in short sentences only; and negatively doubtful interrogative propositions which are attached with the imperfect with וְ, *and*, are always pronounced without an interrogative particle, as the chief word of the interrogation is emphatically placed first, as וְלֹא אֶגִּיד *and shall I tell it to thee* Jdgs. 14, 16. The interrogative particles are:

1. הֲ (§. 443) *an*, הֲ, expresses the common question about an uncertain thing, as הֲיֵשׁוּעַ לְנָעֹר *is the young man well?* 2 Sam. 18, 32. cf. v. 29; the interrogation often serves as an animated negation, when the speaker enquires after a known object which the hearer must deny; on the other hand, הֲלֵא *nonne* when he expects an affirmation, often used to refer to something known, as הֲלֵא הֵם בְּתִבְיִם *is it not written?* = behold it is written, — אֲנִי אֶקְרֹא *an quod? is it that?* when

one does not know the cause, *numquid?* Iob 6, 22. 2 Sam. 9, 1. 23, 19 (where it even occurs in the narration). Gen. 27, 36. 29, 15.

- 578 **אִם** properly a conditional particle (§. 625) is often used in interrogations: 1) in indirect ones, which depend on a preceding proposition, as *ask* אִם־חַיִּים **אִם** *si vivam, whether I shall live?* 2 Kgs. 1, 2. (yet אִם also Gen. 8, 7); rarely when the question, notwithstanding the absence of the preceding proposition, is nevertheless indirect, as in 1 Kgs. 1, 27. Js. 29, 16. — 2) in the second, disjunctive interrogation which refers to a first as opposed to it and continues it; in that case we properly find **אִם** compounded, *and if* i. e. *sive* acc. to §. 625, Iob 22, 3. 40, 8. 9, although **אִם** by itself is often found instead, especially in short sentences, as לֹא־אִם־יְהִי **אִם** לֹא *is it thou or not?* Gen. 27, 21. Am. 3, 3-6.

When a chief word of the interrogation is not placed at the beginning of the proposition, but the interrogative particle is nevertheless prefixed to the whole proposition, as is usual, then אִם or אִם־כֵּן can be repeated before that chief word and after **אִם** or אִם־כֵּן Gen. 17, 17. Ps. 94, 9. 10.

- 579 2. Concerning the substantive interrogative particles **מִי** *who?* and **מָה** *what?* see §. 450. As they possess the power of substantives, they may also constitute the second member of a *stat. constr.* acc. to §. 511, as **מִי** בַת *whose daughter?* מִי־הַבְּנִיָּה *cujusnam (rei) intelligentia?* Jer. 8, 9. With the exception of this case which is produced by the *stat. constr.*, these interrogative particles also must always be placed at the beginning of the proposition, or the even tenour of the proposition is, at any rate, interrupted by their insertion; yet we also find **מִי** וְהֵנָּה *and what are we?* Ex. 16, 7 f. — **מִי** especially is rendered so prominent at the beginning of the proposition and is so separated, that הוּא is, poetically, inserted before the predicate, as *who is he* (who) —? Iob. 4, 7. 13, 19. 17, 3. Js. 50, 9. By the use of the pronoun הוּא §. 446 after **מִי**, the interrogation is not only rendered more animated, as by הוּא, but is also more nearly referred to the object already seen or called forth, as *who is he there?* Ps. 24, 10 cf. v. 8. Jer. 30, 21. Iob 38, 2. The succeeding words constitute a relative proposition, which is, however, always closely attached, as if the demonstrative pronoun was merely a nearer definition of the interrogative particle. In prose, הֲיֵשֶׁה *why then?* resembles it; sometimes too הֲיֵשֶׁה in the same signification Gen. 27, 20, and הֲיֵשֶׁה־הַזֶּה *for what is that?* Ex. 4, 2. 1 Sam. 10, 11. — **מִי** יָדַע *who knows?* in the signification of *perhaps*, is construed in precisely the same immediate manner as a particle Joel 2, 14.

2 Sam. 12, 22. *K'tib.* But the shorter אֲנִי or אַלִּי is much more frequently used for this idea ¹).

- 1) This seems, as to its etymology, to be the interrogative *if? whether?* related to the pronoun *el* §. 446, for which a shorter form לֵה is used in a somewhat different sense. Cf. the Chald. מֵאֵרִים *quid si?* = *fortasse.*

The distinction between the sense of each §. 450 is always observed: 580
 מַה enquires after the *nature* of a thing, even in cases where persons are spoken of, as מַה אֵלֶּה *what are these?* i. e. of what kind, *quales*, Zach. 1, 9. 4, 5. 13; and מִי after the person, even where the personality only exists in the mind of the speaker, as מִי הַמַּחֲנֶה *who is the camp?* i. e. the men and living beings in it Gen. 33, 8. Cant. 3, 6: מִי שְׁמֶךָ *who is thy name?* i. e. *quis nominaris?* Jdgs. 13, 17 cf. Ezr. 5, 4. In a different manner: מִי *as who (how)* will Jacob subsist? Am. 7, 2. 5.

מַה is also the reproaching, condemning *what? (why?)* Ex. 17, 2. Ps. 42, 12. The transition from that sense to the more animated prohibition and negation, is near and easy, but is still very rare in Hebr. and only commencing in poetry Job 31, 1. Cant. 8, 4.

בְּמַה *about what = how much?* §. 462 very frequently used as *why? wherefore?* when the enquiry is made after the purpose and thus, in the end, 'after the cause also. A more definite word is מִדַּעַת *why?* properly very much shortened from מַה דַּעַת *what having seen, experienced?* as action arises from having experienced and perceived something, cf. מַה דַּעַתָּה Gen. 20, 11.

3. אֵיזֶה is acc. to. §. 451 the interrogative *adjective* 581 *which?* and thus sufficiently distinguished from other interrogatives. As an interrogative, however, it must nevertheless be placed before its substantive, and therefore does not change its gender and number; זֶה, as the pronoun, only changes according to the relations of the proposition i. e. it is to be considered as the nominative or accusative, has a preposition or has not. The substantive, however, does not require to be definite, as אֵי זֶה בַּיִת *which house?* אֵי מִזֶּה עִיר *from what city?* but it may also be definite, as אֵי זֶה הַדֶּרֶךְ *which way?* 1 Jdgs. 13, 12.

III. *Interjectional propositions.* 1) a single *noun* may 582 be placed as an exclamation, either by itself or inserted in a proposition, and, in that case, as the Hebrews have not any particle for this expression §. 440, the noun undergoes no further change, and is used with or without the article according as its particular laws determine, as הַכֹּהֵן *the (oh) priest!* if he is standing before the speaker, אֶרֶץ *(oh) earth!* poetically. — Before אֲדֹנָי *my lord!* or, which is, properly speaking, the same thing acc. to §. 359, אֲדֹנָי *oh Lord!* (God)

we often find *כי* on *me* (hear)! in a shortened phrase Gen. 43, 20. 44, 18. Jdgs. 6, 13. 15.

583 2) The chief word of the proposition, the *verb*, is used interjectionally. The *jussive* and *imperative* are very gentle and developed kinds of this use. But a much stronger and abrupt, and at the same time more comprehensive kind, is the exclamation by means of the *infinitive absolute*, when the naked verbal idea is placed with all emphasis, in such a way that, in more unimpassioned diction, the verb would be used in more definite person, tense, or mode. This takes place chiefly 1) when the speaker is too full of his subject so that he mentions the action in the concisest way, as an exclamation, as *eating and leaving thereof!* i. e. in the connexion of the sense in that passage, you shall certainly eat and leave thereof 2 Kgs. 4, 43; *יִתְּנָה לִי* contend with God -? i. e. will he forsooth contend -? Job 40, 2. — 2) This abrupt, energetic mode of expression is most frequently found for the absolute command by which the thing enjoined is placed abruptly and by itself (for which the infinitive is used in ancient Greek also) as *עֲשֵׂה* making! for *make*, 2 Kgs. 3, 16; *זָכֵר* remembering! for *you must remember* Ex. 20, 8; *הָמֹלֵט* all flesh to be circumcised! i. e. must be circumcised Gen. 17, 10. — 3) in the hurried, emphatic description of events rapidly following each other which excite astonishment, or displeasure, when it is sufficient to mention the action by itself and, by that means, more emphatically, for which the inf. abs. may be either used once or oftener, as *אָלָה וְכַהֵן* swearing falsely and lying and stealing and murdering! Hos. 4, 2. 10, 4. Js. 21, 5. 59, 4. Job 15, 35. Jer. 8, 15. 14, 19. 32, 33. — In all cases, however, in which the *inf. abs.* is placed quite by itself (cf. also §. 605), it is construed like the verb, instead of which it is used; the following noun, according to the context, may also be the *subject* of the verb (Job 40, 2. Prov. 12, 7. 17, 12; with the inf. pass. Gen. 17, 10); just as, on the other hand, every subject in the proposition is left out if the *finite verb* were used without a subject mentioned.

584 This emphatical *inf. abs.* becomes much softer and more equable when it is immediately explained by the more definite finite verb, which is very frequent in Hebr. acc. to §. 559 when the verb is only to be rendered prominent in the proposition; an English idiom corresponding to this in force, is: *speak-he did not*. The *emphasis* of the action, however, may be very various: as in an antithesis to a preceding action, therefore especially after *כי* but, as *thou shalt not give it*

to me, but *אֶקְנֶה* *I will buy it* 2Sam. 24, 24, also without this particle Ez. 16, 4; with limitations, often after *אֶךְ* and *רַק* only, as *he had only gone out* (nothing more than that) Gen. 27, 30. 44, 28, hence also very often with conditions, especially with the second, opposed, condition, as *אִם הִגִּיד הַגִּידִי* if you declare it Jdgs. 14, 12; often in interrogative propositions, where the action itself is the most important point in the question, as *הֲמִלְכָה הַמֶּלֶךְ* wilt thou reign (forsooth) Gen. 37, 8; generally when an action is assumed to be quite certain, without the possibility of being otherwise, as *אֲנִי יָדַעְתִּי הַמֶּלֶךְ* thou wilt reign 1 Sam. 24, 21. Job 27, 22; also at the beginning of the narration with some emphasis of the very thing which one is about to relate or affirm, as *רָאוּ רָאוּ* we have seen Gen. 26, 28; and often in solemn commands, for which expression the *inf.* alone is often used acc. to §. 583, as *יָדַעְתָּ* thou shalt know Gen. 15, 13. The adjective or participle may be rendered emphatic in the same manner as the verb, Jdgs. 11, 25¹). Such impassioned expressions are, of course, more frequent in animated diction than in historical narrative. — In almost all cases, however, the infinitive is placed at the beginning of the proposition, like the infin. when placed alone §. 583, or the sentence is, at any rate, previously broken off; hence it follows 1) that no *negation* can be placed before the infin. (in the same way as it cannot in §. 583), but can only be placed before the following *finite verb*, where every thing in general is more closely defined, as *לֹא נִמְרֹתְךָ* we will not kill thee Jdgs. 15, 13 (very rare exceptions in Gen. 3, 4 where it may be defended by the corresponding passage 2, 17, and in Ps. 49, 8); — 2) the *infin.* as rendering the mere action prominent, may be placed in *Qal*, when the more definite form e. g. the passive, follows afterwards with the other nearer definition in the finite verb, as *טָרַף טָרַף* Gen. 37, 33; it is rare for a similar, as to idea equivalent, verbal form to be placed in the infin. e. g. *Hof.* beside *Nif.* 2Kgs. 3, 23; or a similar weak root, which can have the same signification (cf. §. 228), especially an infin. from *פָּא* placed before a finite verb *עָלָה* in the imperf. to give both verbs a greater external equality Zeph. 1, 2. Jer. 8, 13; Js. 28, 28²).

- 1) We are not to confound with this case, the rare instance in which the infin. abs. is placed before its finite verb in the signification described in §. 541, Am. 9, 8.
- 2) The *infin. abs.* when placed after, on the other hand, must accommodate itself much more strictly to its finite verb §. 541; it is very rare to find *Qal* after *Hif.* Gen. 46, 4.

3. The whole proposition may consist of an abrupt ex- 585
clamation, either without a particle, as *שְׁלוֹם לָךְ* peace to thee! *בָּרוּךְ אַבְרָם* blessed be Abram! *חַי נַפְשֶׁךָ* the life of thy soul! = so sure thy soul liveth; instead of this *stat. constr.* *חַי*, the adjective *חַי* is used in the phrase *חַי יי* so sure God lives! — or with a particle.

The proper optative particle is לֵּי 1) Gr. *ὥς*, Lat. *utinam*! used with the imperf. or, more definitely, with the jussive and imperative, as יִהְיֶה לֵּי *would that he lived*! שִׁמְעֵנִי לֵּי *oh hear me*! Gen. 17, 18. 23, 13. 30, 34. If the wish, however, regards an object already actually past, which cannot possibly be attained now, or one which appears impossible at present, which is only conceived as real in the imagination, then it subordinates the *perfect*, as בִּהְיֶה לֵּי *utinam mortui essemus*! Num. 14, 2. 30, 3; יֵרֵד לֵּי *utinam descenderis*! Js. 64, 1-4. — The compound אֲחַלֵּי *oh that*! expresses a more urgent desire Ps. 119, 5. 2 Kgs. 5, 3, from אָחַל §. 440 and לֵּי = לֵּי, cf. אֶחָד.

1) Concerning the etymology see below §. 627.

586 A wish whose fulfilment is expected from others, is often expressed by מִי and the *imperf.* as מִי יִשְׁקֵנִי מַיִם *who will give me water*! i. e. *oh that some one would give*, or *oh that I had* —! 2 Sam. 23, 15; particularly frequent is מִי יִהְיֶה *who will give* = *oh would that*! this last, as it contains a complete proposition, may be followed by the chief verb with Vav *consequutivum*, as מִי יִהְיֶה וְהָיָה *oh that there were* Dt. 5, 29; nevertheless, this Vav is often wanting acc. to §. 539, Job 6, 8, or the verb is placed in the *infin.* as אֶלְהֵי־יִי יִהְיֶה דֹבֵר *oh would that God would speak*! Ex. 16, 3, and with the *infin.* placed after (acc. to §. 555) when the noun has more emphasis Job 11, 5; also with a mere noun as object Ps. 14, 7.

587 §. 581 is also used as an exclamation of astonishment at the nature of a thing, as בַּיָּה נִירָא *how terrible*! in the same way בְּכַף שָׁנִים זֶה *this how many years*! or, as we could say, to the same effect, already so many years! Zach. 7, 3.

SECOND SECTION.

OF ANNEXED PROPOSITIONS.

588 1. *Relative propositions.* There are, in general, two kinds of these: the relative proposition proceeds from a word of substantive power, as *qui tacet*, and *vir qui tacet*, or from a particle which merely combines and refers a thought, from a conjunction, as *gaudeo quod semper vales*. Both, according to the simplest syntactical arrangement, necessarily have the word of relation *at the beginning* always, and more complicated arrangements like *quam vidi urbem magna est*, are not Semitic. It follows from this,

A. for the proposition with substantive power, that the word of relation, although possessing the power of a substantive, is nevertheless placed quite alone and abruptly at the beginning of the proposition, only as a fundamental word to denote the relation, and is externally, therefore, more like a particle, as it has neither number nor gender in Hebrew. But, because it stands so abruptly at the beginning, it must, like every other word so placed in the following proposition (where it is necessary), explain itself by the corresponding personal pronoun in ordinary arrangement: as we must say *vir - dixi ei* when *vir* is abruptly placed first §. 558; in the same way *qui - dixi ei* for the Lat. *cui dixi*. This is, however, modified by the effort to speak as concisely as possible, for which reason the complement by the pers. pronoun is often omitted. Particulars are, accordingly, as follows:

1) When the relative word refers, according to the sense 589 of the whole proposition, to the *subject*, the personal pronoun follows afterwards in its usual place in the nominative, as *אֲשֶׁר הָיָה* *which is living* Gen. 9, 3. Dt. 20, 15. Ps. 16, 3; yet this pronoun may also be omitted, as the relative word easily expresses the idea of the subject at the same time, especially in short propositions, as *הָאֲנָשִׁים אֲשֶׁר אִתּוֹ* *of the women who were with him* (for such little accessory definitions also, belonging to the substantive by itself, are often connected to it with greater distinctness and precision), *הוּא נָקִי* *he who is foolish*; it is necessarily absent before every finite verb as predicate, because the person is already contained in that §. 260, as *אֲשֶׁר אָמַר* *who said*. — 2) When it refers to the *object*, the object is usually supplied in its place by the *suffix*, as *אֲשֶׁר בָּלָאֻהוּ* *whom he imprisoned*; this complement, however, may also be omitted, the relative word being considered as the object at the same time, as the object may also be placed before, in case of need; especially easily in short propositions, and where things are spoken of, as *הַדָּבָר אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר* *the word which he spoke*. — 3) When it refers to an idea which is to be strictly subordinated, the *suffix* can never be omitted, whether it be after a real noun, as *אֲשֶׁר אָמַר בְּנוֹ* *(he) whose son said*, or after a preposition, as *אֲשֶׁר אָמַר לוֹ* *(he) to whom he said*. It is only to substantives which state time, place, kind, and manner, that the relative word can be attached without complement, because these general ideas of relation acc. to §. 490 can be conceived in the accusative merely, in case of need, as *בַּיּוֹם אֲשֶׁר בָּא* *until the day that he came* 2 Sam. 19, 25, *בַּמָּקוֹם אֲשֶׁר דִּבֶּר* *in the place that (where) he spoke with him* Gen. 35, 13 f. 40, 13. It is somewhat different when

the expression beginning with אֲשֶׁר, does not conclude quite uniformly Ex. 1, 15. Dt. 3, 24.

When the distance is greater, the substantive itself may be repeated for distinctness instead of the *suff.* Gen. 13, 16. Jer. 31, 32; the substant. may also be placed altogether after the relative Ex. 14, 13.

590 As the relative word is thus very different from a Latin *relative pronoun*, accordingly, it can not only be construed with the pronoun of the third person, but it may just as easily be construed a) with a demonstrative adverb, as אֲשֶׁר שָׁם *where* §. 447, אֲשֶׁר מִשָּׁם *from where*; — b) with the pronoun of the first and second person, in which use there is greater conciseness and precision in Hebr. as *thou* אֲשֶׁר הוֹצֵאתִיךָ *whom I brought out* Dt. 5, 6. Hos. 14, 4; *I* אֲשֶׁר בְּרִיתִי *whose covenant* — Jer. 31, 32.

591 Besides this, however, the three possible *positions* and *references of a relative proposition* require to be accurately distinguished:

1. The proposition which is merely a further description of a substantive before mentioned, approaches nearest to the apposition of an adjective §. 537. But, as the person is thus already defined by the substantive which is always to be placed before, and does not require a relative word to express it as the basis of the sentence; and as, on the other hand, the relative word is very loosely attached, and the following proposition can be complete without it: accordingly, it is not surprising that a particular relative word may be omitted here. It is most easily omitted when the substantive to be described is indefinite, as אֲשֶׁר *which*, as to origin and power, is equivalent to a demonstrative pronoun, and thus to the article §. 453; but also when it is not indefinite, especially in poetry. Particulars of this acc. to §. 589 are then as follows: 1) when the reference has the sense of the subject, as בְּאֶרֶץ לֹא לָהֶם *in a land which is not to them* i. e. a strange land Gen. 15, 13; and with a *finite verb*, בְּבִהְיוֹתָם נִדְּמוּ *like the beasts that are slaughtered* Ps. 49, 13. — 2) When it refers to the object, as אֶרֶץ יָדָעָה *a land - he knew it* i. e. which he knew; and (as the *suff.* may be omitted acc. to §. 589) in this way also, אֶרֶץ לֹא יָדָעוּ *a way which they know not* Js. 42, 16. — 3) When it belongs to a closely subordinated idea, as הַדֶּרֶךְ יֵלְכוּ בָּהּ *the way therein they should walk* = in which way they should walk, Ex. 18, 20.

592 2. The relative word is itself a new substantive, used instead of every other more definite one, e. g. אֲשֶׁר עַל הַבַּיִת *(he who) is over the house* i. e. the steward. The relative word in itself, indeed, then retains all modes of construction

with the proposition (which it begins §. 589) which are peculiar to it from its nature: but, at the same time, it may, together with the whole relative proposition, be dependent on a different idea, and support the whole signification of a dependent word ¹); it may, therefore, receive את acc. to §. 492 as an external sign of its being subordinated as object, as *know* את-אשר *that which shall happen*, annoint את-אשר *him whom I will name to thee*, or be dependent on a *stat. constr.* or on a preposition, as *he said* על הבית *to him who was over the house*.

- 1) Hence, too, other languages, especially modern ones, express this twofold connexion forwards and backwards, by the demonstrative and relative: *he who* —.

The relative word may be omitted in this case also, in the same 593 way as in the first §, 591, but under great limitations. The relative proposition without a relative word, can only be construed with a *stat. constr.*, because the force of the *stat. constr.* already contains the necessity of subordinating the whole following proposition, either consisting of a noun or conceived as such, so that the relative word which invests it with a nominal form, may now be omitted. But in that case, the relative proposition must, first, contain nothing which could be considered as an apposition to the word in *stat. constr.* (for instance, no suffix acc. to §. 589, 3, which would destroy the intimate connexion of the *st. constr.*), but the relative word, if it is used, must be able to support the sense of the subject or object completely §. 589; and secondly, the verb (or what is equivalent to it) must be placed at the beginning of the relative proposition, so that the strict opposition of the *stat. constr.* is produced in all ways. This only occurs, in Prose, in general statements of measure and time, as *beginning that God spoke* Hos. 1, 2, and further §. 507; but, in poetry, it is much more freely and extensively used: of every local relation, as *town that*, or *where*, *David encamped* acc. to §. 589 *sub fin.*, moreover *the gain that he acquired* Jer. 48, 36 (on the contrary, *in* יתרה in Js. 15, 7, loosely construed acc. to §. 591); lastly, *the place of him who knows not God* Job 18, 21, *in the hands of him whom I cannot sustain* Lam. 1, 14. Job 29, 16. Ps. 81, 6, or after prepositions, which amounts to the same thing, as *to those who asked not* Js. 65, 1. Jer. 2, 8. Ez. 13, 3. and acc. to §. 574 *to him who is without strength* Job 26, 2; *send by* (for *manu* is like a prepos. = *per*) *him whom thou wilt send* Ex. 4, 13. With לֹא, where this occurs most frequently, it is more especially accounted for by the impossibility of construing it with a participle §. 573. Only certain poets, however, are partial to this conciseness. — Very rarely as object after the verb Job 24, 19. Ps. 12, 6.

3. The relative word contains a general idea which has 594 a corresponding consequence, as *qui tacet sapit*. Such propositions, however, encroach on the province of the correlative propositions, as the sense may always be resolved into *si quis tacet* etc., see §. 624. The external sign of the relation cannot be omitted here; yet cf. Koh. 1, 19.

595 The relative word itself, however, may be of various kinds: 1) אֲשֶׁר §. 453, of demonstrative derivation, expresses simply a pronominal reference, either in continuation §. 589, or instead of another, more definite substantive §. 592. In poetry, הַ, הָ §. 453 are used in the same signification. The article (except before participles, which do not belong here §. 596) is very rarely so used, 1 Sam. 9, 24. Jos. 10, 24. — 2) For general ideas §. 594, however, in which the enquiry or appeal embraces all objects which may possibly belong there, known or unknown, מִי *who* and מַה *what* are used, acc. to §. 453, but are construed differently in this case, and perhaps, have a different tone to §. 579; we might always use our *whoever*, *quicumque* for it Gen. 19, 12. Prov. 9, 4. Js. 50, 8, we also find the completer phrase מִי אֲשֶׁר *who that* — 2 Sam. 20, 11, Ex. 32, 33; כִּי *quodcunque* 1 Sam. 20, 4, only in Kohelet more distinctly כִּי מִהֶם with the usual relative.

596 3) The *participle*, acc. to §. 349, 1, in itself contains the idea of a verb used as a relative word of description, and is thus used, where it is possible, more compendiously for the finite verb with a relative word; it is principally impossible to use it in negative propositions acc. to §. 573. Ex. 9, 21 cf. v. 20. The participle may be so used by itself, in which case it is rendered prominent, in prose, by the article, as הַיִּירָא *the fearing* = he who fears, and even more freely placed, thus, הַיִּשָּׁר הֹלֵךְ *he who walks uprightly* = אֲשֶׁר הֹלֵךְ Mich. 2, 7, and in the predicate, *which* are הַיִּהְיִי *the going ones* = they which shall go? Ex. 9, 20. 19, 8; or belong to a preceding substantive, in which case the loosely construed participle, or adjective corresponding to it, may easily assume the article which connects it more closely, even after an indefinite noun, as נַפְשׁ הַחַיָּה *soul the living* = which lives Gen. 1, 21. 28. 9, 10, cf. v. 12, 15 in which the article, not being necessary in itself, is omitted. When the participle thus belongs to a noun before named, it is also more easily used in the sense of the *perfect*: as מִי הָיָה הַצֹּדֵד *who is he who hath hunted* Gen. 27, 33. 1 Sam. 4, 8. 11, 9. sometimes indeed, although very rarely, for the imperfect as our *future*, as *his sons in law* בְּתָרֵי בְּתָרֵי *which should take his daughters* Gen. 19, 14. Ex. 11, 5 (cf. 2 Kgs. 3, 27 where it is avoided) whereas such a participle, when placed absolutely, as הַיִּירָא *timens*, for instance, does not easily express such a definite temporal signification.

597 B. Acc. to §. 454, that אֲשֶׁר §. 595 is used as a relative *conjunction* for the attachment of a proposition, like the Lat. *quod*, although כִּי is the much more common and appropri-

ate conjunction. Thus *a*) **אֲשֶׁר** *yet* (emphatically prominent) is it *that* - Zach. 8, 20. — *b*) after an active verb as its object, as **הִגִּיד בִּי** *he told that* -; §. 492 may also be placed before **אֲשֶׁר**, because it has always rather a substantive value, as **רָאוּ אֶת-אֲשֶׁר נָתַן** *they saw that he gave* 1 Sam. 24, 11. Job 9, 5. **אֲשֶׁר הֵלַכְוּ** *I make that you go* (*ut eatis*) Ez. 36, 27. With the verbs of *seeing*, however, it is most natural to place the nearest object, the whole object of sight, first, and then to mention any property perceived in the object, next, as *he saw the light that (it was) good*, for which we, more closely combining the ideas, say *he saw that the light was good* Gen. 1, 4. 6, 2. Ex. 2, 2. — *c*) after the *stat. constr.* of a noun, of a preposition, or of a similar word of relation §. 506, *c*, as **אֲשֶׁר יוֹם** *day that* i. e. on which day, *quando* Dt. 4, 10. Many of these words, however, are placed, without a conjunction also, immediately before the proposition, becoming conjunctions themselves, so that we are always to enquire, in particular instances, whether the relative conjunction is necessary or not. The very short prepositions **בְּ** and **כִּי** can never be placed without the support of **אֲשֶׁר**, as **בְּאֲשֶׁר** *in that*, and, used of place, *where*, **כַּאֲשֶׁר** *sicut*; the prepositions **עַד** and **אַחֲרֵי** are rarely conjunctions in themselves, but **עַד** *until that*, which is more limited as a preposition, is oftener a conjunction; **עַקֵּב אֲשֶׁר** or **עַקֵּב בִּי**, rarely **עַקֵּב** by itself, *because that* -; **אֲשֶׁר אֵפֶס בִּי**, *except that*, **לְפִינֵן** *for the purpose of*, with or without **אֲשֶׁר**; **אֲשֶׁר כֵּן** *that not, lest*, and **בְּתוֹרָם** *before*, which have become pure conjunctions, are always without a conjunction.

Such a relative proposition may, on suitable occasions, be more compendiously combined by the *infi. constr.* especially after prepositions and words of relation, as **לְפִינֵן עֲשׂוֹת** *for the purpose of doing*, see §. 544. And, as the construction thus often fluctuates between an *infi. constr.* and the *finite verb* without a relative conjunction, accordingly, the *infi. cs.* is sometimes pronounced with the vowels of the *perf.* at the beginning, when it would be possible to use the *perf.* as finite verb, Num. 21, 35. Jer. 31, 32.

All simple propositions of relation which are introduced with particles, whether they are placed before or after (although they must always be merely loosely attached and interposed) belong particularly to this class:

1) Propositions of *time*: 1) by **בִּי** *as* or **בְּאֲשֶׁר** the Lat. *quum*, as, in the coincidence of two events, the one of them is conceived as dependent, used as well of an event once past, our *as*, as of the present and future where we use *when*, the Lat. *quum*; but also used in the same way of duration in the past, *when* = *as often as*, with the *im-*

perf. §. 264, *b*, or, as the use of that tense for duration in the past gradually declines, with the *perf.* 2 Sam. 6, 13. The word has no influence on the tense of the verb; even a proposition of *state* in the *fut. instans* follows, Num. 33, 51. 34, 2 acc. to §. 556. Very rarely is כִּי used with the *participle* for the preteritum relat. Gen. 38, 29 cf. 18, 10. Jer. 2, 17. — 2) כִּי־אֵלֶּיךָ *in that* is rather *because*, transferred to the cause, hence it is even construed with the dative of a person as a preposition *on account of* Jon. 1, 8. The merely temporal *while* is contained in the *inf. constr.* with כִּי , or in the proposition of state with the *participle*, and still more definitely with כִּי־עַד *yet* Iob 1, 16 §. 607 (כִּי־עַד *while* Iob 1, 18, cf. §. 520, 3). כִּי־עַד־כֵּן *so long as*, with a proposition of state 2 Sam. 12, 22. — 3) כִּי־עַד *not yet* is construed, in conformity to that idea, immediately with the *imperf.* as sign of an act not yet finished, whether the past or present is the time spoken of; it is indeed primarily used in a proposition of state, with a subject preceding it Gen. 2, 5. 1 Sam. 3, 3. Jos. 2, 8; also, it is true, without a preceding subject, where there is no obscurity, as כִּי־עַד *thou knowest not yet*, but still always construed as a proposition of state acc. to §. 607, Gen. 19, 4. Yet it can also be more concisely subordinated to a preceding proposition, in which case, therefore, it is our *before* Ex. 12, 34. Jos. 3, 1, which subordination, however, is more usually and definitely expressed by כִּי־עַד־כֵּן , 2 Kgs. 2, 9. Jer. 1, 5; with לִי acc. to §. 576. Zeph. 2, 2. It is only rarely used with the *perf.* of the past Gen., 24, 15 cf. v. 45. Ps. 90, 3. 1 Sam. 3, 7. כִּי־עַד־כֵּן with the *inf. constr.* Hag. 2, 15. — כִּי־עַד *until* with the *inf. constr.* or with the corresponding *finite verb*; concerning כִּי־עַד see §. 625. — כִּי־עַד־כֵּן or כִּי־עַד־כֵּן *from then* = *since*, with the *inf. constr.* or with a substantive like our *since* (since כִּי־עַד §. 447 refers more to the former *time* than the כִּי־עַד by itself) Ex. 1, 10. or with the *finite verb* 5, 23. Jer. 44, 18. In the same way is construed כִּי־עַד *since often* = *so often as*; for the *st. constr.* כִּי־עַד from כִּי־עַד *abundance* is often added to the prepositions כִּי־עַד , כִּי־עַד (Jdgs. 6, 5 cf. 7, 12) כִּי־עַד (Iob 39, 25) when abundance, magnitude, or frequent repetition are spoken of.

599 2) Propositions for *end* and *purpose*, introduced by כִּי־עַד (a short formation acc. to §. 337 from the root כִּי־עַד *to inform*, to mean, intend), כִּי־עַד־כֵּן *for purpose* — (from the same root) and כִּי־עַד־כֵּן (prop. in transition, aim). These can be construed, as prepositions in the signification *on account of*, with the *inf.* or with substantives, but also, as conjunctions, with the *finite verb*, כִּי־עַד in the signification *because* more easily with the *perf.* (for which כִּי־עַד is also used

§. 575), the other two only in the signification *that*, introducing a future purpose, therefore with the *imperf.* as בְּעִבּוֹר ut cognoscas Ex. 9, 14, לְמַעַן תִּדְעוּ ut cognosceretis Dt. 29, 5, yet also אֲשֶׁר לֹא that not Ez. 12, 12; to render the intention more prominent, לְמַעַן may be construed with the *cohortative*, as אֲסַפְּרָה לְךָ that I may tell Ps. 9, 15. בְּעִבּוֹר also, with a proposition of state, because 2 Sam. 12, 21 (prop. on account of the child while he lived = because he lived). If the intention is easily gathered from what precedes, then אֲשֶׁר by itself with the *imperf.* may be sufficient, like our *that*, Gen. 11, 7. Dt. 4, 40 (where לְמַעַן follows for distinctness). — בֵּן (root בָּנָה to avert) with the *imperf.* is a short expression for *that not, lest*; yet it is also used, like the Lat. *ne*, in such a manner that it describes the fear of a misfortune, and the desire to avoid it, as *ne mittat* Gen. 3, 22; when the fear is for an event which, as may be almost certainly concluded, has already taken place, it is used with the *perfect*, as הָיָה, lest 2 Kgs. 2. 16. The case is somewhat different in Ps. 38, 17.

3) The relative conjunction is more freely and loosely placed before a new proposition in such a way that the whole preceding thought is thereby further *confirmed*, precisely as *quod* = *quia, because, for*; that it is properly the relative *because*, וְ and not וְאֵל, although it is used for our *for*, is clear from the fact that two reasons may follow each other in this way, וְכִי prop. *because - and because* Gen. 33, 11. Jdgs. 6, 30. The rather nominal אֲשֶׁר is rarely used for this case, as Gen. 6, 4. — The *reason* is rendered more emphatic by the combination וְכִי לְכֵן *for therefore*, the reason being adduced for the second time by *therefore*, but *therefore* becoming demonstrative now after the relative (as וְכִי §. 579), in Lat. nearly the same as *quandoquidem*, Gen. 18, 5. 19, 8. 33, 10. 38, 26. Num. 10, 31. 14, 43. Jdgs. 6, 22. Jer. 29, 28. 38, 4.

It is different when וְ is used as an exclamation in impassioned diction: I say *that* -! i. e. *yea! verily!* Gen. 18, 29. Ex. 22, 22.

A proposition containing an *indirect* thought is annexed in the same simple manner; for the language possesses no particular form or mode to express it: the tense remains as it would be if the thought were simple and direct; e. g. *she stood at a distance to know* מַה בַּעֲשֶׂה לוֹ *what will (would) be done to him*, for, at the time when she wanted to know it, it was still future, Ex. 2, 4. Job 36, 10, see farther §. 265. We also find contracted modes of expression like *this is what God has commanded (that) you do* אֲשֶׁר צִוָּה יְיָ תַעֲשֶׂה Lev. 9, 6. מִן־הַצֵּמֶר imperavit - ut starent Dan. 1, 5.

603 II. For the *external attachment* of a new word to a word in the proposition, or of a new proposition, the simple copula *ו* and is most frequently used.

1. Other *nouns* are coupled to the first by *ו*, even nouns which are less important as to the internal sense, which we would annex to the more important one by *with*, see §. 604, Ex. 12, 8. — If a noun in *stat. constr.* (or a preposition) is referred to more than one noun, it is always repeated acc. to §. 509, except when the following nouns easily refer, as to the sense, to the first, and the defined noun is less important in the proposition, as *וְזָבַת הָחֵלֶב וְהַדָּבָשׁ flowing with milk and honey* Ex. 3, 8; when there are many nouns, the *stat. constr.* is often repeated with every second Js. 11, 2. The *stat. constr.* or the preposition must, however, always be repeated if the first or second noun has only a suffix which cannot be separated like a substantive, as *בָּנֵיהֶּיךָ וּבָנֹתֶיךָ אֲבִיךָ thine and thy father's daughters*; *בָּנֵי אֶחָי וּבָנֵי הָאֶחָד the sons of my brother and mine*.

If the same *suffix* belongs to two nouns, it must, for that reason, be placed twice, as *בָּנֵי וּבָנֹתָיו his sons and his daughters*, and it is exceedingly rare for the same *suff.* to be omitted with the second closely connected noun, as *וְזִמְרָתָא וְזִמְרָתָא my strength and song* Ex. 15, 2 (Js. 12, 2. Ps. 118, 14), where the *א* §. 365 appears to have remained from *וְזִמְרָתָא*; 1 Sam. 1, 9. ¹⁾ 2 Sam. 23, 5. If two substantives to be defined, have the same defining substantive, it is subordinated to the first and repeated in the *suff.* merely, with the second, as *בָּנֵי הָאָב וּבָנֹתָיו the sons of the father and his daughters* (it is seldom clear in any other manner Gen. 40, 1. 5.), and it is exceedingly rarely that the two are placed beside one another in *stat. constr.* as *טוֹב וְחֵטֶה לְבָנוֹן the choice and best of Libanon* Ez. 31, 16.

1) Hence the *inf.* in this passage is, on the contrary, placed the second time as *inf. abs.* contrary to §. 545.

When a new noun is thus coupled to a person contained in the verb or in the *suff.* or to a substantive after some interval, then the preceding noun is repeated in its *personal pronoun* before the new one, to render it sufficiently distinct and emphatic, as *יָדַעְתָּ אֲתָהּ וְאֲבֹתֶיךָ thou knowest, thou and thy fathers* Dt. 2, 32. 3, 1. 5, 14. 6, 2, 12, 7. 12. 18; sometimes, too, as *דָּוִד וְהָיוּ אִתּוֹ אֲנָשֵׁי דָוִד David, he and his men*, i. e. D. with his men 1 Sam. 30, 31; see §. 604.

604 When a verb, or an adjective as predicate, or a pronoun, belongs to many such subjects connected together by the copula, there arise different possible modes of their relation; 1) if the predicate goes before, it is then a) most frequently put in the *msc. sg.* as the nearest form (cf. §. 567)

even if different genders and numbers follow, as יָצָא הוֹדָה וְקוֹל *there proceeds from them praise (fem.) and the voice (msc.)* Jer. 30. 19. 1 Sam. 27, 8. Gen. 24, 55; more rarely is *b*) the *pl.* used, when the speaker combines all that follows, as יָמָיו וְבָנָיו נָשָׂא הוּא וְשָׂאָהוּ *dead are Saul and his sons* 1 Sam. 31, 7; or *c*) in the *fem.* in reference to the *sg.* or *pl. fem.* which is first placed, especially where the *fem.* is personal, Gen. 33, 7. Num. 12, 1. — 2) When the predicate follows, it is *a*) usually in the *pl.*, in case many *sg.* or *pl.* precede it Gen. 33, 7; *b*) it can only stand in the *sg.* when *one* person is the principal person, as אֲנִי וְנַעֲרָתִי אֶצְוֶה i. e. acc. to §. 603 *I with my maids will fast* Est. 4, 16; or when the nouns are more like neuters, or are almost synonymous Dt. 28, 24. *c*) The *msc.* is the nearest in this case also, Gen. 33, 7; the *sg.* is also often used when the first noun is *msc.* and the second *fem.* Zach. 7, 7. Prov. 27, 9; it is rare for the *fem.* to refer to a *fem.* noun placed last, Job 19, 15, or because the *fem.* is more important Jer. 44, 25.

The opposite to the copula, as well with single words 605 as with whole sentences, is 1) the merely *explanatory* diction, as בְּנַפְשׁוֹ דָּמָה *in its soul, its blood* Gen. 9, 4. 11, 30; — 2) the *ascending* diction, often in the highest flights of poetry Jer. 31, 21, or to represent the rapidity of acts succeeding each other Jdg. 18, 17, or in long, interminable enumerations of similar objects Gen. 1, 11 cf. v. 12. 21.

2. New propositions, according to the same simplicity 606 of the language, are coupled by וְ in all possible cases, and, throughout the whole structure of connected propositions, the simple arrangement of one proposition beside another one first placed by itself, prevails (just as in the structure of a single proposition §. 472). The copula does not only connect a proposition which joins closely on to the preceding one in the ordinary tranquil progress of sentences, but it also connects 1) an *antithesis*; the individual word, however, to which the opposition especially belongs, must then, contrary to the usual order which places the verb first §. 554 always be energetically placed at the beginning of the proposition, and in that manner denote the opposition; so that it is not the וְ which denotes the opposition, and which signifies *but*, of itself, but it is the order of the words, and the comparison with the preceding proposition, which have this force, as *he called the dry land earth, and (but) the collection of the waters he called sea*, Gen. 1, 10; it is only rarely that we find the finite verb at the beginning without any other change, on account of there being no other word to be placed first.

607 2) A thought which is more subordinated as to the sense, in case it can stand as a proposition by itself, is coupled by וְ ; every thought, however, appears for the most part as a proposition by itself, if it is possible. Every *proposition of relation* and of *state* which serves only for the explanation of the chief proposition, can be thus coupled by וְ as equal to equal, and then a) the subordinate proposition generally follows the chief one. The subject is regularly placed first acc. to §. 556: which rule is so strict, that when the subject of the subordinate proposition is a noun already mentioned in the chief proposition, it must then either be repeated itself in the subordinate proposition, or its pronoun must be used, as *he smote the camp* $\text{וַיִּמָּחֶה הָהָרָה בְּטַח}$ and *the camp was quiet* i. e. while it was quiet; and *Saul said* – וַיֹּאמֶר אֶחָד and *Saul thought* i. e. *thinking*; they came to her $\text{וַיָּבֹאוּ וְהִיא יֹשֶׁבֶת}$ and *she sitting* = while she sat, in the same way, *they came* $\text{וַיָּבֹאוּ וְלוֹט יֹשֵׁב}$ while *Lot sat*, Jdgs. 8, 11. 13, 9. 1 Sam. 18, 17. Gen. 19, 1. 24, 21; all this might be much more concisely expressed in Lat. by the close subordination of the subordinate proposition without copula. Nay, that וְ §. 550 is placed after, in order that the true subject may be placed first Js. 43, 8. Thus the subject is always placed first when the verb is placed in the participle acc. to §. 350, whether the time spoken of be the past, as is usual, or the future 1 Sam. 10, 8, or the present Ps. 35, 5 f.; regularly also, when the *perfect* is used, because the action, together with that of the chief proposition, is already finished, as *which prophecy* $\text{וְנִאֲמַר לֹא שְׁלָחְתִּי}$ and *I have not sent them* = without my having sent them, Jer. 14, 15. Ps. 50, 17., and in the narration of past events, when the *perf.* denotes the act being at that time already finished (our *plqpf.*), as *and Absalom had taken* 2 Sam. 18, 18; or, at any rate, the act being rapidly accomplished, not lasting long 1 Sam. 18, 17. If, however, וְהִנֵּה *behold* is placed before, which of itself refers to the state, then the finite verb may remain in its usual position at the beginning, as 1 Sam. 25, 14. Gen. 8, 13 cf. Ex. 16, 10. 9, 7; also after לֹא *not*, which is always placed first with emphasis, cf. EWALD's *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 264. In a proposition without a verb, the subject is, indeed, also regularly placed first Gen. 9, 23. 12, 6. 13, 7; yet a small word may also be placed before in short propositions acc. to §. 555, 2 Kgs. 10, 2.

608 In many cases, however, such a subordinate proposition may be really strictly connected and be freely subordinated without copula, as if it was in the accusative. Thus 1) in the short phrases וְאֵין מִסְפָּר or לֹא מִסְפָּר and *there is no number* §. 556, more concisely $\text{בִּלְאֵין מִסְפָּר}$ or לֹא מִסְפָּר

without number; here belong instances like *לֹא יָרַע* Ps. 35, 8. *בֵּל יָקוֹמוּ* 140, 11. *וְרָצוּ בָּזָב* 62, 5; 7, 3, all of which are propositions of state; yet a *participle*, as containing a completer proposition, remains with *וְ* Lev. 26, 6. Gen. 41, 8 cf. v. 15. Necessarily without copula in this manner: *he pitched his tent, Bethel on the west and Ai on the east* i. e. so that he had Bethel on the west etc. Gen. 12, 8. Ps. 4, 3. — 2) The verbs of *seeing, hearing, finding*, may subordinate the state in which any thing is found at the action, as second object also acc. to §. 480, especially short propositions, as *she saw David מִפְּזֹז leaping (saltantem)* 2 Sam. 6, 16. Gen. 27, 6. Ex. 14, 9, where the *part.* is always so subordinated; in the same way: *I saw every man — his hands on his loins* i. e. in that state that he held his loins, Jer. 30, 6. — 3) Sometimes also in such a way that the *participle* refers to the subject, as *Chusai met him בְּהִנָּהוּ קָרָנִי* torn as to his garment (§. 490) and *earth upon his head* 2 Sam. 15, 32, where *קָרָנִי* is in *stat. abs.* contrary to §. 503 (and hence *כִּהְיֵה* with *suff.*) because it here very abruptly (in the accus.) describes the state. Also very concisely *עֵינַי מִנְהָל* *oculi mei — expectantis* Ps. 69, 4.

b) The proposition of state may, in case the sense 609 should rather require it, be placed before, so that the chief action which happens in that state to be previously described, is then annexed with the copula. If the chief action then, is a sudden, unexpected event which happens in the midst of the tranquil state as a disturbance of it, it also assumes the same arrangement as the proposition of state, and places the subject first, but at the same time with a strong antithesis: in which case, the first proposition may contain a *participle*, as *thy children were eating and drinking* i. e. while they were eating etc., and *lo a great storm came; they ascending* i. e. while they ascended *וַהֲמָיָה מִצָּאֵה* and *they found* i. e. they suddenly found, Job 1, 16 ff. 1 Sam. 9, 11. Js. 37, 38. Gen. 38, 25; or the sense may require the *perf.* as *Jacob was only (hardly) gone out וַיֵּשֶׁר בָּא* and *Esau came* Gen. 27, 30. Ex. 10, 13, or another form be suitable Gen. 7, 6. 10. 19, 4. Num. 10, 33; the sudden event i. e. the *perf.* is, however, always used in the second proposition in the passages above, and, on the contrary, the *imperf.* in 1 Kgs. 1, 14. In other cases, the chief proposition is more tranquilly attached by Vav consequitivum §. 611 ff. Gen. 24, 1 f. Jdgs. 4, 5 f. 1 Sam. 2, 13. 2 Sam. 23, 3 f. 1) 1 Kgs. 13, 11. But if an interrogation or interjection follows, the copula is altogether wanting Gen. 41, 29. 50, 5. Ex. 3, 13.

1) The *participle* is placed first here, but it is only because there is no very definite subject: *ruling — justly* i. e. *si quis regnat iustus*.

A proposition of state is, besides, often placed more remotely and unconnectedly in the progress of the narration,

so as to refer to a great deal before narrated, in the signification of *during which, continually, as he took milk and the calf which he had dressed, and set it before them* וְהָיָה עִמָּו *during which he was standing* etc. Gen. 18, 8. 24, 21. Jos. 6, 1. Jdgs. 18, 1. Dt. 5, 5.

610 3. Yet the copula is also more accurately and delicately distinguished into two different kinds: the common, weak copula which only unites words quite loosely, and the more forcible, significant one which connects them strongly, which refers to what goes before as dependent on it and proceeding from it, which therefore expresses a *consequence* of the second from the first, a necessary *advance* from the first to the second, and consequently an internal reference of the second to the first, which we call *Vav consequitivum* (or *relativum*); its force in English is expressed by the more emphatic *and*, or *and so*, *so*, *so that*, also *then*. This *Vav of consequence* is used, therefore, as well in the *succession of time* as in the mere *succession of the sense or thought*, and is one of the most important parts of the language. According to the combination of this *Vav* with the different kinds of words, however, it may be distinguished into three kinds:

611 1) The *Vav conseq. of the perf. and imperf.* §. 296-299 is the most common and the most important, and is perfectly marked and distinguished in the form also; for the *succession of time* is thus most simply and clearly produced by the *Vav of consequence* being closely united with the *finite tense* in a such a manner, that the action enters at the same time into a *new succession*: namely, that which already is (the *perf.*) advances to new progress and development (to the *imperf.*), and that which is not yet (the *imperf.*) advances to that which is (the *perf.*) The *Vav conseq. of the imperf.* expresses the new progress of that which exists, has happened, — and that of the *perf.* expresses the transition and succession of that which is not yet, to logical reality. If the idea of succession, therefore, was taken away, the reverse of this relation would be obliged to take place i. e. the *perf.* would be used instead of the *imperfect* with this *Vav*, — and the *imperf.* for the *perf.* with *Vav*; hence too the signification of this *perf. and imperf. combined* with the *Vav of consequence*, is properly the same as that of the simple *perf. and imperf.* §. 262 ff. only that it is more limited in compass, and more tranquil. Both combinations, however, have their significations *per se* just as well as the corresponding simple forms: the corresponding simple tense, indeed, very often goes before i. e. the *perf.* often precedes this *imperf.* and *vice versa*; but every other differently constituted pro-

position also may serve as a basis for attaching one of these Vavs of consequence.

a) The *imperf. with the Vav conseq.* occurs, therefore, most frequently in the narration and representation of events which once happened, which are absolutely finished, as *אָמַר וְיָהִי* *he spoke and then it was*, or *אֲחֵרָה וַתֵּשֶׁבֶת* *thou sawest - and rejoicest* = having seen it, thou rej. But, acc. to §. 262, that which is, indeed, already done, but which extends in that state into the present, may also be denoted by it, as *וְהָיָה* *what is man* *וְהָיָה* *that thou knowest him?* Ps. 144, 3. Js. 51, 12 f. *this one has come as a stranger* *וְיִשְׁפֹּט* *and judges nevertheless continually* Gen. 19, 9. 2 Sam. 3, 8; Am. 9, 6. Nah. 1, 4; concern. the future cf. §. 612, 2.

b) The *perf. with the Vav conseq.* belongs 1) to the ⁶¹² *present*, especially in actions capable of being often repeated or which continue a long time, as *וַיִּלֵּךְ מִן הַלֵּוֹן* *one flies from the lion and meets with the bear* Am. 5, 19. Nah. 3, 12. Job 7, 4. In the same way, however, acc. to §. 264, *b*, in the description of permanent or often repeated actions of the *past*, whether the *imperf.* is used in the first proposition, as *וַיִּשְׂרַע* *a mist rose up* (during the long period continually) *and so watered the land* *וַיִּשְׂקֶה* Gen. 2, 6, — or the *participle* acc. to §. 556, as Gen. 2, 10. 37, 7 (in the description of the *image* of the dream as it stood before the eyes of the dreamer as if it was present), Jos. 6, 13. Js. 6, 2 f., — or any thing else, for instance as the narration of events which once happened, may have something else, as continuing rather or often recurring, added to it 1 Sam. 1. 3. 7, 15 f. 16, 23. 17, 20. Gen. 30, 41 f. 38, 9. Nevertheless, late writers especially begin, instead of this rarer form, to use the more usual narrative form for the past §. 611 in the form of the succession and in the plain one, so that the form of the diction fluctuates particularly in occasional passages Gen. 37, 7. Ex. 16, 21. Job 1, 4 f. Ru. 4, 7ⁱ). — 2) to the *future* acc. to §. 265, as *וַיֵּלֶךְ וַיִּלָּחֶם* *he will go and then fight*. Also, in cases in which the *perf.* is used in the first warmth of the expression in the sense of a certain future acc. to §. 262, 3, the continuation nevertheless returns to this more tranquil form Gen. 17, 20. Dt. 15, 6; it is only very rarely that the tone of the diction at the beginning, is somewhat longer continued Mich. 2, 13. Js. 9, 5. Moreover, the consequence may also follow from the present and past to the future immediately, as *וְהָיָה* *the fear of God is not here* *וְהָיָה* *and so* (since that is the case) *they will kill me* Gen. 20, 11; *this has touched thy lips* *וְכָר* *and so thy iniquity will depart* Js. 6, 7; and with the second member at the same time interrogative acc. to §. 577 Ex. 5, 5. — This form follows all constructions

and variations of the simple *imperf.* in the same manner and with equal propriety; and those of the jussive and imperative also, if there is only a tranquil progress, as פִּנְיָבָא *lest he come* — and smites me me then Gen. 32, 12; פִּנְט וְקַבְרָתוֹ let them go and gather Ex. 5, 7; וְדַבֵּר וְאָמַרְתָּ smite him dead — and then thou buriest him, דַּבֵּר וְאָמַרְתָּ speak so that thou sayest; so great is the attractive power of this Vav of consequence, that even וְ. 448 can remain Gen. 40, 14.

1) The change of the tone §. 298 is also wanting Job 7, 4.

613

Thus this Vav of consequence is used where there is any advance or development of the action conceivable, and is always the nearest method for attaching that which is new, which develops itself out of the beginning as its consequence, like the progressive lever of the narration. It is possible, for instance, to say אֲבִיל וְרָאִיתִי *I am able and see* = to see, because the actual seeing is a consequence of the faculty to do so. Especially if the series is already in this form, then any verb, a merely explanatory one also, is often so attached, as וְהָשִׁב וְדִבֶּר *and he turned and spoke* = spoke again §. 539. Lastly, the consequence need not necessarily be attached precisely to the particular last named, but may proceed from any thing before. — The succession of thought, however, occurs 1) in such a way, that a conclusion is drawn from what precedes, as וַהֲקָם *so stood* Gen. 23, 20. Joel 2, 27. — 2) in such a way that the sequel is so much the more strongly attached to an unfinished but emphatically prefixed thought, and the broken thread is again joined, corresponding to our *so, so that*, as וְגַם הָיָא וּפְלִגְשִׁי וְהָלַךְ *and his concubine - (with regard to her) so she also bore* Gen. 22, 24, לְקִינָן שְׁמִי וְסִלַּחְתָּ *for thy names sake so, or therefore, wilt thou forgive* Ps. 25, 11; often after a statement of time abruptly placed at the beginning, as קָרָב *in the evening - then will you know* Ex. 16, 6 f. 17, 4. Gen. 3, 5. 22, 4; moreover, after an interrogative proposition which requires a new reference and conclusion, as *what is man that thou knowest him* §. 611, where, however, כִּי may be also used as a conjunction after our manner Ps. 8, 5. Ex. 3, 11; lastly, after a relatively represented protasis, as after הָיָא *because* 1 Sam. 15, 23, אֲשֶׁר *which* Ex. 9, 21, where however, this stricter attachment of the apodosis may also be omitted.

614

There are cases, however, in which these two forms, although possible as to the idea, are nevertheless abrogated and yield to the simple ones. For, in those forms, the Vav and the verbal form are most intimately and inseparably united, so that the signification depends on their combination. If then another word than the verb is necessarily driven to the beginning of the proposition, so that the copula can only be attached to it, but the verb follows, then that combination is broken up, and the whole form is destroyed at the same time; the members of the combination, therefore, then appear single and naked, the simple copula and the appropriate simple tense which would be used without this suc-

cessive consequence ¹): therefore וַיִּקְרָא instead of וַיִּקְרָא, and וַיִּקְרָא instead of וַיִּקְרָא. Thus 1) with לָא which must always be placed *before* the verb acc. to §. 573, and cannot naturally be placed before a copula. — 2) with any other word which must be placed first on account of the sense e. g. for the sake of the antithesis, acc. to §. 606, as וַיִּקְרָא וַיִּקְרָא Gen. 1, 10 ²).

- 1) Yet the tense of succession sometimes (but very rarely) also maintains itself afterwards: thus the *imperf.* 2 Sam. 2, 38. 15, 37. 1 Kgs. 20, 33. Jer. 52, 7, in the *A'tib* 1 Sam. 27, 4. Jos. 15, 63; the *perf.* Js. 11, 8. 18, 5. Ps. 22, 22. 71, 3. 7, 7. without וַיִּקְרָא Ps. 39, 17; and by the omission of the copula in impassioned diction Job 5, 20.
- 2) Nevertheless, an *antithesis* may also take place where the Vav of consequence remains, either because the proposition consists of the verb merely, or because no other word can support the opposition; yet this is rare acc. to §. 557. Jer. 30, 11. Ps. 7, 5.

The successive consequence is nevertheless, and especially with longer 615
more important protases, always unwillingly given up, so that, in order to preserve the force of the consequence, the appropriate Vav is first previously placed with the simplest verb substantive וַיִּהְיֶה *to be*; the proper verb then either follows with the Vav of consequence again, or, more loosely, the simple tense without it. Thus most frequently before a new *statement of time*, where it appears to be really more important to mark the progress, and before another word of the same sense; not so often before other strong protases, but never before the weak לָא. Thus 1) וַיִּהְיֶה, as וַיִּהְיֶה אַחֲרַי בֵּן and it came to pass afterwards, that -; וַיִּהְיֶה בְּבֹאֵי and it came to pass in his coming i. e. as he came, there -; וַיִּהְיֶה מְשַׁבְּחָהּ and it c. to pass he worshipping i. e. while he worshipped (§. 609), that - Js. 37, 38; וַיִּהְיֶה הַנִּשְׁאָרִים וַיִּפְּצוּ and it c. to pass the remaining ones (= *si qui supererant*), they fled, 1 Sam. 10, 11. 11, 11; Js. 22, 7. — 2) וַיִּהְיֶה acc. to §. 612, as וַיִּהְיֶה בַּיּוֹם הַהוּא and it comes to pass on that day, then -; וַיִּהְיֶה אָז and then, if - Gen. 38, 9. Num. 21, 9; moreover, Gen. 4, 14. Ex. 4, 16. 18, 22. Dt. 7, 12. 1 Kgs. 17, 4. Js. 3, 24. 7, 22. Hos. 2, 1. Both are rarely and in the later period confounded.

As such a parenthetical proposition can go over into the successive consequence, accordingly, it is often only the internal sense which decides where the chief proposition is again resumed.

At a complete *pause* of the narration, the verb may be 616
designedly made to follow without this consequence i. e. in the simple tense, when an explanatory collateral action is added, either without any copula, as 1 Sam. 6, 12. Gen. 21, 14, or with the perfectly simple וַיִּהְיֶה 21, 25. 28, 6. — The *perf.* however, often remains in the same signification without the Vav of consequence Js. 8, 8. 13, 10. 18, 5. Ez. 7, 14. Hos. 4, 10. Mich. 2, 4. Zach. 9, 15. 13, 9. Ps. 55, 18. 19. 57, 4.

There is a peculiar mode of subordinating a contemporaneous action in a shorter way, by which the verb is placed in the mere *infin. abs.* with

the simple ו , especially when there is no change of person, Gen. 41, 43. Ex. 8, 11. 32, 6 (where the infin. constr. with ל goes before), Jer. 19, 13. Zach. 7, 5. 12, 10; more freely and extensively in later writers, as $\text{וַיֵּשְׁבֶה וַיִּרְאֵהוּ}$ *I turned and saw* Koh. 9, 11. cf. 4, 1. 7; Jer. 14, 5. Zach. 3, 4.

617 Where any *parenthetical proposition* begins, whether it be a relative one with אֲשֶׁר *which*, כִּי *for* etc., or a proposition of state §. 607 ff., there the simple verbal form always returns again. The *perf.* may then, in the representation of events which once happened, denote that which was *then* already finished, and therefore express our *plusqpf.* Ps. 40, 7, which signification, however, merely proceeds from the relative position of the actions which are brought together; for an absolute *plusqpf.*, like ours, which can have that signification in itself and in all places, is altogether unknown to the Hebrew language. Another case in which the *perf.* expresses our *plusqperf.* is in §. 607-609, therefore also after וַיְהִי and a statement of time §. 613 Gen. 8, 13. In the second form, the *perf.* thus interposed, can for the same reason denote our *futur. exactum* Js. 16, 12.

618 2) The Vav of consequence before the *jussive*, *imperative*, or *cohortative*, transfers the consequence to the will, or represents the will and the effort after the object to be attained, as consequence and conclusion from a predetermined possibility; it is properly only an exciting, impassioned expression for the Vav of consequence with the *perf.* Ex. 12, 3, but is especially used to state the aim and purpose of the action preceding it, and thus corresponds to the Lat. *ut* with the conjunctive; as וַאֲנִי־בָרַךְ *cease so that I may*, when thou ceasest, *speak* 1 Sam. 15, 16; *thou desirest not sacrifice* וְאֶת־הַזֶּבַח *that I should*, if thou desiredst it, *give it* Ps. 51, 18. 72, 15. Ex. 2, 7; the imperative is very concisely and energetically so placed, prescribing the certain consequence, as *let him pray for thee* וַיְחַיֵּה *and live!* = that thou mayest then, as I desire, live, Gen. 20, 7. 42, 18. Ru. 1, 9. 2 Kgs. 5, 16. Ps. 5, 12; it is the *imperat. fut.* in Job 11, 6. As the second then thus always presupposes the first as its condition, accordingly, the first may also be placed merely with reference to the second, so that the bipartite whole is a short challenging expression for conditional propositions, as *who is wise?* כִּי־חָכָם *so*, i. e. if any one is wise, *let him understand this* Hos. 14, 10. Jer. 9, 11, *devise a plan!* וְיִכָּשֶׁל *that it be frustrated* = if you devise a plan, it will be, as I desire, frustrated; וְיִשְׁכַּחַנִּי *seek me and live* = if you seek me, you live Js. 8, 10. Am. 5, 4. 6; both are coupled in Ex. 8, 4. Hence the necessity

for the second also having the copula, ceases Ex. 7, 9. Ps. 118, 19. 119, 17. 145. 37, 3. 51, 10. 16. cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 271. Moreover, לֹא can also acc. to §. 613, destroy the combination Js. 8, 10. 2 Kgs. 18, 32.

3) Besides this, וְ may have the sense of the consequence 619 before any other word also, but only when the proposition is without a verb: for instance, it may express the succession of time when it is before אֵיךְ §. 574 Js. 41, 17; and the succession of thought, thus *slave of thy father* — (as for what concerns that) וַאֲנִי בָּהֶן *so was I formerly; and now* — וַאֲנִי בְּיָדְךָ *so am I thine* 2Sam. 15, 34.

When any thing is superadded afterwards to a negative proposition, 620 it must be connected by וְלֹא *not even*, or *no, not* Ex. 3, 19. But a proposition which advances directly does not require to repeat the negation of the preceding one, because the force of the negation placed with force at the beginning, continues, in Prose with the Vav of consequence Num. 16, 14, poetically without וְ in impassioned diction Js. 38, 18. Ps. 38, 1.

As the *perf.* and *imperf.* are the only chief divisions and 621 foundation pillars of the verb, accordingly, all the other different shades of the conception of a verb return in the progress of the sentence (with or without copula) back to those two fundamental modes; at the beginning of the sentence, the expression may be more definite and strong, or shorter: in the tranquil progress, all scattered shades are again resolved into the two chief colours. Thus 1) strong forms of expression return to the ordinary ones. The *imperative*, *jussive*, and *cohortative*, only continue so long as the vigour of the sentence is still quite new, and are therefore seldom continued throughout a series of verbs, as Gen. 41, 34-36; generally, the diction is at once changed to the tranquil representation of that which is to be done, to the *imperf.* therefore, or to the *perf.* with the Vav of consequence Dt. 33, 7, just as the *imperat.* is not used at all, if the description of the *consequence* is at once predominant 1Sam. 12, 14; nevertheless, the *jussive*, *imperat.* or *cohortative*, may always return again when the tone of the diction becomes more urgent Ex. 14, 4. 2 Kgs. 10, 3. 11, 8. Js. 2, 9. Job 11, 13 f. especially where the sense of the sentence takes the same turn as in §. 618, 2 Kgs. 5, 10. — The power of the *infin. abs.* in the same manner, does not long continue: it is soon more tranquilly resolved into the suitable tense, and even every לֹא *not* forces this change, as the *infin. abs.* always stands quite by itself, as בָּהֶן לֹא נִחַל *breaking, not sparing!* Js. 30, 14. 31, 5. 58, 6 f. Jer. 2, 2. Job 15, 35. Concern. the *perf.* cf. §. 612, 2. The *participle* also, which describes the state

§. 612, does not remain long, even for this reason, because the successive consequence requires the Vav conseq. with its tense; moreover, the *participle* can never stand so with לֵא §. 573. — 2) The shorter expression does not remain: the *infin. constr.* which is a short form for expressing the verbal idea, and is merely dependent on the context, is resolved in the progress of the sentence into the usual flowing form of diction, as לַעֲשֶׂה to make i. e. that he may make *the earth a desert and destroy her sinners from off her* וְיִשְׁמַדוּהָ Js. 13, 9. Ex. 8, 5. 1 Sam. 4, 19. Jer. 30, 14 f. And the *participle* which is a concise expression of a relative proposition §. 596, as דֵּל יָרִיב אֲבִיּוֹן *who raises the lowly, places the poor on high* 1 Sam. 2, 8. Ps. 22, 30; cf. §. 573 for לֵא. Any thing superadded in the construction of the *infin. constr.* and *participle*, remains, therefore the power of the preposition of the *inf. cs.* and the force of the relative idea in the *part.*: but the simple verbal idea which may now separate itself entirely, in fact, and yet be intelligible, is at once carried on in the definite tense. A relative proposition without a verb, however, can also be attached in the same way simply i. e. without a relative pronoun after וְ, if the idea of the relat. pronoun is already contained in the preceding proposition Am. 2, 16. Prov. 22, 11.

- 622 וְגַם *also*, i. e. besides others, אָבֶל - הָרֵבֶל *Abel, he also* = likewise Gen. 4, 22. Ex. 1, 10; it is rare for וְ (like *et*) to be placed in the same sense before a single word in the proposition = *also, even* Am. 4, 10; but וְגַם is often so used. — וְאִם or וְאִתּוֹ a stronger copula than וְ (with which it is related as to root) is *also*, that it want nothing, *even*, used intensively like our *and* pronounced with emphasis; hence וְאִתּוֹ *and even also* Lev. 26, 44. וְאִתּוֹ כִּי *and that!* as an exclamation, may signify 1) *verily, yea!* (*and I nevertheless perceive that*) Hab. 2, 5. 1 Sam. 21, 6. 14, 39; or as an interrogative *indeed?* as if one could not believe it Gen. 3, 1. — 2) when referring to a preceding proposition, it is used to add with an increasing certainty the chief thing which was not yet mentioned, and answers to our *how much less*, when a negative proposition goes before (1 Kgs. 8, 27. Job 4, 19 where there is only וְאִתּוֹ; 9, 14. Prov. 17, 7. 19, 10), and, when an affirmative one precedes, *how much more* 15, 11. In the same way, וְכִי or merely כִּי is used after a negative proposition, and tauntingly utters something which is impossible in consequence of what the negative proposition contains e. g. *where are the ancient Gods?* i. e. they do not exist any longer, *and that they should rescue thee!* = *how much less will they rescue thee*, Js. 35, 19 f. 43, 22.

III. There are, indeed, peculiar particles for *adversative* 623 propositions, but acc. to §. 604 they are seldom used: 1. after negative propositions, **כִּי** *for* §. 598 is used, so that it is the sense of the context alone which gives it the signification of *but*: it can never have an adversative signification, however, unless it is preceded by a proposition which has the sense of a negation; e. g. **לֹא אֲנִי כִּי אֱלֹהִים** *not I, for* (it is, was) *God, but God*; concerning **כִּי** cf. §. 625. — 2. **וְאִנִּי**, rarely **אִנִּי**, properly *et ab anteriore* i. e. *adversâ parte, and on the contrary*, therefore a strong *but*, Gen. 28, 19. It is only frequent in Job. — 3. **אֲנִי** §. 456 and **אֲנִי** *surely, indeed*, are sometimes used in later writers for *but* (i. e. for, a certain restriction) also. **אֲנִי** is used as *tamen* in Ps. 84, 7. 129, 2; and **אֲנִי** in the signification of *yet, nevertheless*, Ps. 56, 10. 69, 5. — 4. Restrictive particles: **אֲנִי** §. 456 *except, only*; both are very common, but they are almost always so distinguished, that **אֲנִי** is rather a restriction of something before said, but **אֲנִי** refers to the following word. Also **אֲנִי** *without*, cf. §. 575. A particle is omitted in Ps. 119, 51. 61. 140, 6. 7.

THIRD SECTION.

CORRELATIVE PROPOSITIONS.

I. To this class belong all relative propositions which are of such a kind that they must be immediately followed by a correlative, as *he who - he -*; *who am I, that I -*; *he who is wise, let him understand this!* see examples in §. 596. 611. The connexion of the second proposition by means of the Vav of consequence, however, prevails here also.

Conditional propositions, however, are especially of this kind, as the condition renders an opposition necessary. Since then the imagination, where future events are spoken of (as is usual here), is occupied with the image of that which would happen *if the condition was fulfilled*, and since it has the presupposition already in the back ground, and only looks forward to the remote result, the nearest tense for a conditional proposition is the *perfect*, the *perf.* of the imagination, namely, §. 262, 2, the Lat. *futur. exactum*, as *si fecero*, for which modern languages more simply use the *present*. A real perfect also may, indeed, be used conditionally, as *si feci*; but Hebrew still leaves the discrimination of these two possibilities to the feeling merely. If an event really future, however, is once thus *contemplated* as accomplished, then, according to the correlative force of the two propositions, the apodosis also may antici-

pate the consequence as being then sure to have happened i. e. the *perfect* of the imagination may be continued in the apodosis also, although this last is not so near nor necessary as the first. Lastly, the matter of the condition may either be assumed absolutely, according to the sense of the speaker, without determining whether it be true and possible, or not, or the speaker, notwithstanding he feels that it does not yet exist, may nevertheless use it as a condition: this distinction is imperfectly expressed by our indicative and optative, *if there is, if there were*; Hebrew however, especially as it does not originally possess established modes in this sense, expresses it more externally and distinctly by different particles.

- 625 1. אם the simple *if*, אם לא *if not*, construed with the *imperf.* or rather with the *perf.* at once, whether the pure future be intended, as אם עשיתי *si fecero* ¹⁾, *if I do* Ps. 7, 4 f. Iob 11, 13. Gen. 43, 9. Js. 4, 4. Jer. 37, 10, or whether one of many possible cases is rendered prominent, as Ps. 63, 7. Iob 7, 4. Jer. 14, 18. Ex. 1, 16, to which class also belongs the אם used in the description of past states and repeated actions Gen. 58, 9. Num. 21, 9; in all cases, the perfect can only be used when it is thus closely connected with אם , and only in the first proposition, and the simple powerless tense i. e. in this case, the *imperf.* or the *Vav conseq. perf.* at once, follows in the combination; the *imperf.* as simple form, is always necessary in the apodosis, if the verb is not placed at the beginning, for, in that case, the *Vav conseq. perf.* may be used; sometimes we find the same *perf.*, and without Vav, with a mere internal connexion 1 Sam. 2, 16. Ps. 127, 1. Moreover, the subject may be placed first, as in the proposition of state, Iob 11, 18; אם may also stand before the *participle* as *fut. instans* Jdgs. 9, 15. 11, 9, and hence אם §. 550 is in this very case particularly frequent with *suff.* Gen. 24, 49 (*si estis facturi*) Jdgs. 6, 36, as also אם Ex. 8, 17. With the *perf.* as a real perfect 1 Sam. 21, 15; also where the apodosis extends to the future Nah. 1, 12.

- 1) Hence אם is often used with עד *until*, in order to give עד the power of measuring the future until after an epoch, as *donec fecero*, Js. 6, 11. 30, 17. Gen. 24, 19.

Very rarely in the same manner with אם , when it can be conceived conditionally, 1 Sam. 1, 28.

In the frequent formulae of oaths and affirmations, the second proposition by which one binds or pledges himself, is almost always omitted, as being understood of itself, so that אם , even when placed by itself, has assumed the signification *certainly not*, and אם לא that of *certainly*;

they are then generally used loosely with the *imperf.*, as אֶעֱזֹבְךָ אִם *if I desert thee!* (may I perish) i. e. of a truth I will not desert thee; nevertheless לֹא שְׁרִיתִיךָ אִם is still *if I do not release thee!* i. e. surely I will do so Jer. 15, 11. hence rarely הִנֵּה = הִנֵּה nonne §. 577.

אִם בִּי may mean, after a negative proposition, *but if* acc. to §. 623, and here as elsewhere the *perf.* of the present or future follows after אִם, as לֹא יָשׁוּב בִּי אִם הָרְגָה *it does not return but (except) if it has watered* the earth Js. 55, 10. 65, 6. Am. 3, 7. Gen. 32, 2. 7. Lev. 22, 6; hence this construction has generally acquired the force of the restrictive *except, only, but*, even without a verb following, and is indeed most frequently used after a negation, as לֹא יִשְׁקָב בִּי אִם יִשְׂרָאֵל *not Jacob, but Israel* Gen. 32, 29. Prov. 23, 17, but also sometimes without a preceding negation, yet in such a way that, if a verb follows immediately, the *perf.* remains, as בִּי אִם זָכְרָתִי *(except) only wilt thou remember me* Gen. 40, 14. Job 42, 8. Num. 24, 22. hence also, with vehement affirmations and oaths, it signifies *only = surely* 2 Sam. 15, 21. 1 Kgs. 20, 6. 2 Kgs. 5, 20. Jer. 51, 14.

For other uses of אִם see §. 630, and as interrogative particle §. 578 where it loses its peculiar construction entirely. — הֵיךְ §. 448 is often almost perfectly equivalent to אִם, only not in the construction with the *perfect* Ex. 4, 1. 8, 22.

As an apodosis with the Vav of consequence, of itself 626 denotes the inference of the sense from the preceding proposition, accordingly, the protasis may remain altogether without a conditional particle; this happens 1) frequently, when the protasis also, standing in the middle of the sentence and attracted by a preceding proposition, has the Vav of consequence Gen. 33, 13. — 2) when, in an isolated protasis, a desire and intention is already expressed by the verbal form, as after the cohortative וְנִדְבַרְתִּי אֶקְוֶה *will I rise, then they speak* against me Job 19, 18. 10, 16. 17. 30, 26. Ps. 42, 5. 40, 6. 139, 8-10; although the jussive and cohortative may then also easily render themselves more distinct by אִם Job 16, 6.

It is somewhat different when different tenses are loosely combined, where the connexion merely follows from the whole, as *he has seen it and hides himself* רָאָה-וְנִסְתָּר i. e. *as soon as* he has seen it, he hides himself Prov. 22, 3. 24, 10. Ps. 69, 33. 116, 3-4. Job 3, 11; the reverse, Ps. 32, 5. 30, 9-12.

2. לִּי represents the condition in spite of the feeling that 627 the matter of the condition is now impossible; a distinction, which becomes prominently marked in events of the present and past. 1) when speaking of the present, the *perf.* may indeed be just as well used with לִּי as with אִם, as לִּי הָיָהוּ רְבִינָה *if they were wise* (which they are not) *they would under-*

stand this Dt. 32, 29; yet we oftener find a mere proposition of state, as *לֹא שָׁמַע עַם יִשְׂרָאֵל* *if my people heard* (which it does not) Ps. 84, 14. 2 Sam. 18, 12. 2 Kgs. 3, 14, and thus with *וְאִם* Job 16, 4. Num. 22, 29. Also in events which are not desired, and which are not now actually existent, as *לֹא יִשְׁתַּחֲוֶה לָנוּ* *if he hated us* (we would be undone! Gen. 50, 15, a similar aposiopesis to that in Ps. 27, 13). — 2) of events in the past: *לֹא הָיָה* *if it had happened*, which it has *not*; the idea of our conjunctive is completely contained in the particle chosen, which refers to something which has *not* happened, as in the same manner, *בְּמִצֵּט שָׁכַב* *very nearly slept* (it nevertheless did not take place) therefore = *would have slept* Gen. 26, 10. — The apodosis does not at all require to be conceived in the same actual sphere of time: *if you had let him live, I would not slay you*, praet. praes.; *if I had a sword, I would have killed you*, praes. praet. If then the *present* is intended in the apodosis, then the *perf.* of the first proposition may, indeed, be continued as in §. 625, Js. 1, 9. Jdgs. 8, 19; but the simplest way, and especially where the *present* is the time spoken of in the protasis also, is for the imperf. to be used, with *בְּמִצֵּט* *about a little* = *soon, nearly*, Ps. 81, 15. If we are to understand the preterite, the *perf.* must be used Jdgs. 13, 23, and in that case we often find *כִּי אָז* or *כִּי עָתָה* *yea then!* to denote more strongly that which would have been already done Num. 22, 29. Gen. 43, 9. 1 Sam. 14, 30. 2 Sam. 2, 27; we find only *אָז* *then* in Ps. 124, 2 fl. (very rarely, on the contrary, after the much more tranquil *אָז* Job 8, 6. 11, 15.) In other cases also, where no such protasis exists, and it is only covertly contained in the sense, is this *אָז* or *עָתָה* which refers to what is remote, sufficient to imply that that which is uttered in the *perfect* *would then have taken place*, if the condition had been fulfilled Ex. 9, 15. 1 Sam. 13, 13. 2 Kgs. 13, 19.

לֹא אִם or *לֹא אִלֵּי* *if there were not* what nevertheless is, contracted out of *לֹא אִם* acc. to §. 51. — *אִם* used in later writers for *אִלֵּי*, formed from a coalition of *אִם* *לֹא*.

As to its etymology, *אִלֵּי* like *אִם* is of pronominal derivation, used relatively, only with this distinction, that the former refers to the more *remote*, the latter to the nearer object cf. §. 441; the former therefore supposes an impossible case, one that is at a distance from the speaker. Hence also *אִלֵּי* is easily transferred to a *wish*, in which use it primarily retains the conditional construction and power, but afterwards is also used more freely §. 586.

valent, and 1) for the purpose of equalising different things, and representing them as *nevertheless coming together*, by $\text{אֲבָל} - \text{אֲבָל}$ also - also i. e. as well - as, not only - but, Ex. 10, 25 f. 12, 31. Gen. 24, 25. 1 Sam. 17, 36. Jer. 51, 12; rarely, and only in poetry $\text{אֲבָל} - \text{אֲבָל}$ Js. 46, 11, and $\text{וְ} - \text{וְ}$ Ps. 76, 7. Long propositions are seldom so connected. — 2) by way of combining different things, and representing them as *equivalent* in a certain manner, by means of the comparative $\text{כִּי} - \text{כִּי}$ as - so, $\text{כִּי צַדִּיק כִּי רָשָׁע}$ as *the righteous is so is the sinner* Gen. 18, 25. Ps. 58, 10: if the second member has the force and rest of the diction in a greater degree, or, if it is very much separated from the first and requires to be more strictly united, or, lastly, if it is an entire proposition, then the full כִּי so §. 455 is used Ps. 127, 4. Joel 2, 4; if the first member is also an entire proposition, then בְּאֲשֶׁר must be used instead of כִּי acc. to §. 600; in short or imperfect propositions, the first particle is also sometimes omitted, just as, on the other hand, the second כִּי is at the same time more strictly connected by the Vav of consequence Jos. 14, 11. — In Jer. 33, 32, we find אֲשֶׁר by itself in the first proposition for *as*, since acc. to §. 455 every relative word may certainly be used for comparison; כִּי Js. 62, 5. In the concise language of Poetry, it is also sufficient to connect the second proposition only by כִּי . Moreover, things that differ very much in sense may be compared together e. g. the one may be compared with the other as coinciding with it in point of *time* Ps. 48, 9. 1 Sam. 9, 13 cf. 598, or as to *degree*, our *the more - the more* Ex. 1, 12. Hos. 4, 7. 11, 2 cf. Nah. 1, 12.

In cases in which the repetition and opposition of a noun or pronoun 629 is sufficient, the language is satisfied with expressing the correlative in this most simple manner, as is evident from this repetition of כִּי . In the same manner $\text{זֶה} - \text{הַהוּא}$ *this - that*, where different individuals are introduced as they are present to the mind of the speaker Js. 41, 5, $\text{מִזֶּה} - \text{מִהַהוּא}$ *from this side and that side*, as מִזֶּה is often used as a neuter in a local sense, $\text{הֵנָּה} - \text{הֵנָּה}$ *hither and thither*, cf. something similar §. 452. 455; $\text{אֶחָד} - \text{לְאֶחָד}$ *one to the other*, in the same way $\text{אֶחָד} - \text{לְאֶחָד}$ *one people to the other* Mich. 4, 3. This is fundamentally quite in harmony with that simplicity by which the comparative and superlative follow from the context merely, e. g. אַחֲרֵיכֶם *last* twice repeated, therefore *latter* and *last* Gen. 33, 2, and with the Article §. 502.

3) The correlative connexion of different cases assumed 630 as *possible*, is produced by the repetition of the conditional $\text{אִם} - \text{אִם}$ (*if one chooses this, and if one chooses that*) i. e. *sive, sive*, as אִם טוֹב אִם רָע *sive bonum sive malum*; in short sentences, however, and in interrogative propositions

§. 578, the second is also more concisely placed by **וְ** alone without **וְ**. Disjunctive interrogatives may, indeed, be formed by the simple repetition of the **וְ** Num. 13, 18: but the second interrogation is much oftener more definitely denoted by this **וְ** or **וְ**. — On the other hand, **וְ** (formed from *au*, cf. the Lat. *aut*) is *or* of itself, going on to that which arises new after other things, and renders itself more prominent, therefore *or rather*, and thus in the second interrogation also, Jdgs. 18, 19, *or at least* if the first displeases Gen. 24, 55; hence too with the *jussive*, *or rather let him make peace* (if he will not do the first) Js. 27, 5. Lev. 26, 41. Then also used correlatively **וְ** - **וְ** *either* in this way, *or* in that, and therefore it has more force than **וְ**, and whereas the double **וְ** is rather used before single nouns, this is rather placed before whole propositions, but is then, since it contains the force of this conditional **וְ**, used with the *perf.* like **וְ** §. 625, as **וְ** **וְ** **וְ** *sive viderit sive cognorit* Lev. 5, 1; cf. EWALD'S *Gram. Arab.* II. p. 119. 322. — Two among many possible cases are introduced by **וְ** **וְ**, of the past, *was it that - and was it that* i. e. whenever it was so - or so, and **וְ** is often used to continue it afterwards Num. 9, 20 ff.

ACCORDANCE OF THE ACCENTUATION WITH THE
SYNTAX. Cf. §.183.

631 In order to see how well the accentuation agrees with the nature and life of the proposition as described in the syntax, we must above all things remember that the accentuation equably embraces the *sense* as well as the *rhythm* of the words of the proposition or verse, yet in such a manner that the one of these can never be at variance with the other. There must be an arrangement and order, a connexion or separation of the words of a proposition, which necessarily arise from the internal sense of the thoughts and expressions (apart from the rhythm or any congruity and beauty which are formed in the attempt to pronounce the whole); the internal sense, as the lowest foundation or as the ultimate law, gives all the individual materials which the rhythm, *externally* embracing the whole, forms and shapes, not to render the materials confused and obscure, but to dispose them in mutual unity and beauty; for the rhythm is the sense for the whole, or the breath which combines and animates all the individual parts. Hence we have to speak:

632 I. of the order of the words according to the sense
of the connexion per se. The kinds and differences of the

connexions of words, as they are described above, constitute, therefore, the point on which every thing here depends; and we set out in particulars from the closest connexion:

1. The connexion of words by the *stat. constr.* claims the first place. This is the closest connexion as to the idea, so that the greatest separation i. e. that into different parts of a verse §. 186, is never possible between words so connected. Prepositions and conjunctions are properly considered as the first member of a *stat. constr.*; so also are *negations* with the word to which they belong: *interrogatives* also are very intimately connected with the proposition.

2. The connexion of words by *apposition* is, indeed, 633 also close, but not constrained as in the *stat. constr.*, but free, since the first word is placed by itself, without reference to the following word, a simple succession in which every word placed by itself is coordinated with the other. Its different kinds, therefore, differ very much. Two words are easily conjoined, and their union is the closer and more necessary, the less the second expresses a merely accidental quality of the first, for *וְהַיְיטָלָהּ דָּנָה* will adhere more closely together than *וְהַיְיטָלָהּ דָּנָה*, because, in the two former examples, the first word already points at the more independent one. But, where the apposition is extended through many words, the individual parts very easily fall asunder e.g. the two adjectives in *seven other great men* Gen. 41, 20. Ex. 12, 5; so that even the greatest separation may take place by the description, which is already finished in itself, casually receiving another addition, as a relative proposition: *seven great men which come*, or *which were come*.

For the relative proposition which defines a preceding word, indisputably belongs here acc. to §. 591, and the closest union takes place between a single substantive and a short relative proposition, just as well as between substantive and adjective Is. 55, 5. 58, 5. 6. If the connexion, however, is rendered laxer by the relative proposition being expressly introduced by *וְאֲשֶׁר*, then the proposition to be defined is more and more separated. Moreover, *וְאֲשֶׁר* is always connected as a mere conjunction like *וְ*, therefore acc. to §. 632.

A word connected by a copula is still more easily separa- 634 ted than a word in apposition. In certain cases, indeed, two words so united may adhere most closely together as being mutually explanatory of each other, as *נָתַן וְנָתַן* Gen. 4, 14: but the greater number of such connexions come together accidentally, and are easily separable, On the contrary, when two words without copula are connected acc. to §. 605, there is always a closer union.

635 3. With regard to the *proposition*, the following rules are easily intelligible acc. to §. 554: verb and subject, or also another predicate and subject, always follow each other in tranquil order, a connexion which is not, indeed, so close as the two preceding ones, as the two fundamental parts of the proposition, predicate and subject, are also very easily separable, but are nevertheless very easily and naturally conjoined; in brief, a succession which just as easily relaxes its strictness at the slightest occasion for separation, as it is, in itself, partial to close union. The same holds of the accusative, or a nominative, as a further explanation after the verb or subject. Intimate connexion, however, is much less admissible with a subject placed before the verb, which suffers itself indeed to be constrained, in the shortest series, but which in all possible cases is rather very much disposed to separation; it is still less admissible with an object when placed before. Nevertheless, the subject which is placed before acc. to §. 556, forms an intelligible exception to this, in the same way as the personal pronouns also, on account of their smallness, are partial to intimate union.

636 Let us here denominate every word not necessarily belonging to the pure proposition an *addition* to the proposition, as a word with a preposition, an accusative of time, particles which describe particular circumstances. Such an addition (this much may be decidedly affirmed of it in general) necessarily adheres less closely and strictly with the whole, and, whether added at the beginning, middle, or end, is naturally inclined to separation.

637 II. The greatest difficulty now is the application to the *rhythm*. For, first, those *per se* possible connexions generally come together in the most diversified manner in a proposition, so that on almost every occasion the question arises how the really beautiful and appropriate order and arrangement will be modified in such a collision and in the often great compass of the proposition. Secondly, as the arrangement into verses is the chief law acc. to §. 183, but many short propositions often come together in the verse, accordingly, the rhythm may vary according to the position of a small whole in the greater; and the same member of the sentence may assume a different form according as it stands at the beginning of the verse, or part of the verse, or even section of the verse. From all these causes, such an infinite multitude of particular modifications of those general laws is produced, that we can only touch on some of the most usual and important ones here.

1. *Two* words which come together in any manner and give a connected sense, are primarily always connected in the accentuation also, even should they be parts of an unfinished or abrupt proposition, as לֹא אֲדֹנָי *not* (no) *my lord!* or also should the arrangement be unusual e. g. when the subject is placed before (cf. 2 Sam. 18, 18. 19, 27 with 19, 10. 41). Unless the second word from the end is obliged to serve as a fore member §. 185 because there is no other word there which can be so used, in this case the two words are every where necessarily kept separate with *1b*, seldom with *2c* and only where the separation is easier.

2. Where *three* words come together, one of them is necessarily separated more or less from the others; for it is not conceivable that three words could be perfectly equal to each other and flow on in complete evenness; but, even in the most tranquil succession, two of the three will nevertheless incline most nearly to each other and attract each other as well as to the sense as also especially as to the rhythm, so that the third is thereby separated. In the higher, more rapid members, such a separation, when it is only gentle and slight, is not so easily sensible, as all the members which can embrace more than two words, are severally enumerated in §. 191; and even where it is somewhat more sensible, *P'siq* is sufficient: in the lower members, however, the separation is so much the stricter and more necessary.

Where the last two of three words belong together at all, they jointly repel the third from them, *abc*, even in cases in which the first two adhere no less together, because, as the end always has the ultimate decision as the limit and encompassment of the whole, the last word but one always remains in its natural union with it, if it is possible. It is only where the first two words belong proportionably more intimately together, that they exercise a common repulsion against the last. Therefore 1) with three words in *stat. constr.* and even when the first is only a preposition or conjunction or particle resembling these, as אֶת לֵבָב הַמֶּלֶךְ; even אֲשֶׁר is separated in the same way, contrary to §. 633, when לֹא, which belongs still more closely to the verb, follows Js. 56, 5. Whenever the third word is more separated, the first two are united, as עָשָׂר אִישׁ *twelve men*.

2) With three words in apposition, the last word, as being merely explanatory, will, on the other hand, generally be separated more easily: *abc*. But when two words are in *stat. constr.* and the third is in apposition, the separation then takes place at the *stat. constr.* whenever the apposition

belongs, as to the idea, to the second, and at the second noun whenever the apposition belongs to the first, for *בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל* is *the son of the great king*, but *בֶּן הַמֶּלֶךְ הַגָּדוֹל* is *the great son of the king*. — When three equal words come together, and two of them are without copula, when the third has one, the copula at all events makes the separation, *לְכֹה שָׂבָרִי וְאַחֲלִי* Js. 55, 1; on the contrary, we find even *בָּרוּךְ וְאֲבוֹתָר הַבְּהִמִּים* 2 Sam. 19, 12.

3) Subject and predicate are disjoined when one or the other contains two words. And although verb and subject are disposed to be joined, yet they are nevertheless separated whenever the subject in *stat. constr.* or in apposition has a much nearer complement Gen. 7, 19. 8, 5. 13. 9, 22. 34, 1. 2Sam. 16, 5. 19, 17, or when the verb embraces more than the nearest subject, as when שאלה *they ask* is followed by איש את־רעהו *one the other* Ex. 11, 2; in the same manner with the object Js. 54, 3. On the contrary, if *a b*, as verb and subject, are followed by the object, then they form a common union against the object; just as in the rare case of the subject being the third word; if the subject or object, however, is placed before, then the two following words unite against the first Js. 54, 3. Two different objects, or also, when the one is a more definite explanation of the predicate, two different nominatives, are of their own accord more sensibly separated e. g. verb, subject, then the more definite predicate, *abc*, 2Sam. 18, 10. 19, 10. Js. 56, 7. Also *a* and *b*, as two verbs conjoined by the copula, unite together against *c* as subject, as Ex. 12, 28.

An additional word §. 636 when between three words, two of which belong more closely together in the above manner, is always distinctly separated: whether placed at the beginning or end, it unites the first two or last two, in case they are in tranquil succession, by its counterpoise (e. g. at the beginning, הָיָה Js. 59, 1. 2 Sam. 18, 10, cf. the reverse v. 11. Gen. 18, 9; at the end, בָּנֵי־אִשָּׁה Gen. 4, 13): on the contrary, where the succession is not tranquil, יִהְיֶה אֲחֵרֵי לִי *abc*. If it is placed in the middle, it attaches itself to the first in all cases in which the sense permits it, for instance an adverb to the verb: וְיָבֹא מִהֲרָה וְשָׂמֶךְ *there comes quickly thy salvation*; to the last, on the contrary, as when the subject is placed before: וְשָׂמֶךְ מִהֲרָה וְיָבֹא Js. 58, 8. 2 Sam. 19, 10. 41.

610 3. With four words and more, the same thing only, in fact, returns with a variation that ever becomes more manifold and infinite. Thus there are four possible unions with

four words: *abcd*, *abcd*, *abcd*, *abcd*, so that, in the last two cases, three words again form, in the sense of §. 639, a member capable of further division. The nearest and most beautiful division with words of an even number, is that into two equal members, but a short, weaker word often attaches itself to a stronger one, as *הוא*, 2 Sam. 19, 33, *עוד* Gen. 4, 25. 7, 4, cf. 9, 11.

When a word not belonging to the chief matter in the verse, or even some words of that kind, oppose an, in other respects, very appropriate order and division of the words of the verse, then they may always be easily removed out of the way by means of *Maqqef* i. e. they may easily be hurried over with greater rapidity; cf. §. 187 *sub fin*.

The interruption of the sentence which is occasioned by the interposition of a new proposition, is always distinctly marked, since *כי* *for*, for instance which is partial to intimate conjunction acc. to §. 633, is nevertheless clearly separated with a proposition of comparison introduced by *כְּאִשֶּׁר* as Js. 55, 10. But so little does the biblical accentuation resemble our imperfect and, at the same time, petty punctuation, that it denotes the impassioned exclamation or emphasis which a word has in the proposition, at the utmost by adding a *P'siq* to the succession of accents which is necessary in itself, as *וְאֶבְרָהָם וְאֶבְרָהָם* Gen. 22, 11, and that, at the place where a speech quoted with the word of saying, begins, it properly makes no great section there, as if the reader was so shortsighted as not to perceive that a speech begins here, although he is told so just before (we only find a longer section when there is a longer introduction, as when *לֵאמֹר* *saying* is expressly inserted, Dt. 1, 16. 2 Sam. 19, 10).

By pursuing this course of thought and investigation to a greater extent, we will everywhere find a beautiful harmony between the accentuation and Syntax, so that they can mutually support and explain each other. Whether we set out from the Syntax, and learn to comprehend it without knowing any thing of the accentuation (as the Author has once actually done), or whether we proceed from the accentuation to the Syntax, an accurate investigation will always lead to the same results, so that he who thoroughly understands the Syntax, is for the most part already possessed of the accentuation also, and he who understands the latter, becomes throughout more easily at home in the former. This is, however, at the same time the best commendation for the accentuation.

I. INDEX OF SOME REMARKABLE WORDS WHOSE FORMS ARE EXPLAINED IN THIS GRAMMAR.

(The numerals refer to the §§; p. to the pages.)

אב 324	אבגל 332	בקרר p. 227
אבות 373	אבן 357	ברנה p. 198
אביר 272	אברה 281	בשה p. 215
אדון } 84. 359. 361	אדור 427	בשה 381
אדוני } 84. 359. 361	אדורא 51. 452	בת 380
אדוני 233	אדור 449	בתים 51. 382
אדוני p. 271	אדור 382	
אדור 444	אדור 70. 283	גאיות 415
אדור 294	אדור } 456. 459	גבה p. 257
אדור 272	אדור } 456. 459	גדל p. 257
אדור 341. 457	אדור 292	גובי 359
אדור 468. 523	אדור 129. note 3	גנה 380
אדור 447	אדור 310. note 2	גול } 327. 346, b
אדור 283	אדור 318. 381	גורל } 327. 346, b
אדור 331	אדור 294	גול p. 257
אדור 324	אדור p. 165	גיא 318
אדור 331	אדור 453. 588 ff.	גליל 425
אדור 386	אדור 429	גלב 356
אדור p. 162	אדור 365. 381	גשם p. 162
אדור 459. 470	אדור 51. 468	
אדור 444. 451. 581	אדור 292	ההה 442
אדור 318	אדור 131	ההה 343. 393
אדור 448	אדור 306	ההה 428
אדור 444		ההה p. 235
אדור } 451	ה 462. 528	ההה 451, note 1
אדור } 451	ההה 348	
אדור } 451	ההה p. 244	ההה 443. 577
אדור 284	ההה 464	ההה 442
אדור p. 193. §. 574	ההה p. 225	ההה 82
אדור 451	ההה p. 271	ההה 324
אדור p. 193	ההה } 470	ההה } 457
אדור 382	ההה } 470	ההה p. 113
אדור 456	ההה 458. 575	ההה 409
אדור 351	ההה 348. 458	ההה 356
אדור 456	ההה 458	ההה 257
אדור 448. 573	ההה 458	ההה 255
אדור 446	ההה 459	ההה 292
אדור 361	ההה 430	ההה 292
אדור 470	ההה 407	ההה 357
אדור 448. 578. 624 f.	ההה p. 128	ההה p. 155
אדור 386	ההה 464	ההה p. 271
אדור 346, b	ההה 331	

- ההפאטה 286
ההפאטה 123
ההפאטה 299
ההפאטה 279
ההפאטה 228
ההפאטה p. 225
ההפאטה 336
ההפאטה 257
ההפאטה 242
ההפאטה 445
ההפאטה 448
ההפאטה 446
ההפאטה 228
ההפאטה 448
ההפאטה 148, note 1
ההפאטה 279
ההפאטה 448
ההפאטה 242
ההפאטה 356
ההפאטה 448
ההפאטה p. 205
ההפאטה } 228
ההפאטה } 227
ההפאטה 356
ההפאטה 228
ההפאטה p. 225
ההפאטה p. 205
ההפאטה 62. p. 272
ההפאטה 254
ההפאטה 356
ההפאטה 356. 457. 542f.
ההפאטה 420
ההפאטה 242
ההפאטה 82
ההפאטה p. 151
ההפאטה 425
ההפאטה 254
ההפאטה 344
ההפאטה 82
ההפאטה 331
ההפאטה 257
ההפאטה 344
ההפאטה 275
ההפאטה 247
ההפאטה 275
ההפאטה 243, 2
- ההפאטה 257
ההפאטה 603 ff.
ההפאטה } 82
ההפאטה } p. 165
ההפאטה 299
ההפאטה 299
ההפאטה } 464
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה 299
ההפאטה 299
ההפאטה 223
ההפאטה 75. p. 169
ההפאטה } 164
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה } 163
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה 47. 116
ההפאטה p. 169
ההפאטה p. 169
ההפאטה 299
ההפאטה p. 160
ההפאטה 127
ההפאטה p. 169
ההפאטה p. 160
ההפאטה 116
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה } p. 169
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה 92. 97
ההפאטה 446
ההפאטה 370
ההפאטה } 446
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה } 459
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה p. 226
ההפאטה p. 215
ההפאטה 430
ההפאטה 351
ההפאטה p. 160
- ההפאטה 365
ההפאטה 54
ההפאטה 417
ההפאטה 390
ההפאטה 279
ההפאטה 286
ההפאטה 365, note
ההפאטה 407
ההפאטה } 344
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה 359
ההפאטה 457
ההפאטה p. 198
ההפאטה 380
ההפאטה 386
ההפאטה p. 226
ההפאטה 395
ההפאטה 341
ההפאטה 308
ההפאטה p. 152
ההפאטה 333
ההפאטה 244. 333. 335
ההפאטה 415
ההפאטה 359
ההפאטה 392
ההפאטה p. 162
ההפאטה 319
ההפאטה 235. 274
ההפאטה p. 225
ההפאטה 335
ההפאטה } 308
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה 246. 272
ההפאטה 310
ההפאטה 280
ההפאטה 306
ההפאטה 228
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה } p. 152
ההפאטה }
ההפאטה 289
ההפאטה 292
ההפאטה 284
ההפאטה 348
ההפאטה } 284
ההפאטה }

- וְהָהֵל } 247
 וְהָהֵל } 246
 וְהָהֵל } 351
 וְהָהֵל } p. 152
 וְהָהֵל } 62. 308
 וְהָהֵל } 457
 וְהָהֵל } 275
 וְהָהֵל } 119
 וְהָהֵל } p. 185
 וְהָהֵל } 270
 וְהָהֵל } p. 152
 וְהָהֵל } 284
 וְהָהֵל } 306
 וְהָהֵל } 246
 וְהָהֵל } 280
 וְהָהֵל } p. 152
 וְהָהֵל } 389
 וְהָהֵל } 228
 וְהָהֵל } 306
 וְהָהֵל } p. 160
 וְהָהֵל } 228. p. 244
 וְהָהֵל } 280
 וְהָהֵל } 343
 וְהָהֵל } 275
 וְהָהֵל } p. 152
 וְהָהֵל } 356
 וְהָהֵל } 333
 וְהָהֵל } 256
 וְהָהֵל } 431
 וְהָהֵל } 351
 וְהָהֵל } p. 152
 וְהָהֵל } 337
 וְהָהֵל } 228
 וְהָהֵל } 273
 וְהָהֵל } 246
 וְהָהֵל } 42. p. 158
 וְהָהֵל } 306
 וְהָהֵל } p. 162
 וְהָהֵל } p. 152
 וְהָהֵל } p. 162
 וְהָהֵל } p. 158
 וְהָהֵל } 337
 וְהָהֵל } 228
 וְהָהֵל } 341
 וְהָהֵל } 465. 550
 וְהָהֵל } 308
 וְהָהֵל } 280
 וְהָהֵל } p. 151
 וְהָהֵל } 306
 וְהָהֵל } p. 169
 וְהָהֵל } 280
 וְהָהֵל } 273
 וְהָהֵל } 275
 וְהָהֵל } p. 151
 וְהָהֵל } 455. 462. 534
 וְהָהֵל } 455
 וְהָהֵל } 320. 383
 וְהָהֵל } 148, note 1
 וְהָהֵל } 454
 וְהָהֵל } 455
 וְהָהֵל } 492. 576
 וְהָהֵל } 421
 וְהָהֵל } p. 244
 וְהָהֵל } 469
 וְהָהֵל } 459. 469
 וְהָהֵל } 469
 וְהָהֵל } 455
 וְהָהֵל } 389
 וְהָהֵל } 430
 וְהָהֵל } p. 118. §. 124
 וְהָהֵל } 417
 וְהָהֵל } 462. 527
 וְהָהֵל } 448, note
 וְהָהֵל } 84. 457. 464
 וְהָהֵל } 464
 וְהָהֵל } 627. 585
 וְהָהֵל } 344
 וְהָהֵל } p. 227
 וְהָהֵל } 433
 וְהָהֵל } 463
 וְהָהֵל } 457
 וְהָהֵל } 462
 וְהָהֵל } 343. 393
 וְהָהֵל } 462
 וְהָהֵל } 421
 וְהָהֵל } 51. 133
 וְהָהֵל } 343
 וְהָהֵל } 127
 וְהָהֵל } p. 226
 וְהָהֵל } 384
 וְהָהֵל } 397
 וְהָהֵל } 452
 וְהָהֵל } 437
 וְהָהֵל } 357
 וְהָהֵל } p. 211
 וְהָהֵל } p. 210
 וְהָהֵל } 458
 וְהָהֵל } 427
 וְהָהֵל } 339
 וְהָהֵל } 94. 339
 וְהָהֵל } p. 211. 94. 339
 וְהָהֵל } p. 211
 וְהָהֵל } 464
 וְהָהֵל } 284
 וְהָהֵל } 338
 וְהָהֵל } 229
 וְהָהֵל } p. 211
 וְהָהֵל } 345
 וְהָהֵל } 347
 וְהָהֵל } 389
 וְהָהֵל } 351
 וְהָהֵל } 370
 וְהָהֵל } 275
 וְהָהֵל } p. 210
 וְהָהֵל } 335
 וְהָהֵל } 458
 וְהָהֵל } 338
 וְהָהֵל } 420
 וְהָהֵל } 450
 וְהָהֵל } 397
 וְהָהֵל } 416. 467
 וְהָהֵל } 430
 וְהָהֵל } 398
 וְהָהֵל } 113
 וְהָהֵל } 390

- מלאכה 417
מלך 286
מלכות 294
מלכיות 395
ממנו } 467
ממנו }
מן 461. 535
מנהג 467
מנואץ 257
מנוי 407. 459
מנוי 467
מנשגים } p. 211
מנחות }
מנה 386
מסר } p. 211
מסר }
מסר p. 212
משול p. 211
משורר 252
מששים 383. 458
משי 339
משנה 407
משל 420
משלה 420
משל p. 211
משלה p. 211
משלה 73
משלה 390
משל p. 211
משל p. 211
משל p. 209
משלה 338. 430
משלה 338
משה 124
משל 228
משלה 426, b
משל p. 211
משלה 391
משלה p. 212
משלה 228. 339
משל p. 211
משלה p. 274
משלה 229
משלה } 435
משלה }
משלה p. 244
משלה 414
נא 448. 459
נאכסין 332
נאדרי 468
נאה 84
נאות 228
נאות 272
נבלה p. 152. p. 165
נבקה p. 152
נבאל 257
נדהו 398
נהלא 448
נהלל 332
נהגות 391
ניסר 258
נזלה p. 152
נהלה 370
נהנה p. 156
נהרו p. 152
נהת 381
נהתים p. 246
נטיל 351
ניהח } 332
ניצץ }
נכבדי 419
נכסר 258
נמנה 244
נכבה p. 152
נעור 228
נבלאה 390
נבלאה p. 153
נכצה p. 152
נכצהו p. 161
נכטה p. 152
נשאה p. 228
נשהקו p. 156
נשים 239
נשכחה 286
נשהוה 257. 258
נשהה p. 165
נאסא 235
נאסאה 129, note 3
נבב p. 226
נבלו p. 272
נבנה 308
נב } 246
נב }
עגבה 379
עדה 395
עדי 470
עדי 51. 458
עדה 458
עדה 417
עור 460
עולה 381
עורים 334
עור 237
עזאזל 335
עז 424
ערת 365
עטה 397
ע p. 194
עיר 341
עליו p. 162
עלי 470
עלה 381
עמי 359
עמרים p. 244
עממי 415
עניו 428
ערה p. 198
ערום p. 244
ערום 341
עליו 334
עשה p. 197
עשוה 396
עשה p. 152
פא 455
פדיום 341
פדה ארם 420
פדה } p. 274
פדה }
פדה 379
פד 409, 426, b
פדה 426, b
פג p. 211
פקחקה 333
פרה 397
פשהם p. 154
פאה p. 165
פדניה 394
פלקמה 427

- צוואר 146. 347. 361
 צאצאי 417. 361
 צי 318
 צינן 331
 צלח 327
 צללן 425
 צללים 382
 צללנות 348
 צמחתיני 233
 צמח 55
 צמחן 342
 קבלן p. 272
 קבנו 306. 308
 קדושים p. 243
 קצוה 329
 קרקע 333. 334
 קחת 409
 קדחה p. 272
 קטני p. 272
 קרקלן 335
 קצפה p. 205
 קלל 334
 קטמיות 457
 קדון 413
 קטני p. 162
 קצה p. 193
 קצין 342
 קצה 386
 קראן p. 161
 קראה } p. 153
 קראחה }
 קרנבס 426, a
 קשת 381
 רא } p. 226
 ראה }
 ראח 457
 ראיות 396
 ראוח p. 218
 ראש p. 193
 ראשים 382
 רבו } 344. 395
 רבוא }
 רבתי 408
 רחמים 382
 רישא 425
 רבתי 426, b
 רבצה p. 165
 שאת 73. 75. p. 226
 שוא } 354
 שיא }
 שיהי } 426, b
 שיר }
 שראלי 343
 שערה 385
 ש, ש, ש- 453
 שבועה 386
 שבת 342. 417
 טוב 356
 שחרו 77. 291
 שחלה p. 247
 שחת 381
 שילה 341
 שחלהבת 238
 שילן 341
 שילן 96, note.
 שילנה 384
 שילנותי p. 157
 שילה 331
 שילן 148 note 2, 428
 שילשי 359
 שלמה 341
 שם 447
 שמות 373
 שמות p. 226
 שקום 397
 שקנן p. 161
 שנים 396
 שקנים 396
 שראשי 124
 שרה 124
 שררה 425
 שרשה 335. 334
 שתי 228
 שעות p. 224
 שתיים 175. 435
 תאחבי 73. p. 151. 308
 תבאחה } p. 157
 תבאחי }
 תבואתך }
 תכל 340
 תבדחה 288
 תהום 328. 340
 תדבאנה 306
 חוסף 173
 חושב 340
 תחרה 238
 תחתי 470
 תיטבי 271
 תגיל 284
 תישא 148, note 2
 תלמיד 340
 תלצה 340
 תחתי p. 160
 תנינו p. 156
 תפאניה 288
 תנה 309
 תגבה 308
 תצבן רי p. 151
 תעלה 340
 תצר p. 211
 תפה 370
 תקום 357
 תקימה 63
 תרגיל 238
 תרצה p. 157
 תרצה 119
 תשובה 48, note 2
 תשחרי p. 151
 תשי p. 169
 תת 384
 תחבר 234
 תפה p. 156
 תתן 467 note.

II. INDEX OF SUBJECTS.

- A* of motion 442, with the noun 420, with the verb 293.
Abstract, 312. 313. 325. 328. 329. 331. 332. ff. 344.
Accents, names 189.
Accentuation 180 ff., of prose 183-191, of poetry 192-196; — its connexion with the pronunciation of words 197-199; — its agreement with the Syntax 631 ff.
Accusative, with the verbs of going 477, of speaking, of acting or treating 478. two accus. with the verb 479. from a different cause, with verbs of making, calling 480. — free subordination of a noun in the accus. 482 ff., as word of relation with a statement of measure, time 490. Preposition of the accus., and its position 492 ff.
Active pronunciation 205. 248 ff.
Adjective 312. construction of with noun 537. — as predicate usually without article 547.
Adverbs 202, their relation in the proposition 543.
Adversative propositions 623.
Alphabet, Semitic 135. Hebr. 136.
Aphaeresis of weak sounds at the beginning of words 111.
Appoggiatural consonant 26 ff. Gutturals as appog. cons. 70. — Reduplication often falls away here 119.
Article 445. 324. 463. Its use 533-536. — seldom remains in *stat.* constr. 514. — with numerals 516.
Assimilation of consonants 113 ff.

Causative-stem v. Hif-il.
Character, Assyrian 136. Hebr. 136 137. history of 142 ff.
Chatef-vowels, 168. — with gutturals 168, with nongutturals 169.
Chief-tone in polysyllabic words 34 ff.
Cholem, its point distinguished from R'bia 164. — its coincidence with the point of ך 170.
Cohortative 266. 293 ff. 295.
Collectives by the feminine ending 346.
Comparison, how expressed 501. 502. 519. — particle of 455 ff.
Composition of words 13. 348.
Conditional propositions 624-627.

Consonants 20, 21. Division of, 67. Change of, 104-110. Transposition of, 128. Softened at the end of a syllable into a vowel 335. Diacritical signs of, 170 ff.
Construction of two words, mediate, immediate 304.
Copula between subject and predicate 548-550.
Copulative propositions 603 ff.

Dagesh 171. — forte 171. — dirimens 172. — lene 173-175. 199.
Deep-tone, denoted by Meteg 180. 181.
Dialects of the Hebr. language 5.
Diminutives, formation of, 346 b.
Diphthongs, change of into mixed sounds 49.
Double consonant, how expressed in the writing 143.
Dual, ending of 208. 359. Use of, 362. mode in which its ending is added to a noun 383-399.

E, short, prefixed to the first vowelless consonant of a word 112. Auxiliary 29-30. Disappearance of, 62.
Elision, of ך and ך by a firmer sound in their neighbourhood 97.

Feminine, ending of, 209. — used to form abstracts 325. 329. 345. — to form collectives 346. The hard ending -at, 365. — toneless e, 369, sometimes toneless a as ending 370. — Attachment of to the noun 377 ff. 385, to the noun with vowel-endings 393 ff. to the noun from ך and ך roots 396-398.
Final letters 138.
Foretone 36. Foretone-vowel 37-42.

Gender 207. 209. Idea and form of to be distinguished 363. — Feminines without external ending 366, which in certain cases, however, cannot be omitted 367-368. — Feminines in t go over into the masc. 365. Its Syntax 567.
Gutturals 68, nearest to the vowels 70, consequences of that 71 ff.

- The A-sound the nearest for them 76 ff. — admit no reduplication 82; the redupl. ceases to be audible by grades 120-124. — frequent concurrence of them avoided 123.
- II*, change of into the simple aspirate in prefix syllables 111, 238.
- Ilif-il* 238, 239. Passive of, 252. Perfect and imperf. 274, 275. in roots אִלִּי and אִלִּי 279, 280.
- Hof-al* 252, 253, 258, 278.
- Hitpael* 242, 243; passive pronunciation 257, 258, 278.
- Imperative* 266, 291 ff. 295.
- Imperfect* 261. Use 263-265. Form 267. — with Vav consequitivum 297, 610 ff.
- Infinitive* 312; use of in two different manners: as
- Infinit. construct.* 353. — form 354. — construction with הַ 544. Noun subordinated to it 545.
- Infinit. absolute*, use of 355. form 356 ff. Placed after the finite verb 540; subordinated to the finite verb of its own root 541. — Becomes a perfect adverb 542, 543-545.
- Intensive stems*, rare 332 ff. — in הִי and הִי 234, 235. their passive 256. Perf. and imperf. 278.
- Interjectional propositions* 582 ff.
- Interjections* 440.
- Interrogative pronoun* 450.
- Interrogative propositions* 577 ff.
- Interrogative* הֲ 443.
- Intransitive pronunciation*, see *semi-passive*.
- Jussive* 266, 290, 295.
- K'tib* 158.
- Language*, Hebr. its position in the Semitic family 1 ff.
- Letters*, figure and order of 139. used as numerals 141.
- Liquids* 99.
- Litterae quiescentes*, motae or mobiles, otiantes, concerning these names 179.
- M*, change of into *n* at the end of a word 126.
- Mappiq* 176.
- Maqqef* 187. Influence on the pronunciation of words 198.
- Masora* 158.
- Medial syllables* 31.
- Meteg* 180, 181. — 162.
- Mixed sounds* 49.
- Mode* 260 ff.
- Mutes*, relation of to each other 101 ff. aspiration of, 103.
- N* falls away entirely at the end of a word 126.
- Negations* 448, 573 ff.
- Negative propositions* 573.
- Nif-al* 240, 241, 246. Used as the passive of Qal 258. Perfect and imperf. 276, 277.
- Nitpael* 258.
- Noun* 202; in either definite or indefinite in the proposition 535.
- Nominal stems*: 1. simple: first formation 317, 318; with vowel thrown back 319. — second formation 321 ff. — third formation 326 ff. — 2. Reduplicated stems 330 ff. — 3. formations with external affixes: with prefixed *a*, 336. with prefixed *h* 337. — More frequently with prefixed *m*, 338, vocalization of this formation 339. — with prefixed הַ 340. — with postfixed *an* or *on* (*am* or *om*) 341 ff. — with postfixed *i*, 343: feminines of this formation 344. — Formations from quadriliteral and quineliteral roots 347.
- Number* 207, 358 ff. — its Syntax 567 ff.
- Numerals* 434. cardinal 435. ordinal and other derived numerals 439.
- Pa'alal* 233, 256.
- Participle* 312. Idea and use of, 349, 350. — Two kinds of as to form: 1. simple formation by internal augmentation of the vowels, Qal, Nif-al. 2. by a prefixed הַ, which is wanting sometimes in Pual 351.
- Particles* 203. Formation 440 ff. separates itself from that of the noun and verb 457 ff. — Combination of many to form one 458.
- Passive* 248, 251 ff.
- Patach furtivum* 168.
- Pause* 130-134.
- Pausal pronunciations*, where found 199.

Perfect 261 ff. 267 ff. with Vav consequ. 298 610 ff.

Persons, signs of, in the Perf. 281. — in the imperf. 282. — Attachment of to the verbal stems 283. 284 ff. from roots ה"ו 286 and נ"ו 288; from roots ע"ו and י"ו 287. — Disappearance of the foretone-vowel; peculiarity of the roots ע"ו in this respect, 289.

Piel 232. Perf. and imperf. 279. — from ה"ו 279. — from נ"ו 280.

Plural, ending of, used to form abstracts 329. — of the masc. 359; signification of, 360. 361. of the fem. 371, signification of 371 ff. — Attachment of to the noun 382 ff. to nouns ה"ו and נ"ו 397. 398.

Pool 355.

Pool, *Pol* 234. 237.

Position of words in a proposition 554 ff.

Predicate, an adjective or abstract substantive 547. Position of in the proposition 554 ff. 557.

Prepositions, traces of a plural of, 470; different origin of the ending ה"ו in some 470. As prefixes 461 ff. Signification of 518; simple ones 519-526. Combination of 528-531.

Pronouns, demonstrative 446. — personal 449, added to verbal persons, to nouns with suffixes 560. — reflexive, how expressed 566.

Proposition 16 ff. simple 471.

Propositions copulative 603. correlative 624 ff. negative 573 ff. relative 588 ff.

Proposition of state 556. 607-610.

P'siq 184.

Pual 252 ff., as passive to Qal 258.

Qal 231, active and semipassive pronunciation of 249. 250. Perf. and imperf. 269 ff. — from ה"ו 279.

Qamez-chatusf, how distinguished from Qamez 162.

Q'ri 158.

Rafe 177.

R'bia. how distinguished from Cholein 164.

Reduplication of a consonant, how arisen 113 ff. not audible in some cases 118 ff., seldom remains in ה 124. — disappears by the lengthening of the preceding vowel, or by the insertion of a liquid 125. — of the first consonant by means of close conjunction with the preceding word 129. — weak, with gutturals 123.

Reflexive stems, see Nif-al, Hitpael: their passive signification takes a reflexive turn 259.

Reflexive pronoun, how expressed 566.

Relative particles 453 ff.

Relative propositions 588 ff.

Repetition of a word 561.

Roots, primitive 10, remains of these in the particles 11. Enlargement of to three, rarely four or five, firm sounds 14. 15. — Grades of 201, formations from them 203.

Roots, distinction of the strong and weak 215. — Fluctuation of the weak between two developments 228. 229. — Roots with double sounds at the end (ע"ו) 217. — with a long vowel instead of the second radical 218-220. their resemblance to the roots ע"ו, 221. — with vowels at either end, ה"ו 222. ע"ו 223. — with gutturals 224. — with many weak sounds 226-227. — roots with more than three sounds 230, their passive pronunciation 256.

Semipassive pronunciation 205. 248 ff.

Scriptio plena and *defectiva* 164.

Sh'va 165 ff. concluding a syllable (quiescens), beginning a syllable (mobile) 165. 166, floating between two syllables (medium) 167.

Sibilants 67. their relation to each other 100.

Singular, signification of 358.

Sounds, fundamental laws in the theory of 20-23.

Status constructus, signification 400. pronunciation 402 ff. traces of a union-vowel 406. 407. — Form of the first word in, of the noun without ending of gender or number 409-413, of the noun with

- those endings, and changes of those endings 414; shortening of the vocalization before those endings 415 ff. Reduplication of the last consonant of the stem occurring here for the first time 419. Compass of 496-508. consequences of 509-517.
- Stems*, formation of 202-204. change of vowels within 205. 212-214. Flexion of 207 ff.
- Stems augmented*, return of to the simple stem 245. 246. are gradually treated like simple stems 247.
- Subject*, position of 554 ff. position of in a proposition of state 556. — definite subject omitted 551 ff.
- Suffixes of the verb* 300. attachment by a fragmentary union vowel, which often becomes a full vowel 301. Form of 302. Attachment of producing a change in the form of the postfixes of many persons 303. 304. Union of with [the several verbal persons 305. — Lengthening of the accented intermediate vowel by an inserted *n*, 305. Their influence on the anterior syllable of the verb 307-309. Attachment of to the 𐤀𐤃 310. — An unusual signification of 564.
- Suffixes of the noun*, form 421. 422. attachment of, to nouns without ending of gender or number 424-426; to nouns with the ending of the fem. sg. 427. 431; with the vowel-ending of the stat. constr., of the dual and plural 428. 429. 432, with the ending of the fem. plur. 430. 431. — Reduplication of the last radical 432. — Attachment of to the participle and infinitive 433.
- Suffixes of the particles* 465 ff.
- Syllable*, its compass 24-26; its ending, hence divided into open or simple 27, into shut or compound 29. 30, into medial syllables 31, into half-shut 32. — with two vowelless consonants at the end 29. 30
- T-sound* placed after the S-sound 114.
- Tense*, difference of and signification 260 ff.
- Tone* in polysyllabic words 33 ff.
- Tonesyllable* 33.
- Tone-vowels*, long by tone, immutably long or long by stem 57-59.
- Tay consequitivum* 296. 610-620.
- Verb* 202 ff. — subordination of to express an adverbial idea 539.
- Verbal stems*, derived from nouns 244.
- Vowels*, their relation to each other 43. 44. Softening of 45 ff. Obscuration of 50. Shortening of 51. — Concurrence of avoided by contraction 53. 54; by resolution into semivowels 55; by elision 56. — how expressed in the ancient mode of writing 145 ff. Vowelletters 146. — Signs for the vowels (points) 165 ff. how they arose 157 ff. Their coincidence with the ancients vowelletters 164. their value and authority 160.

on
h-
m-

d-
or
d
d,
w-
30

rad

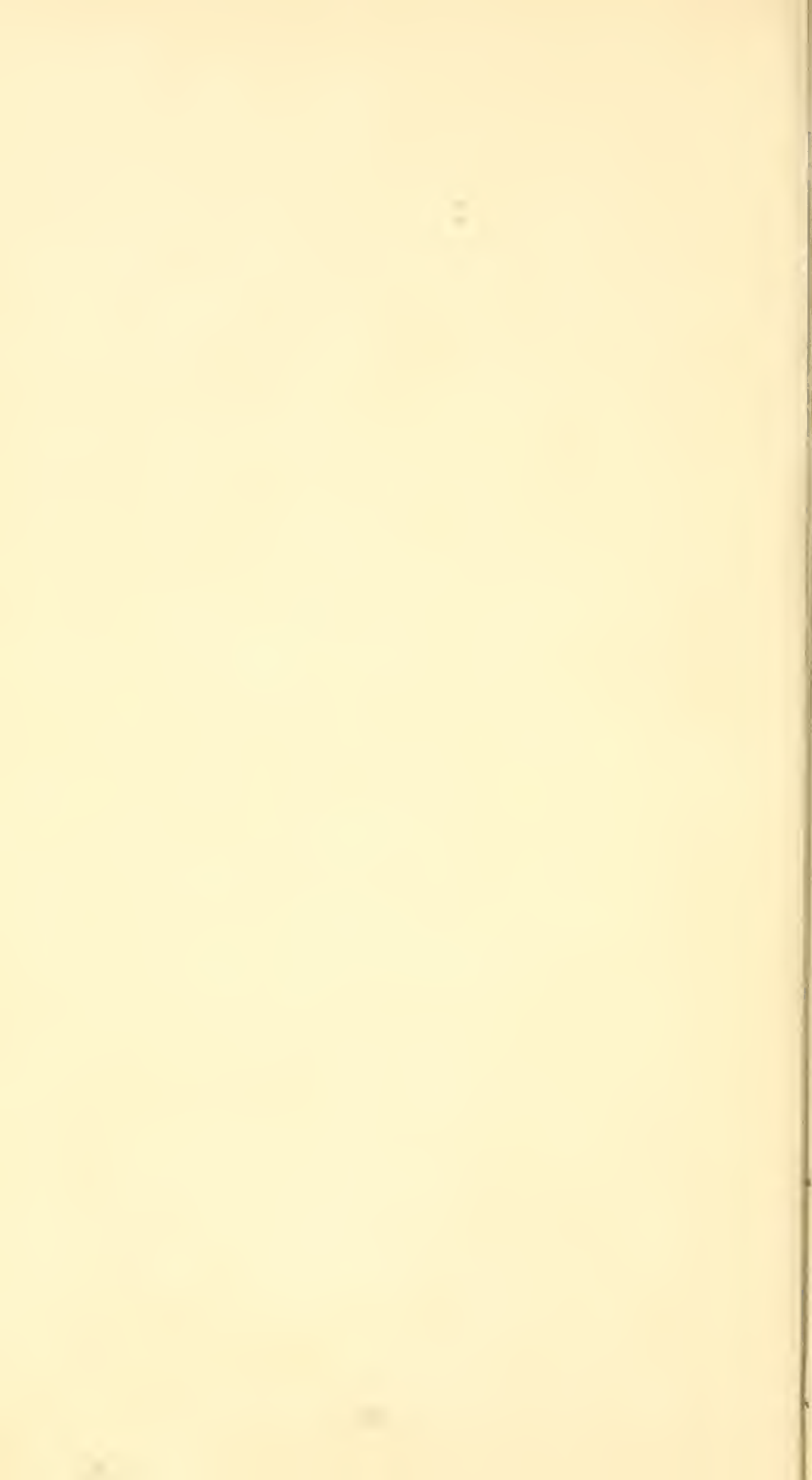
ion

nu-
59,

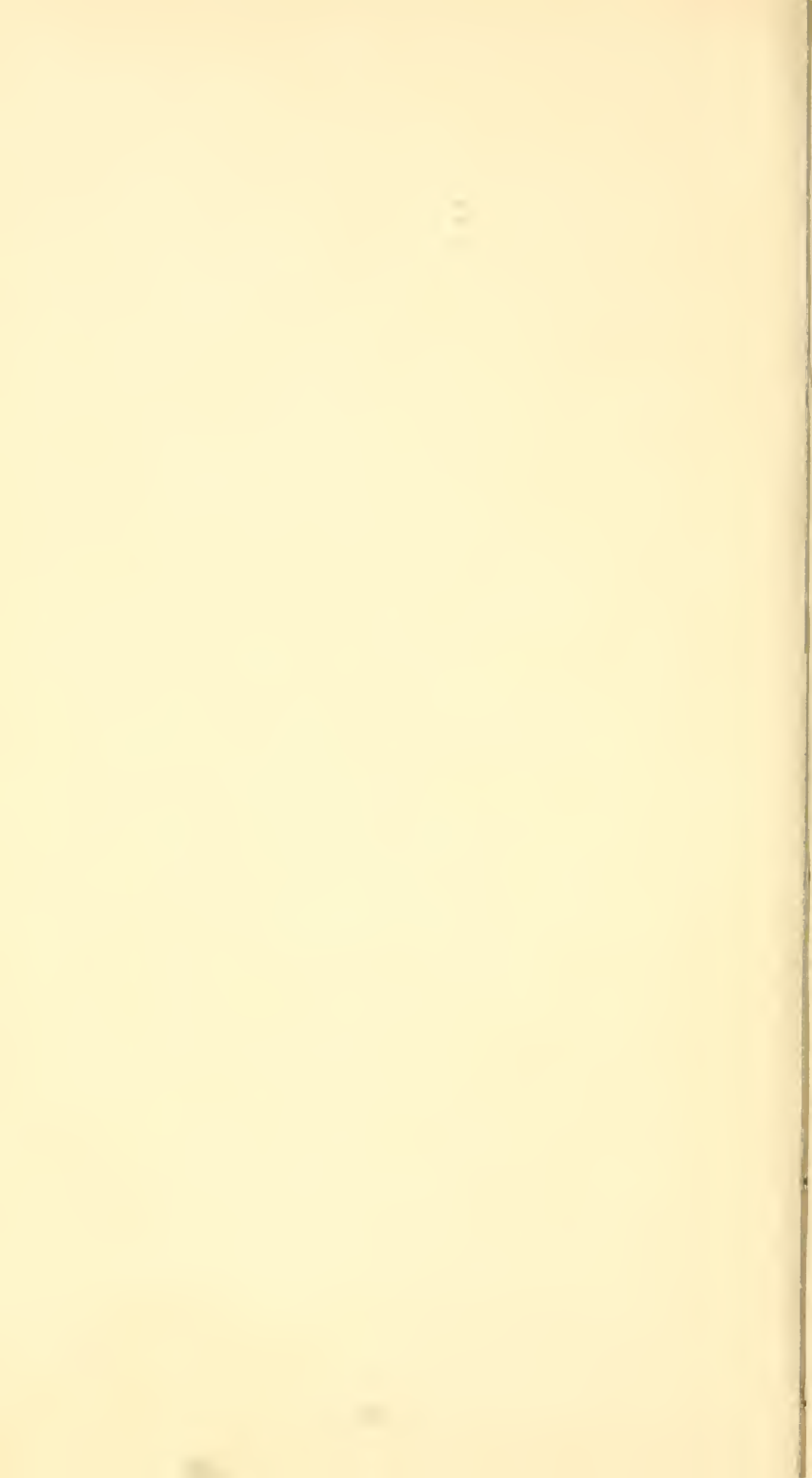
0,
to

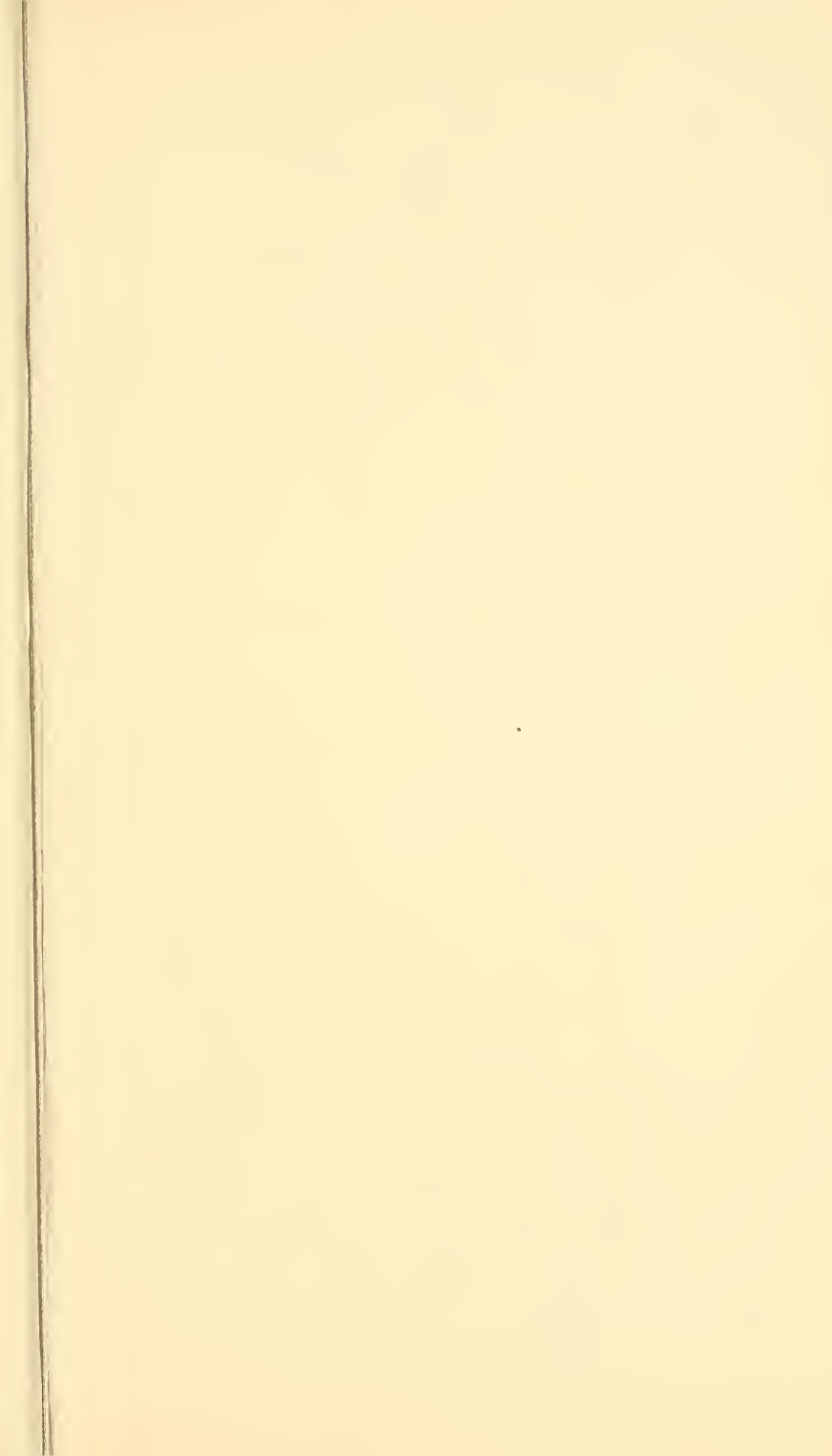
ons

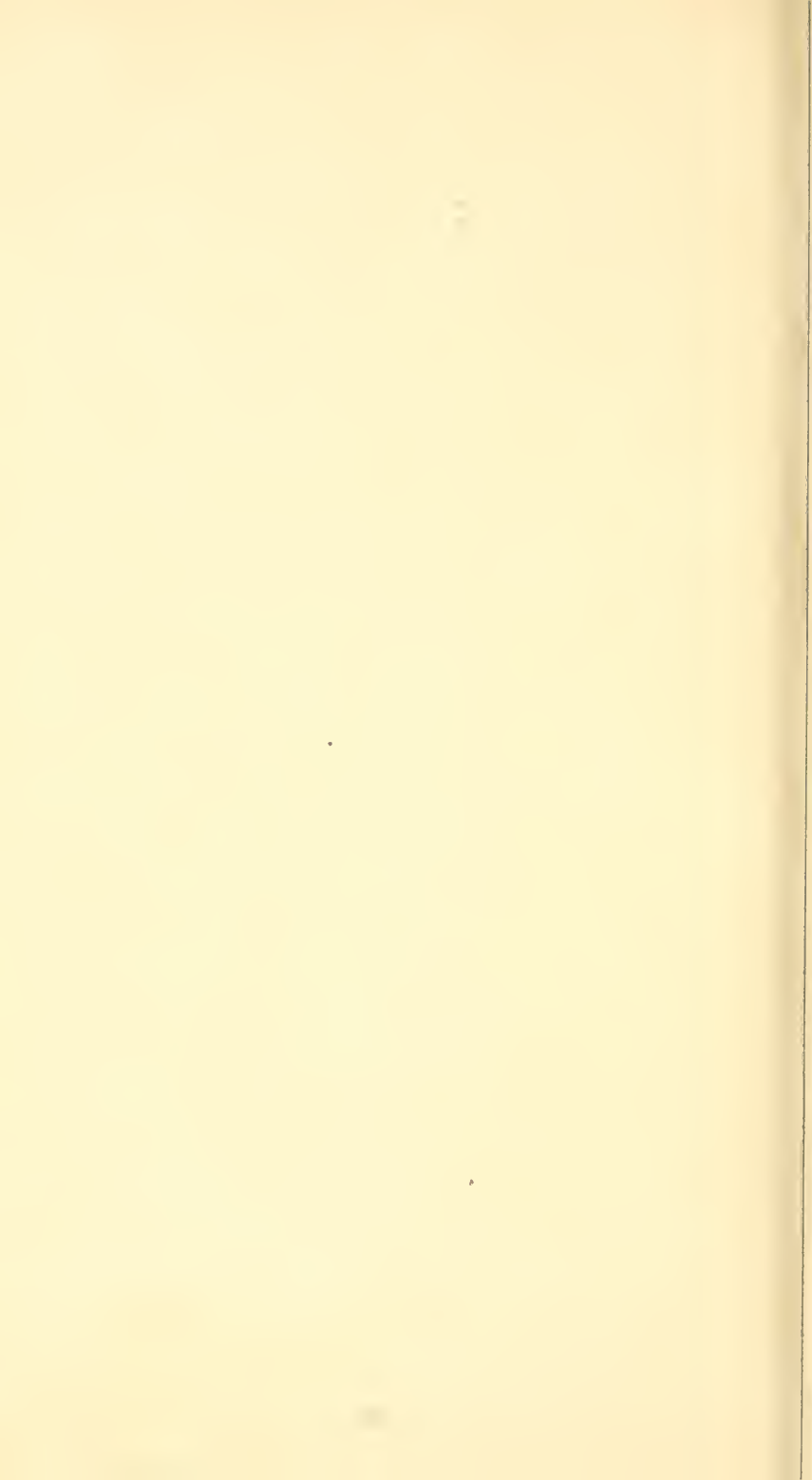
ther
Obs-
51.
con-
into
—
ode
146.
nts)
their
row-
au-

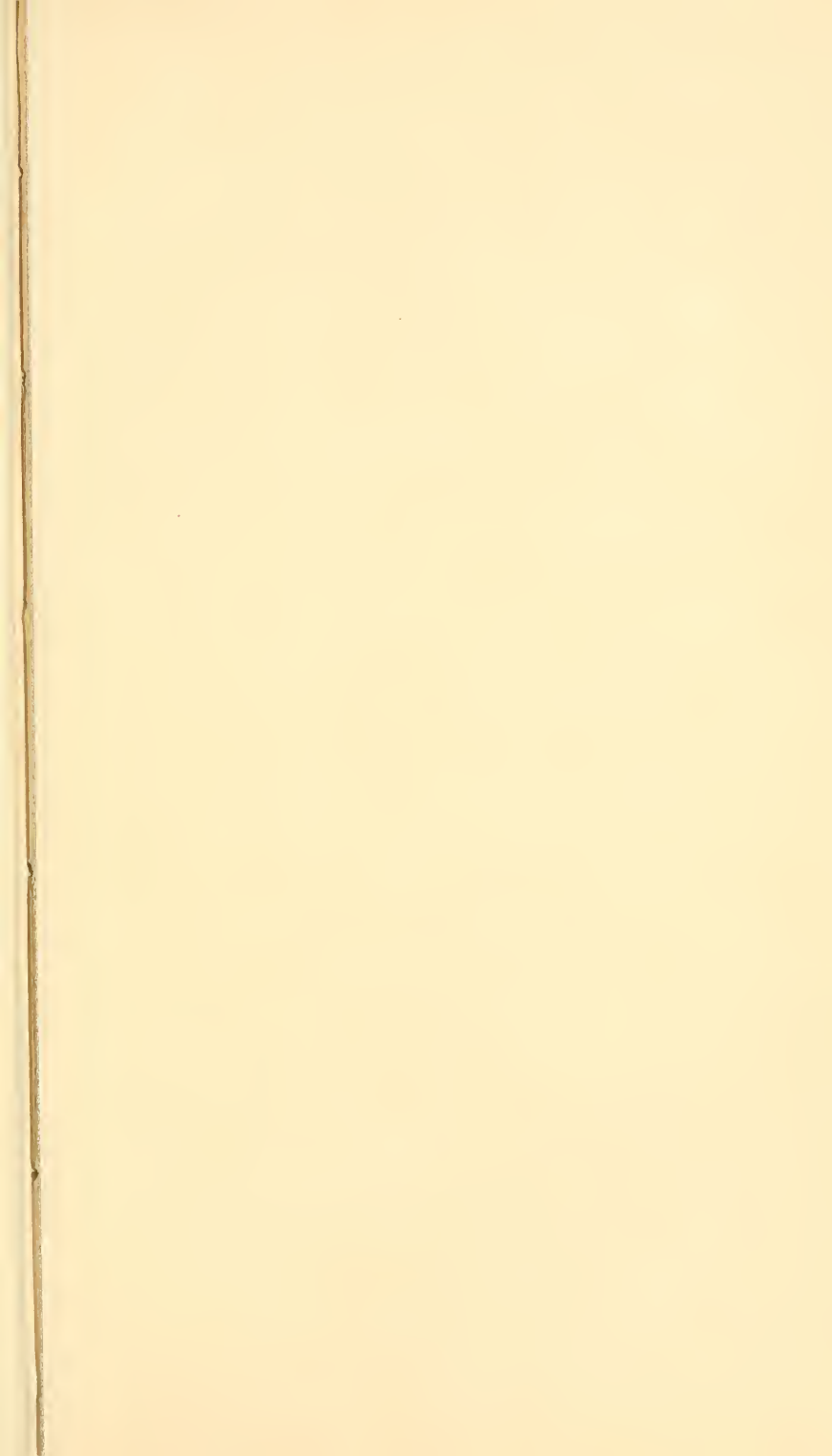


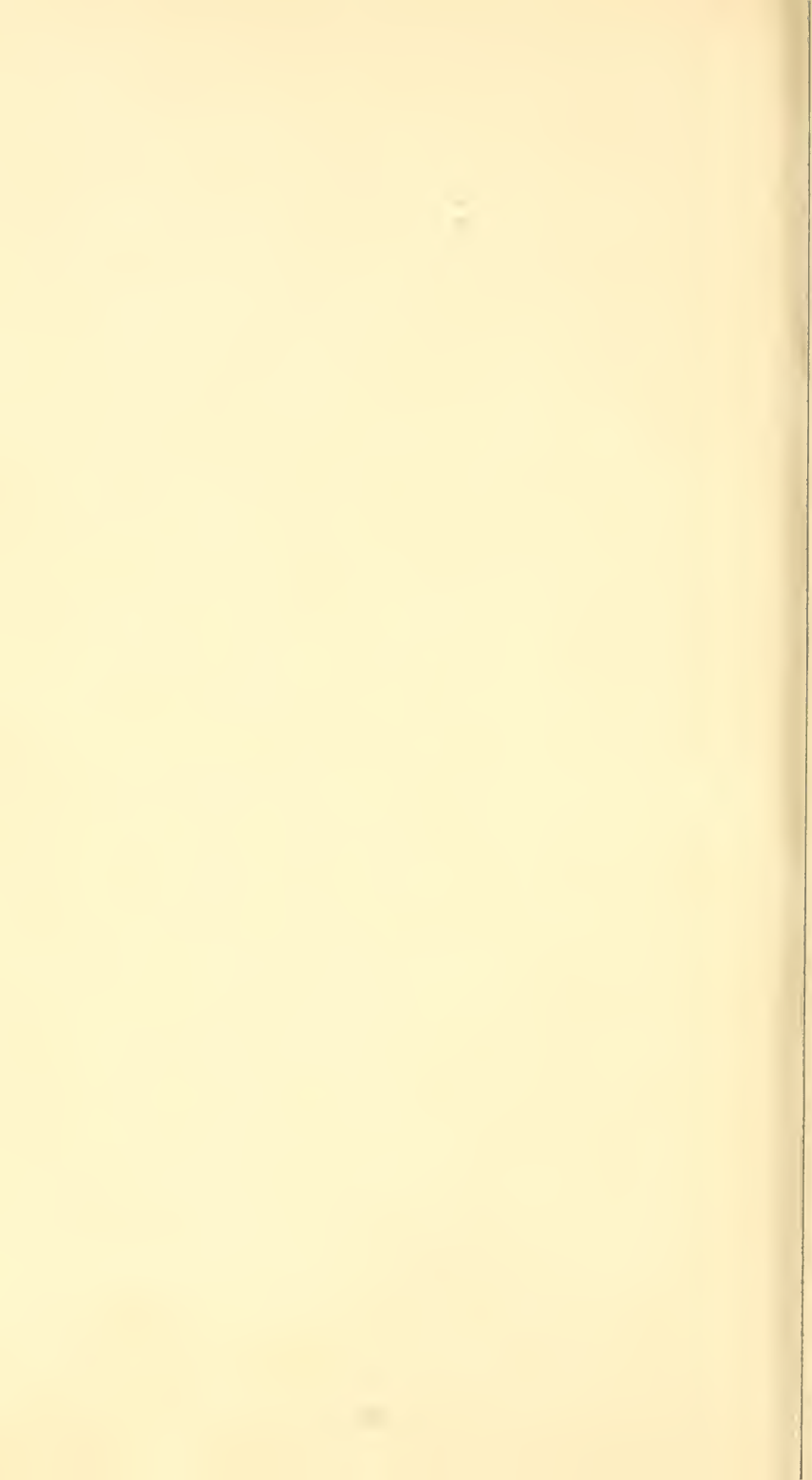
Faintest, 164 116-

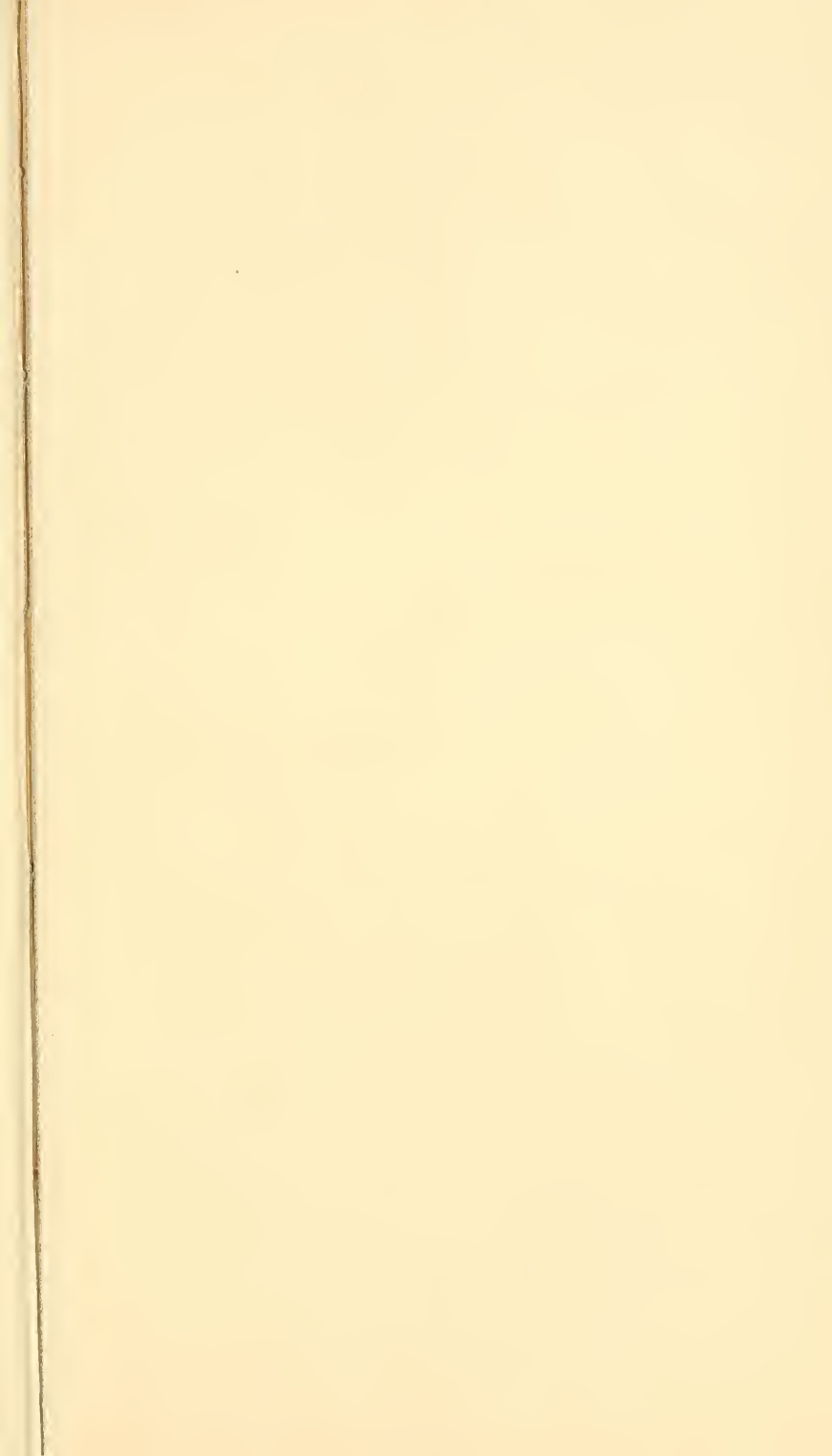


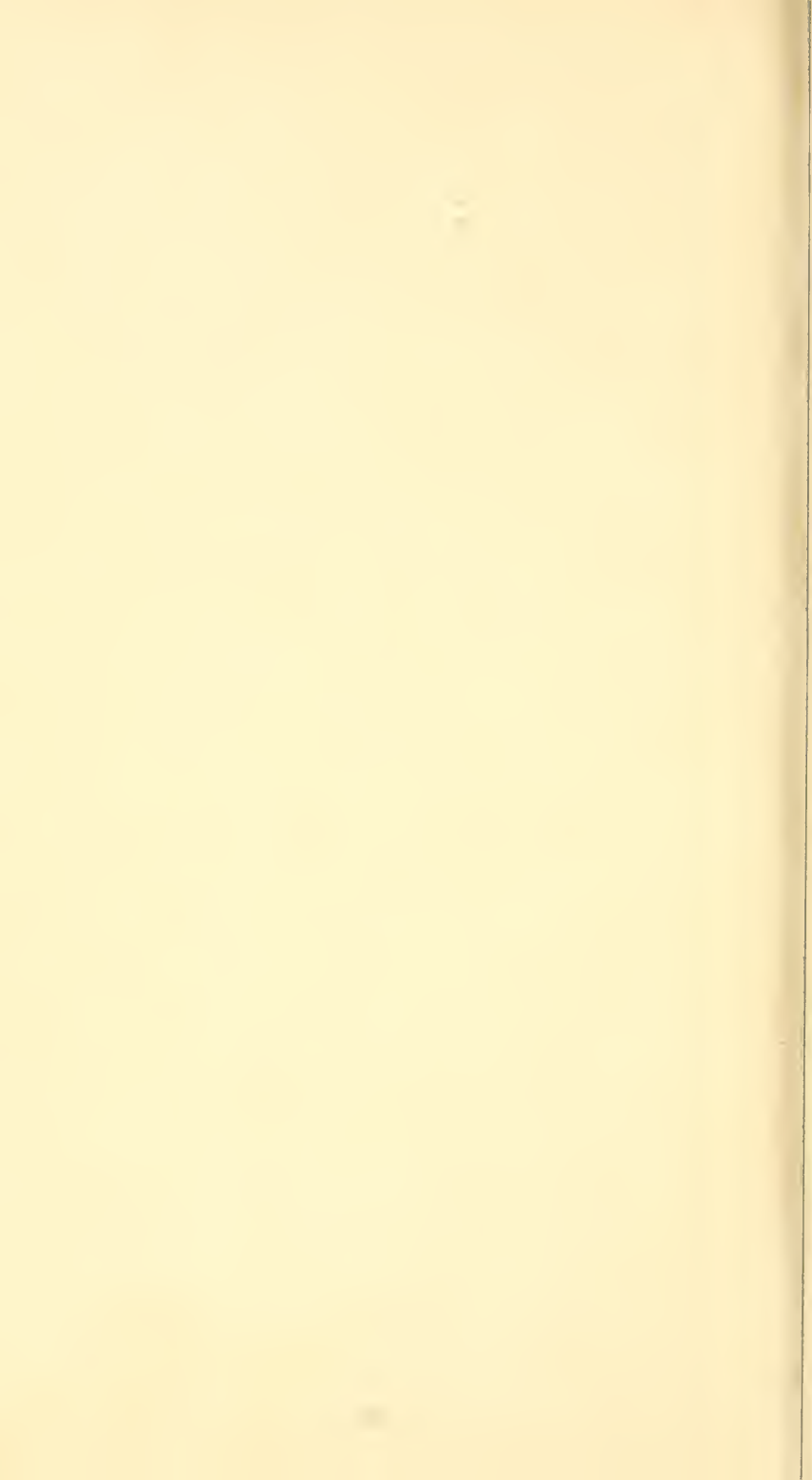


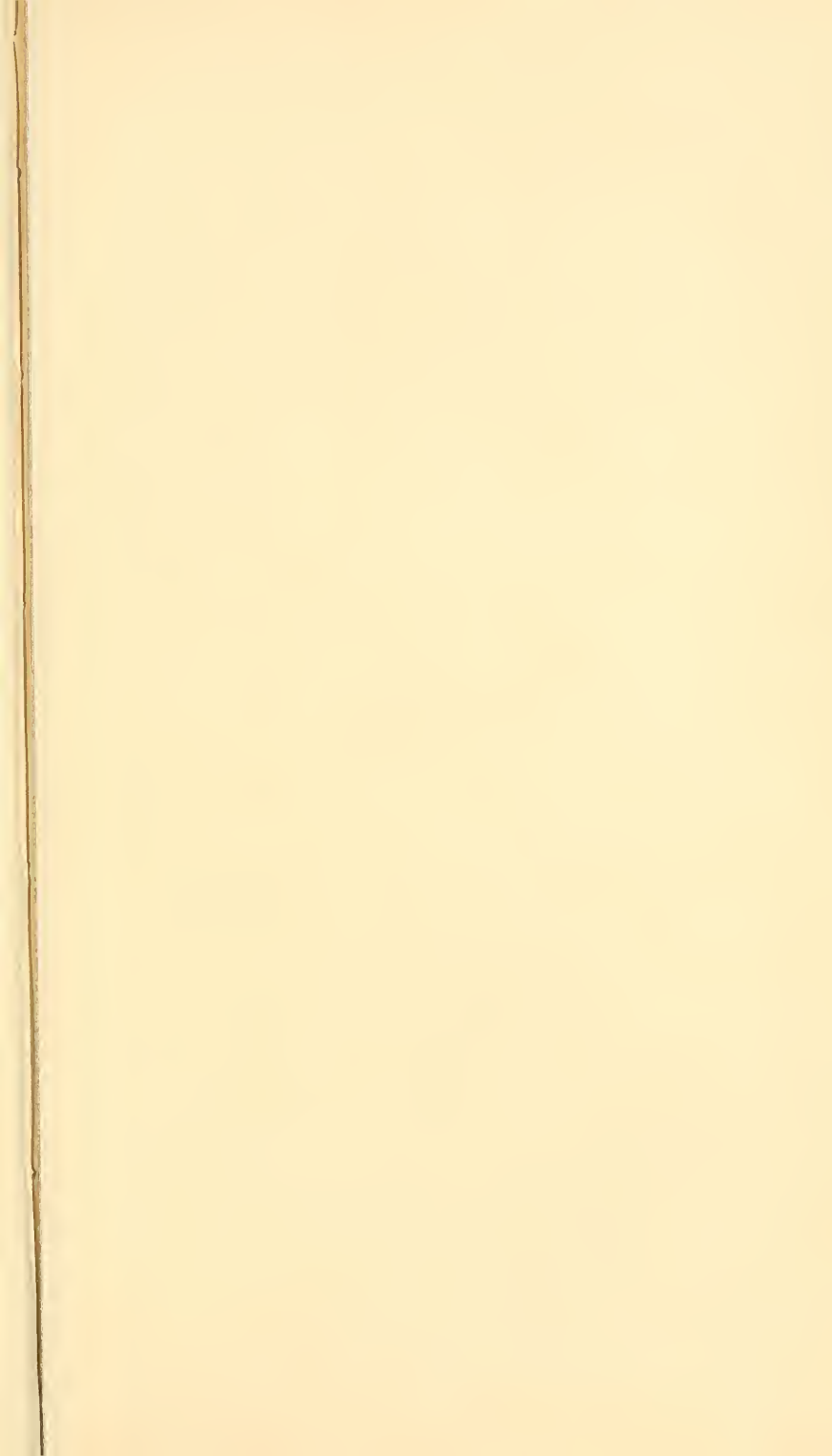


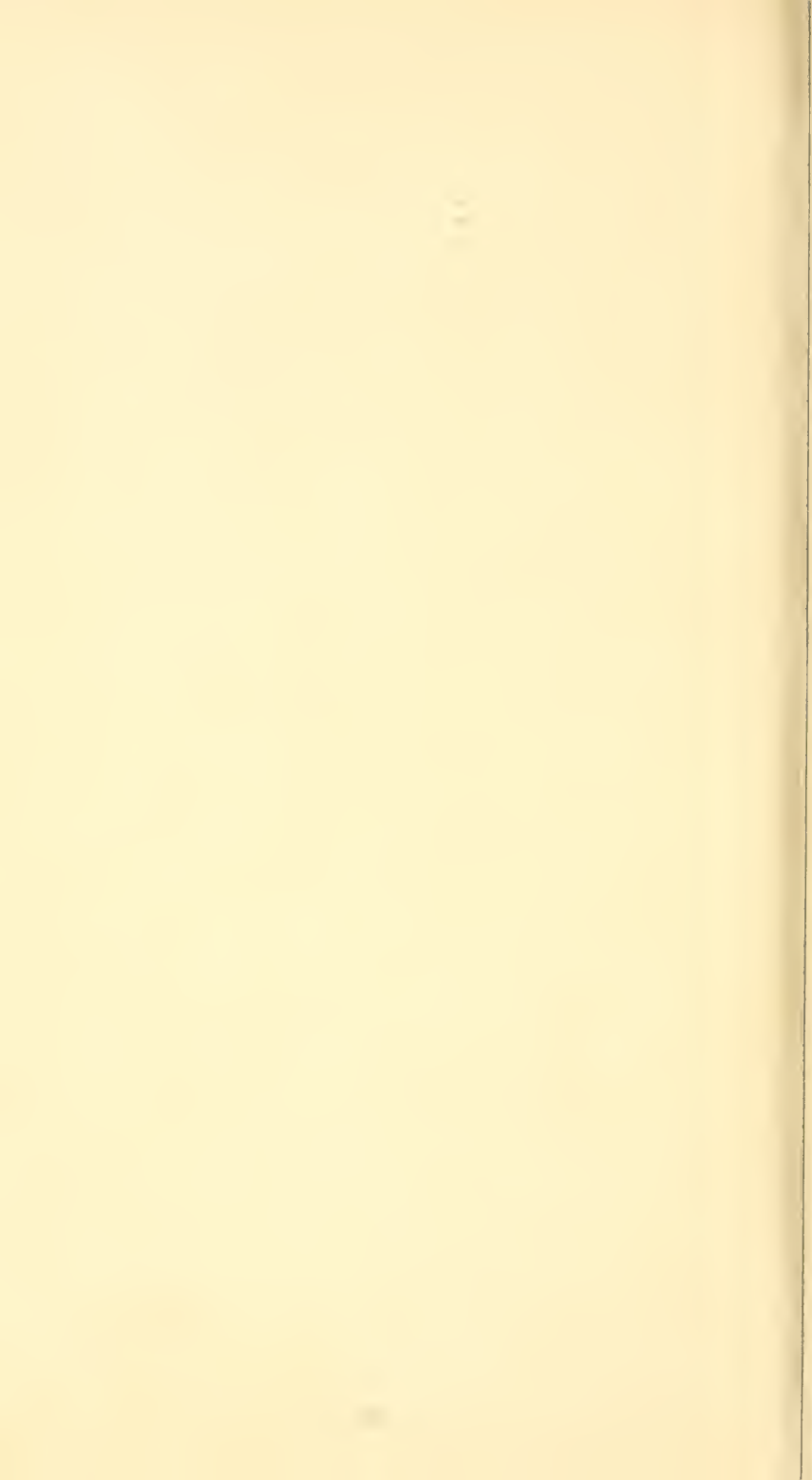


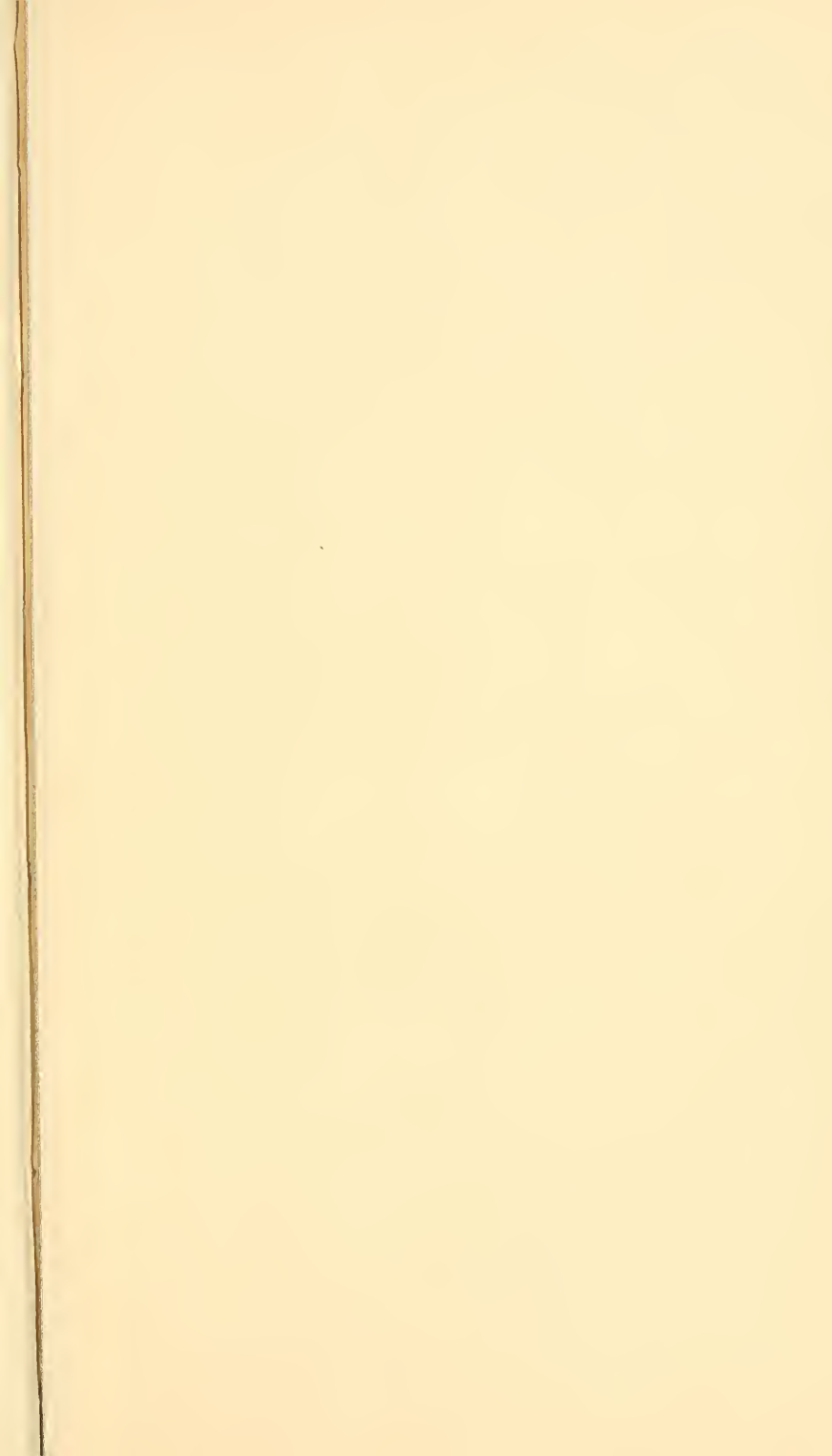


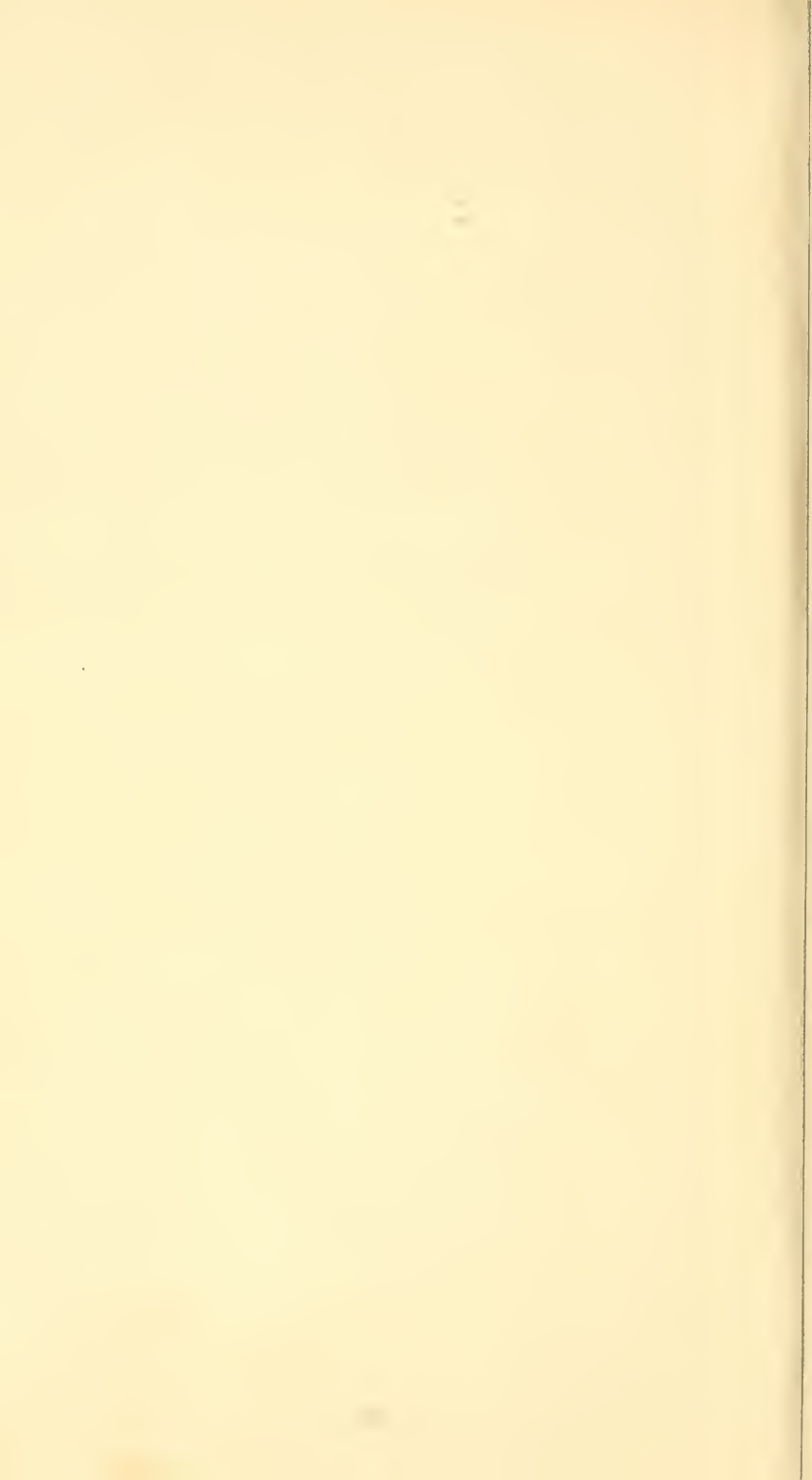


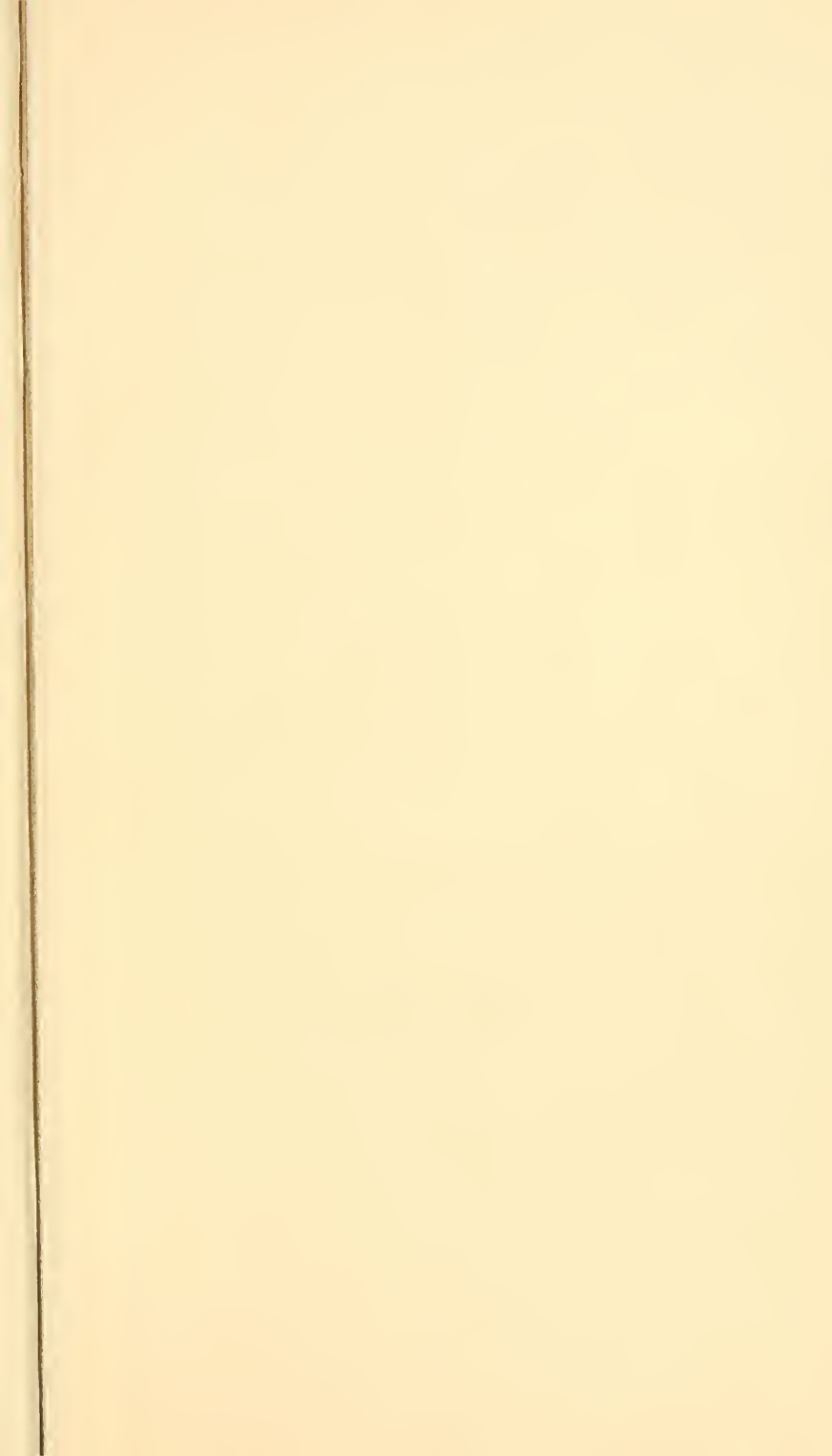


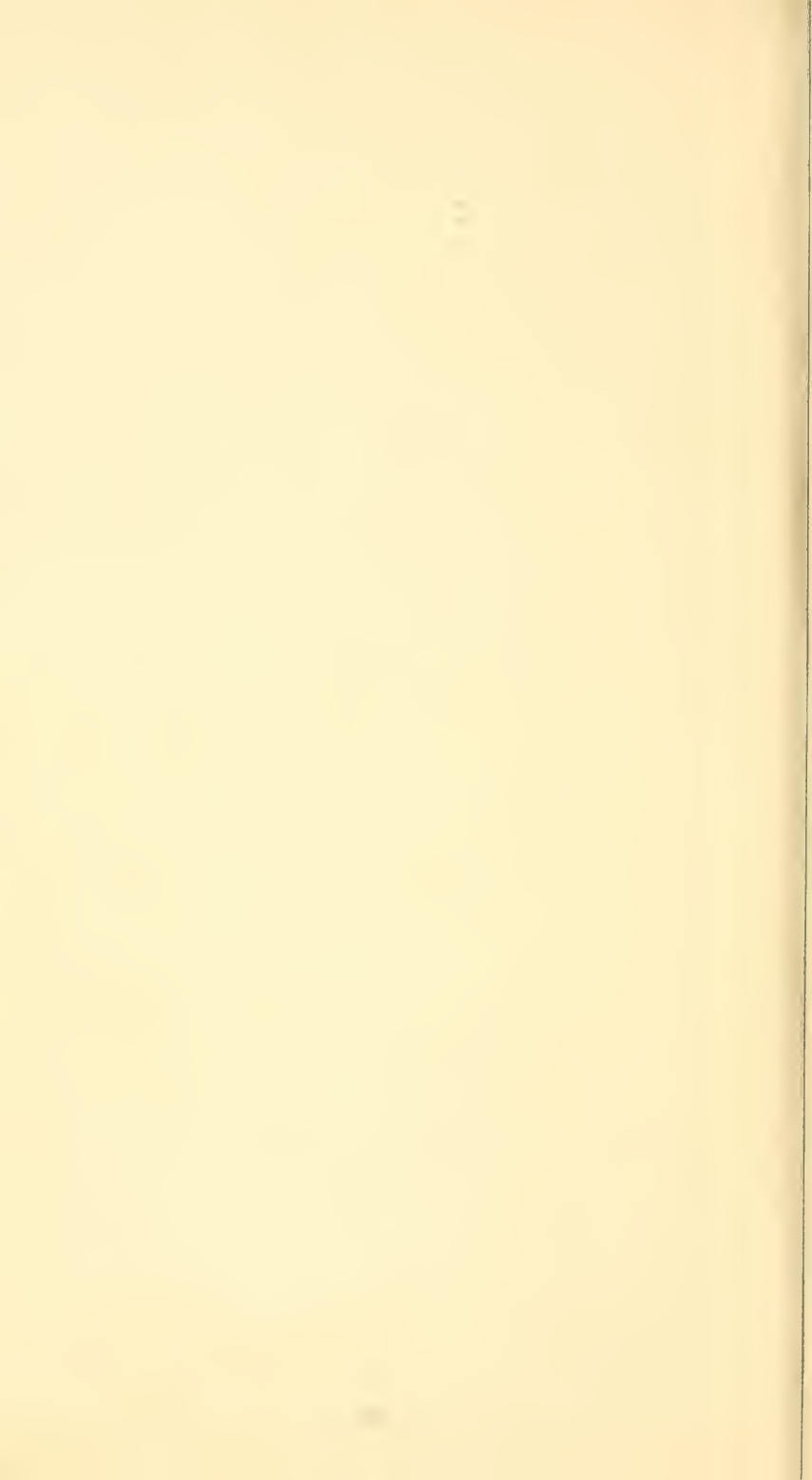


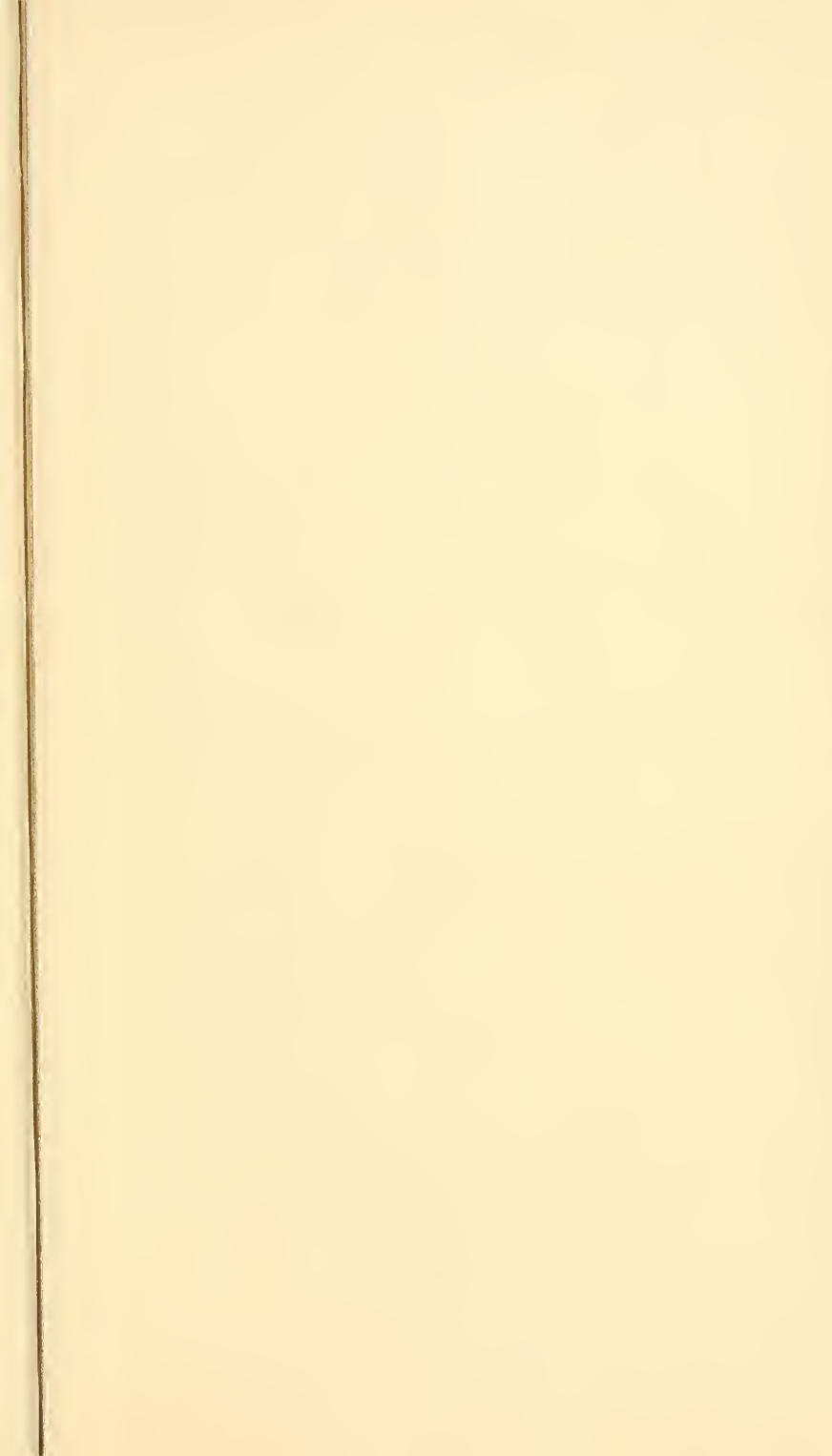


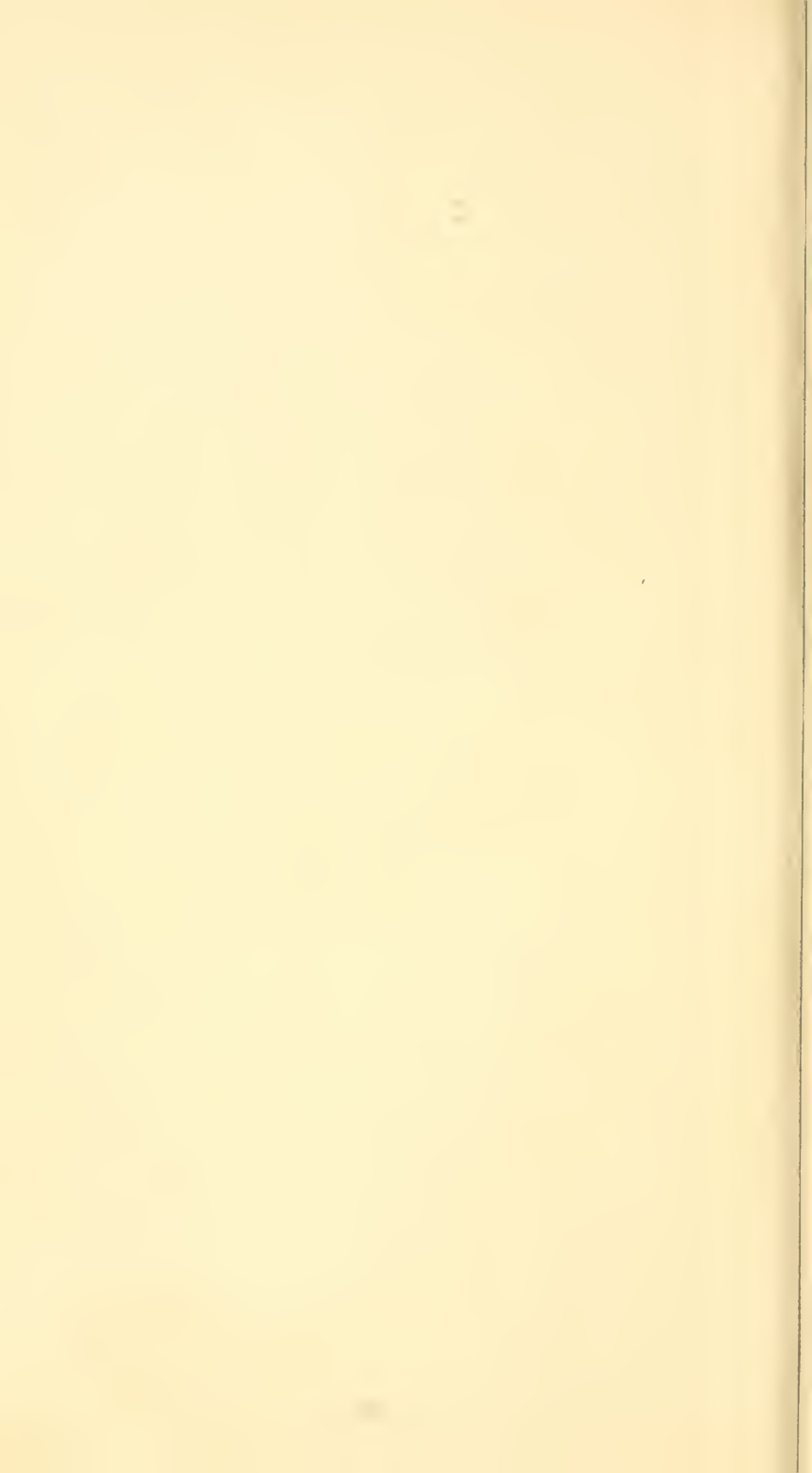


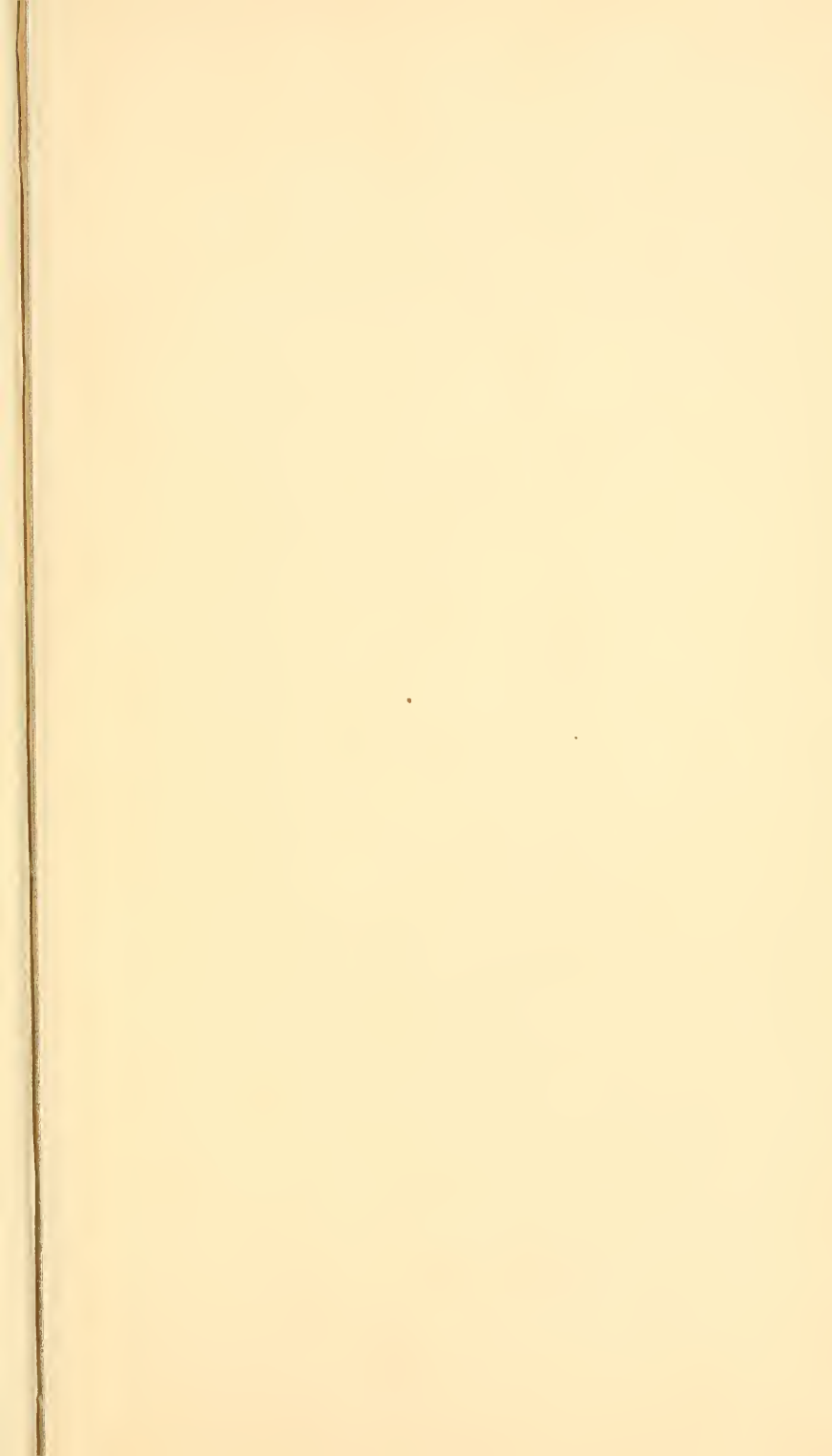


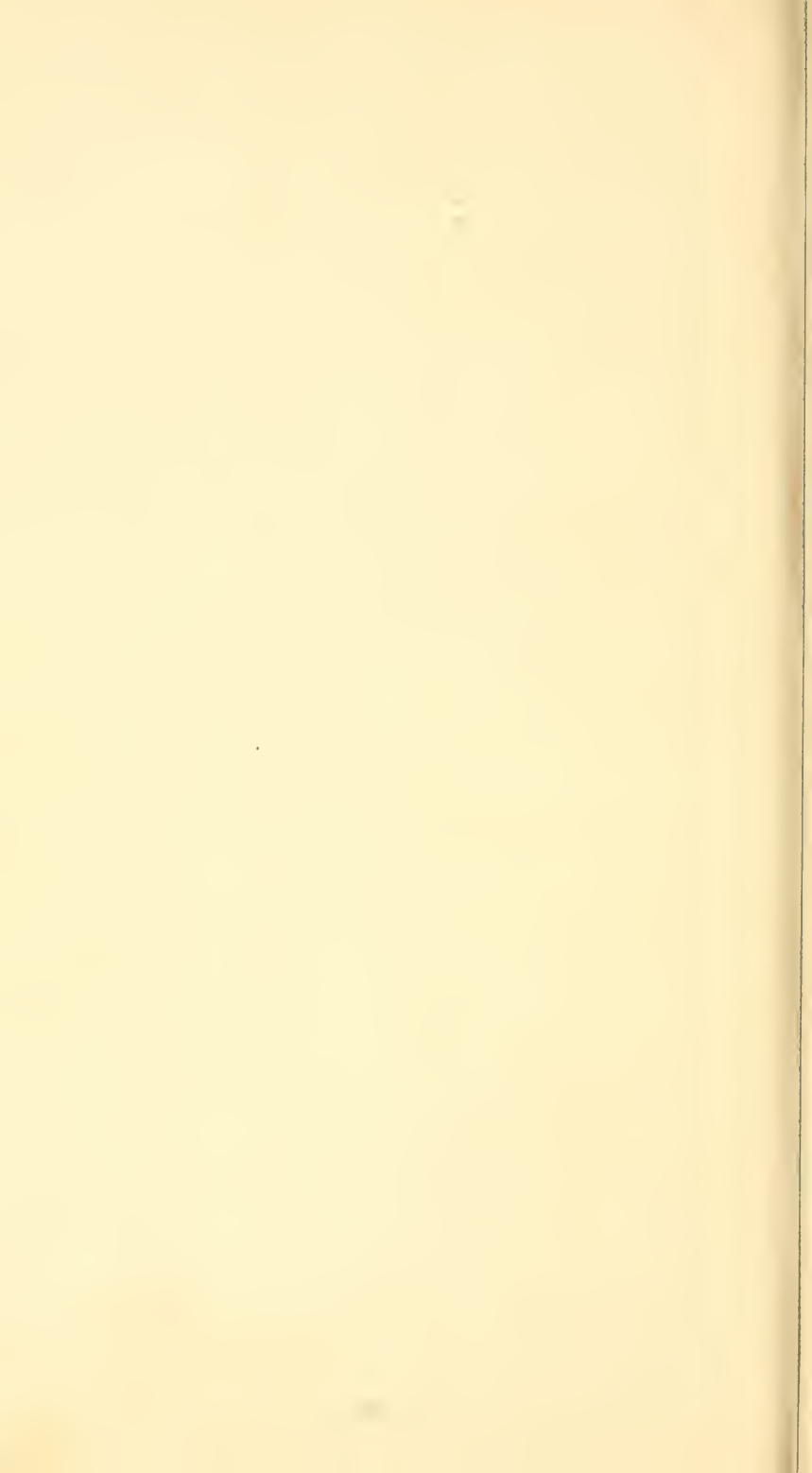


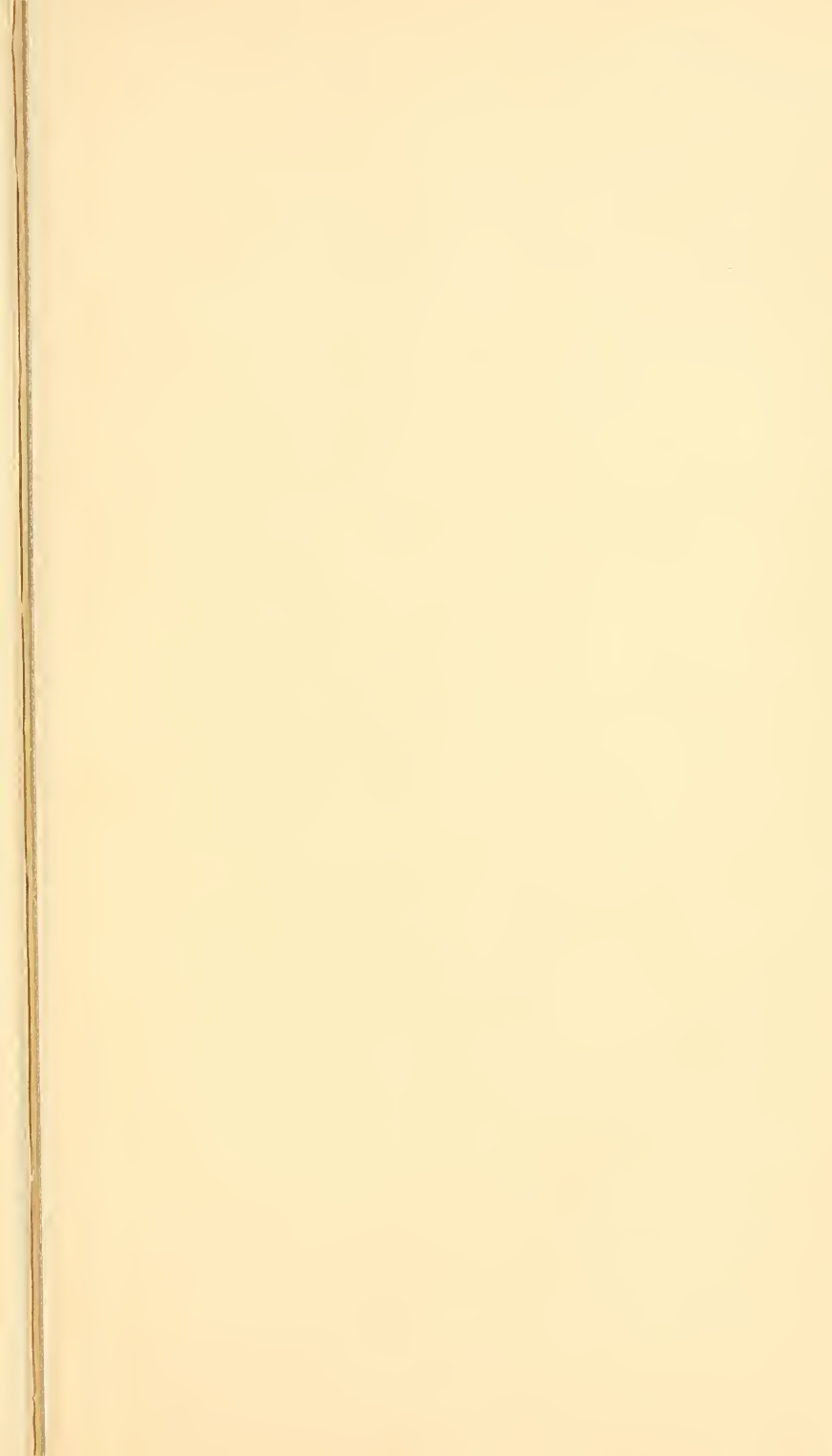


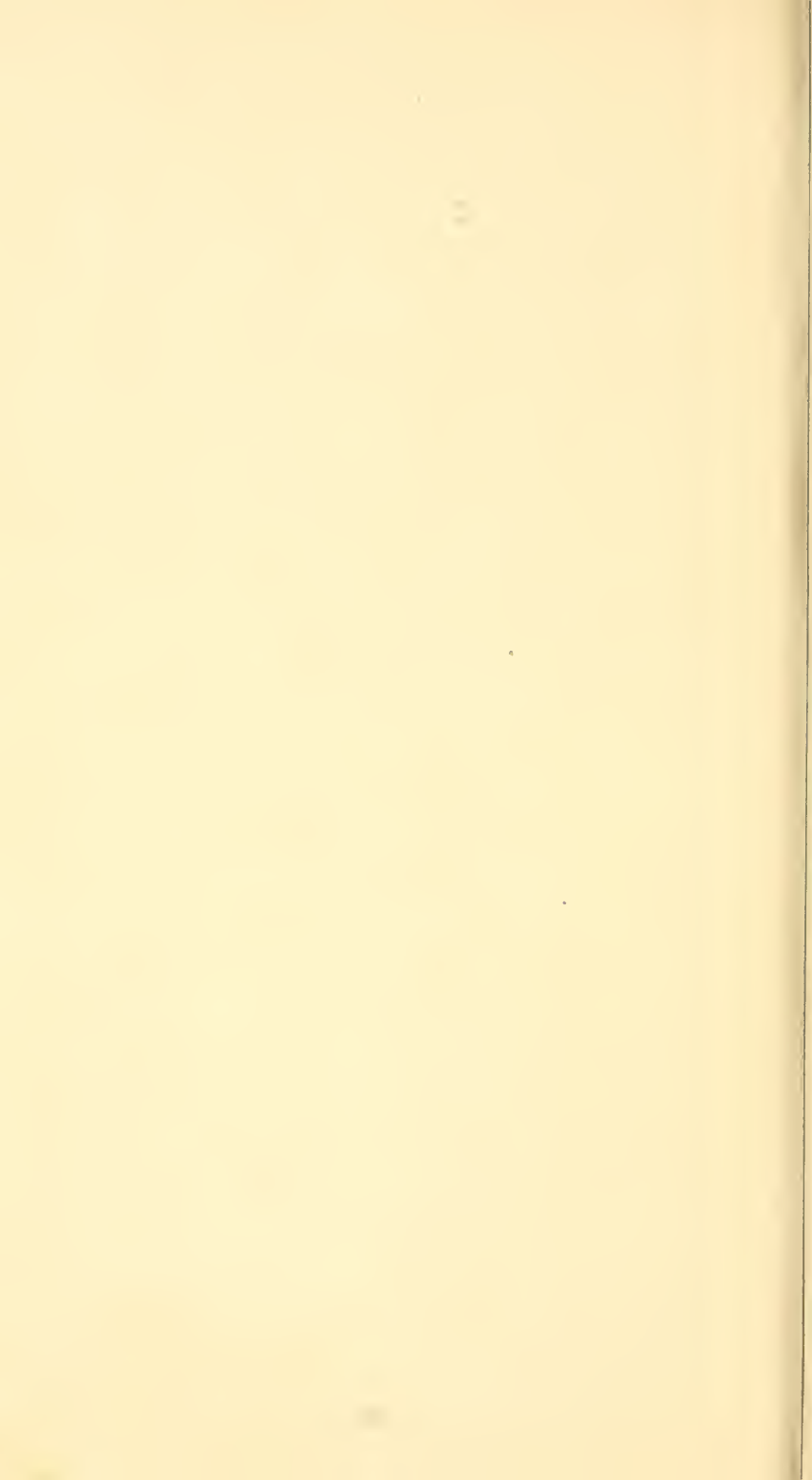


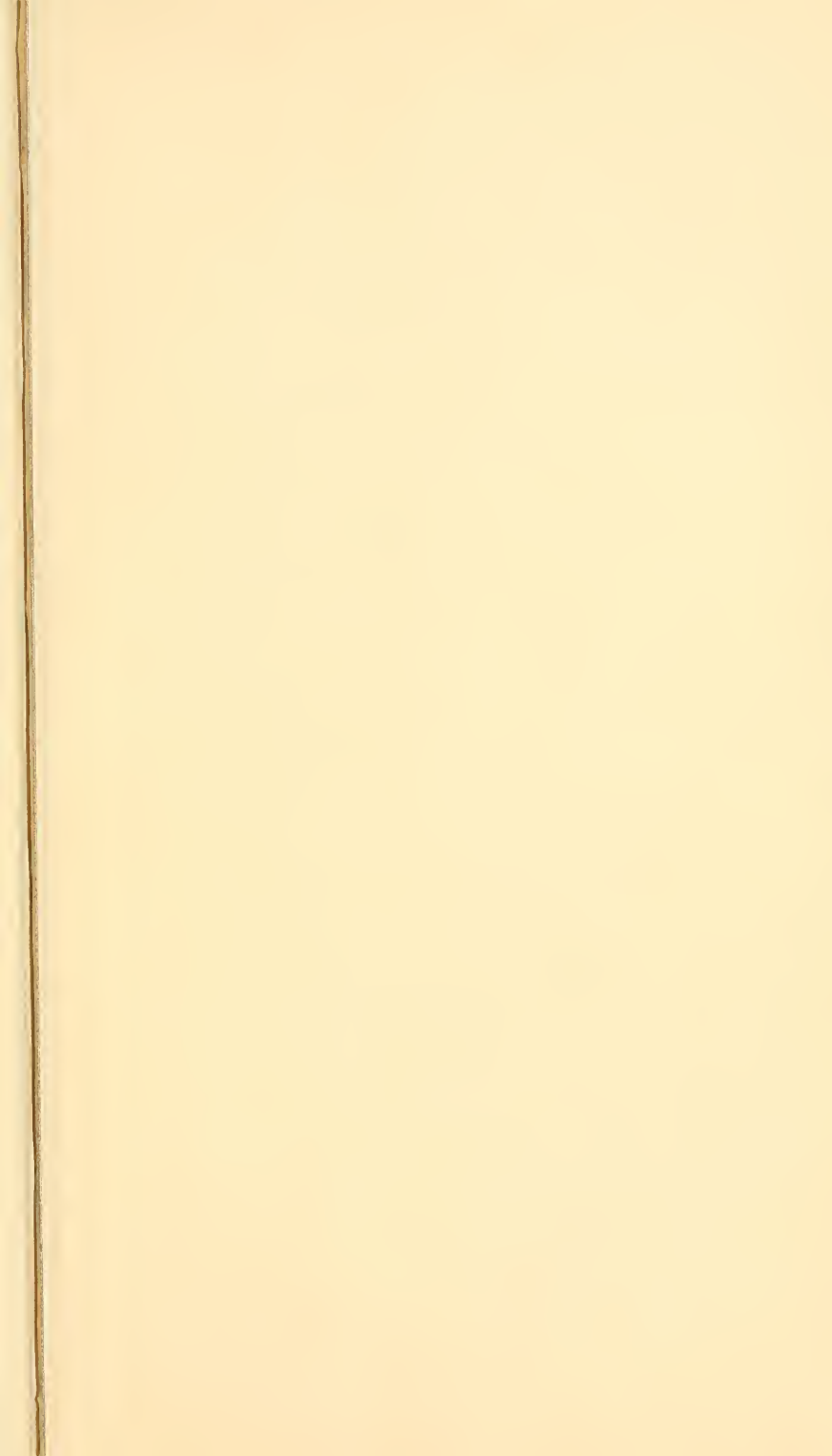


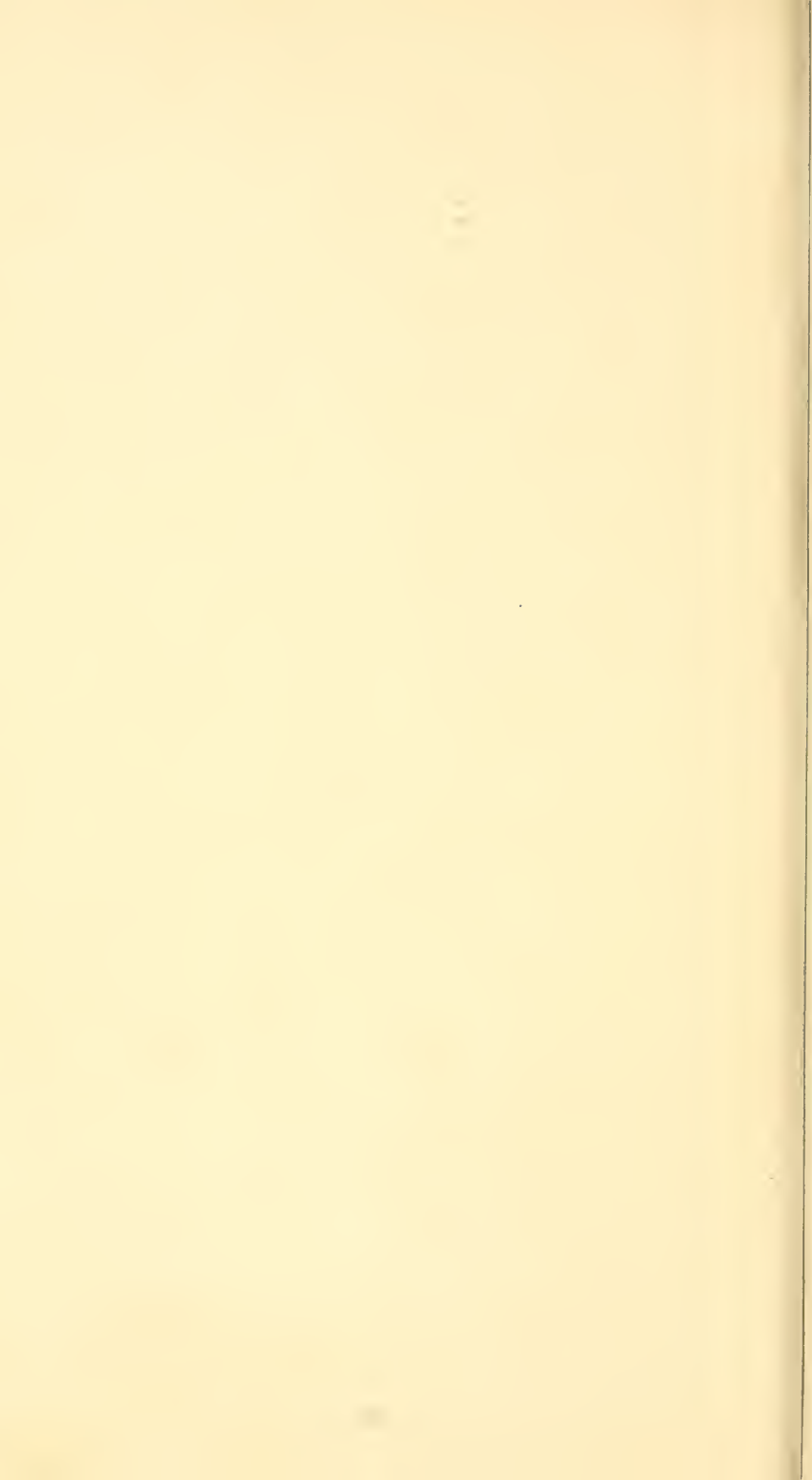


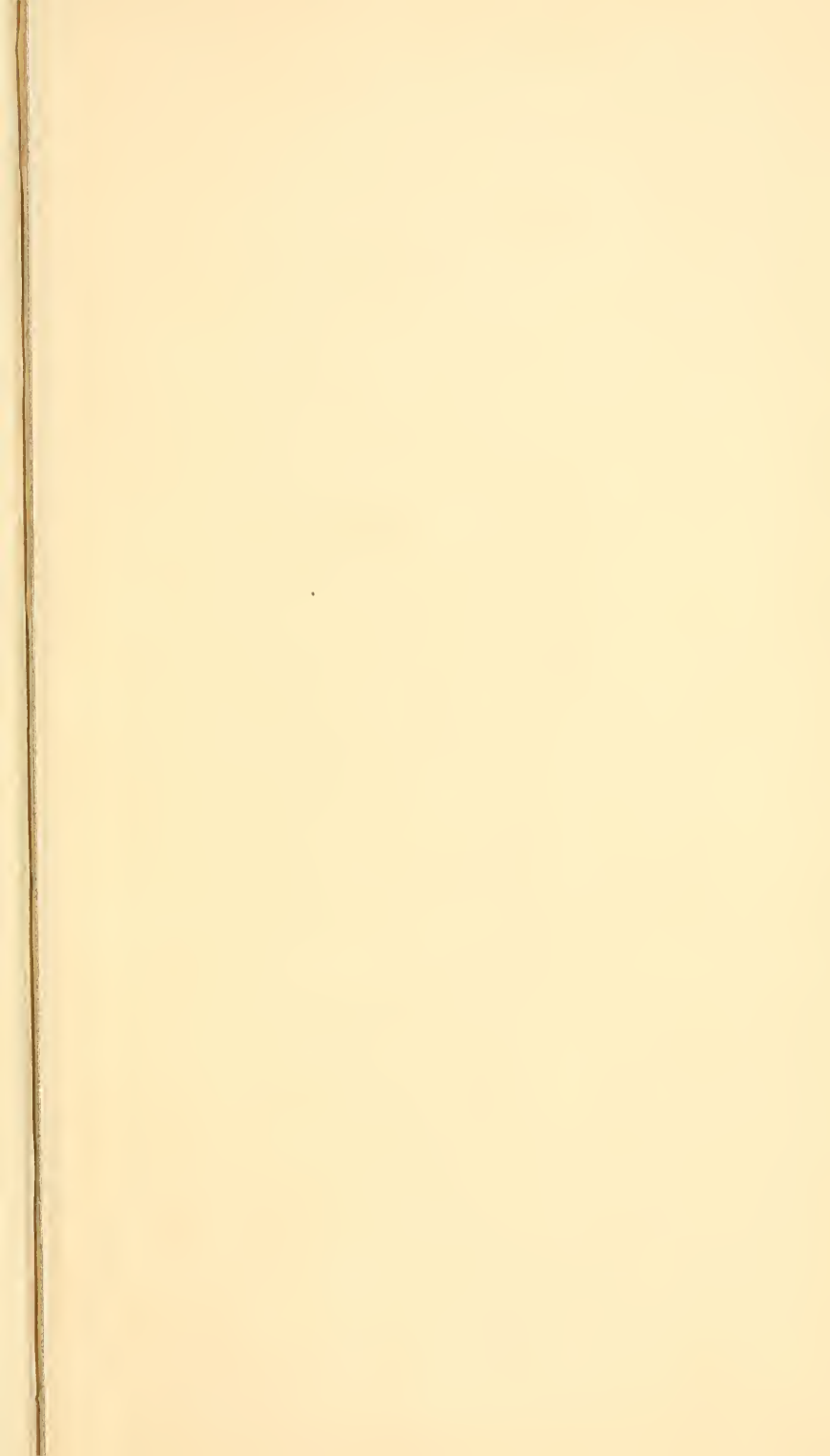


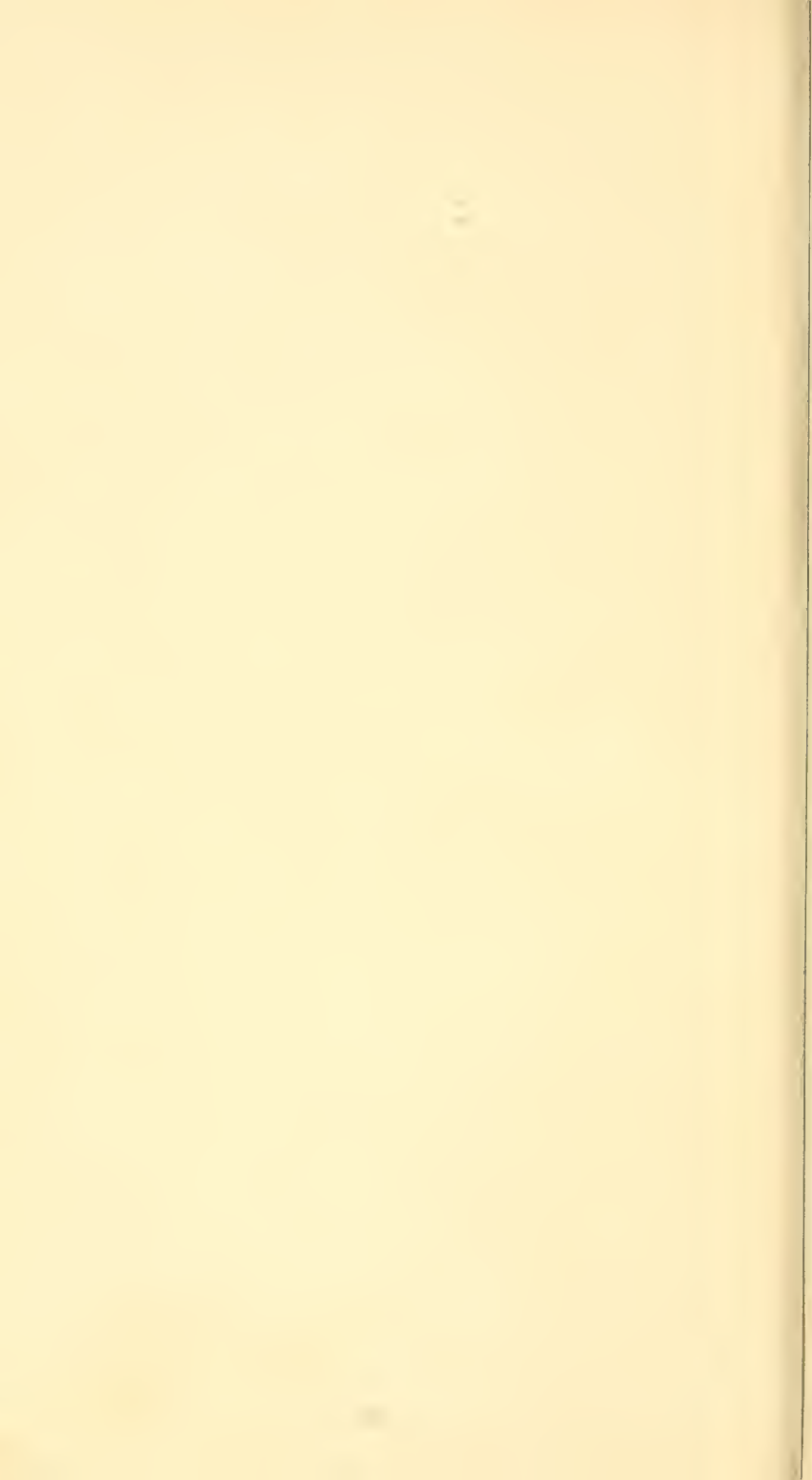


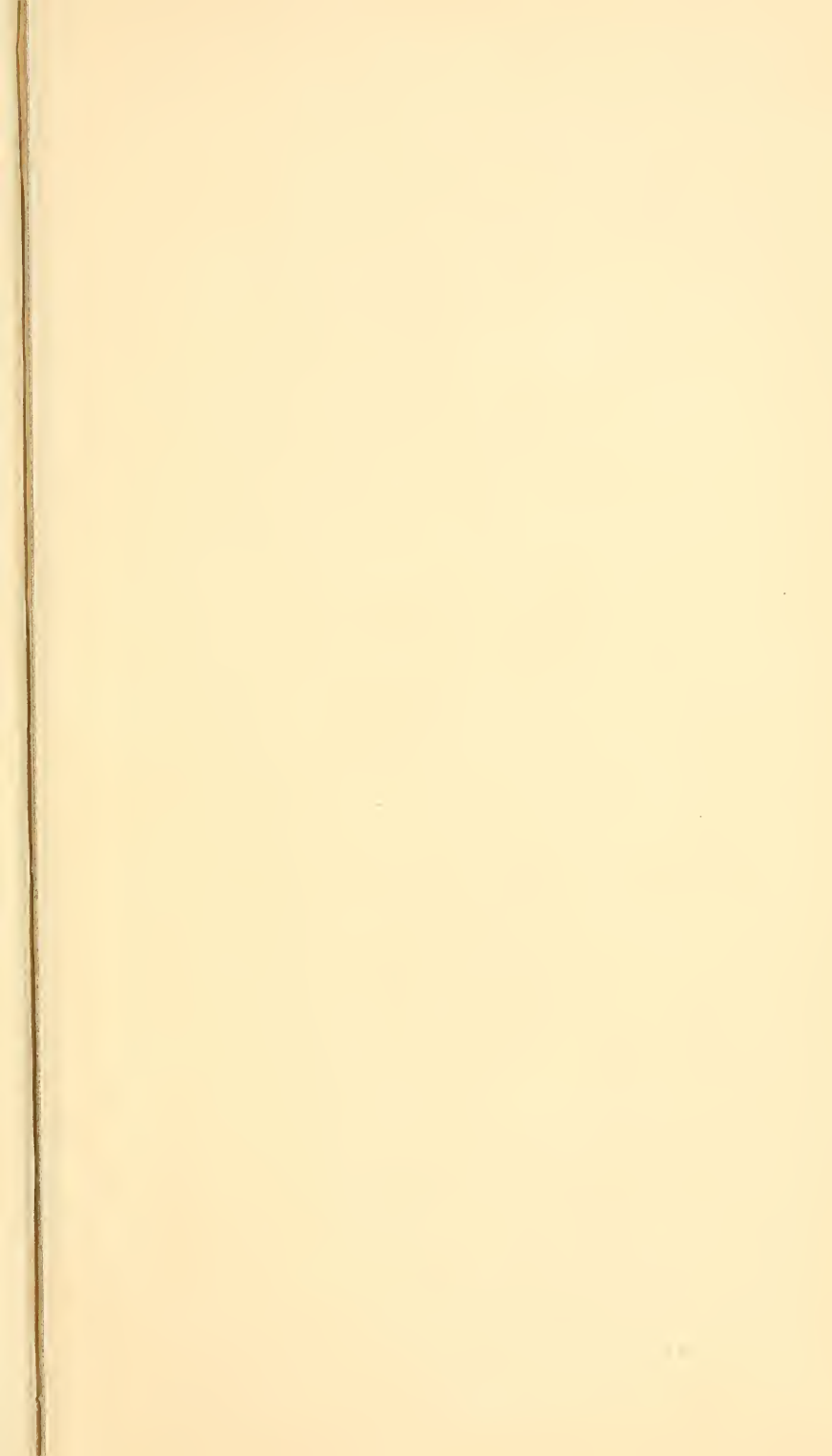


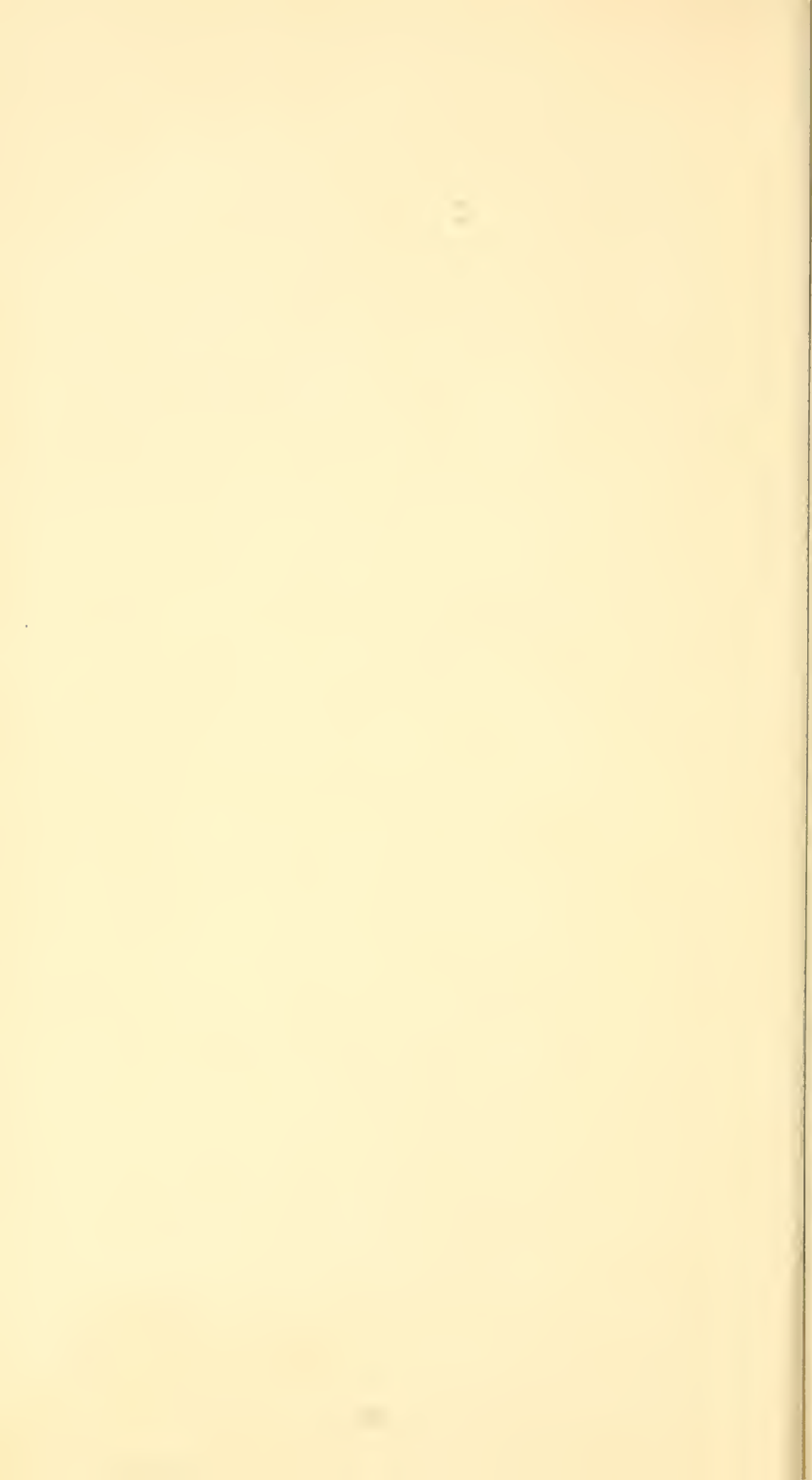


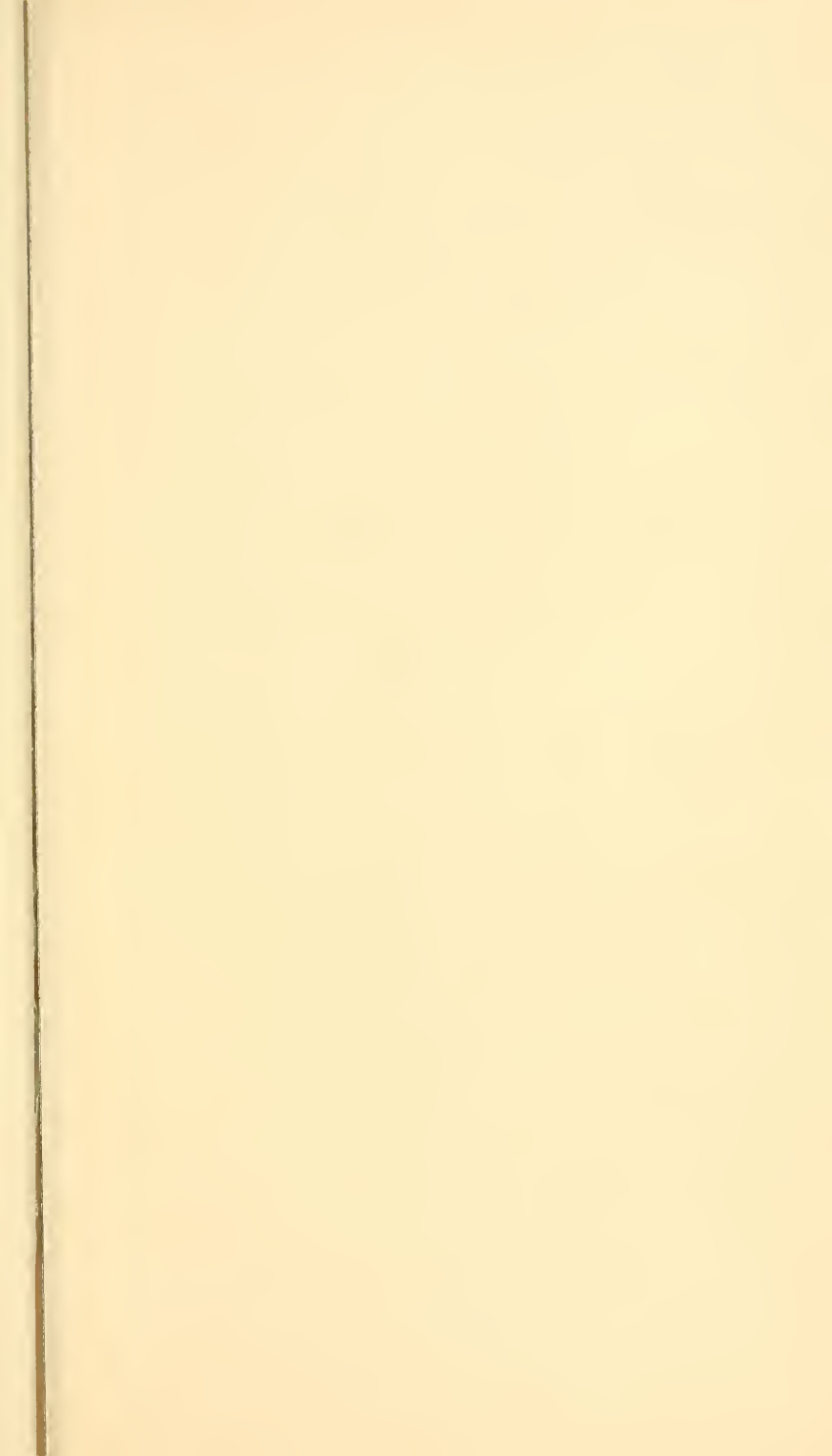


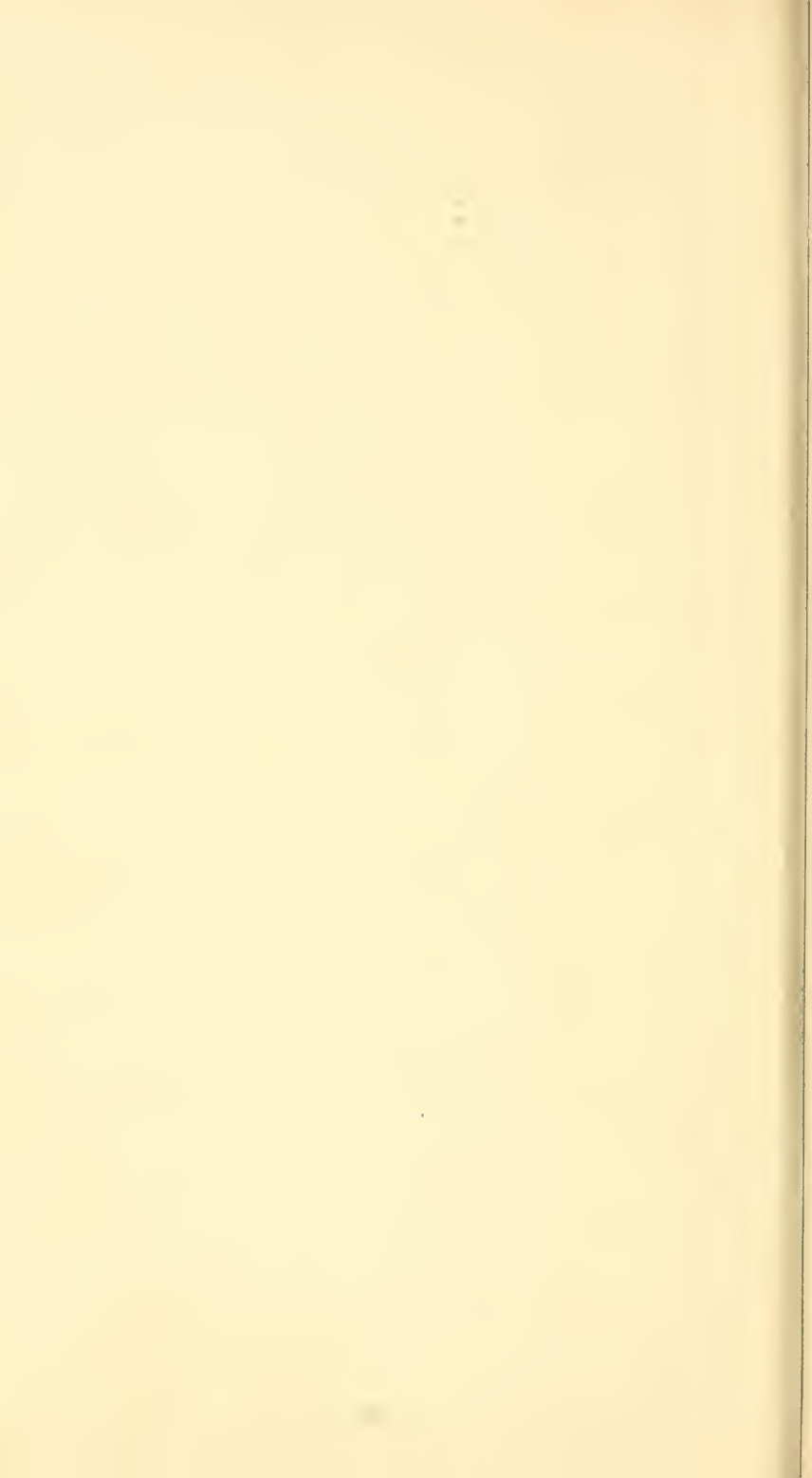


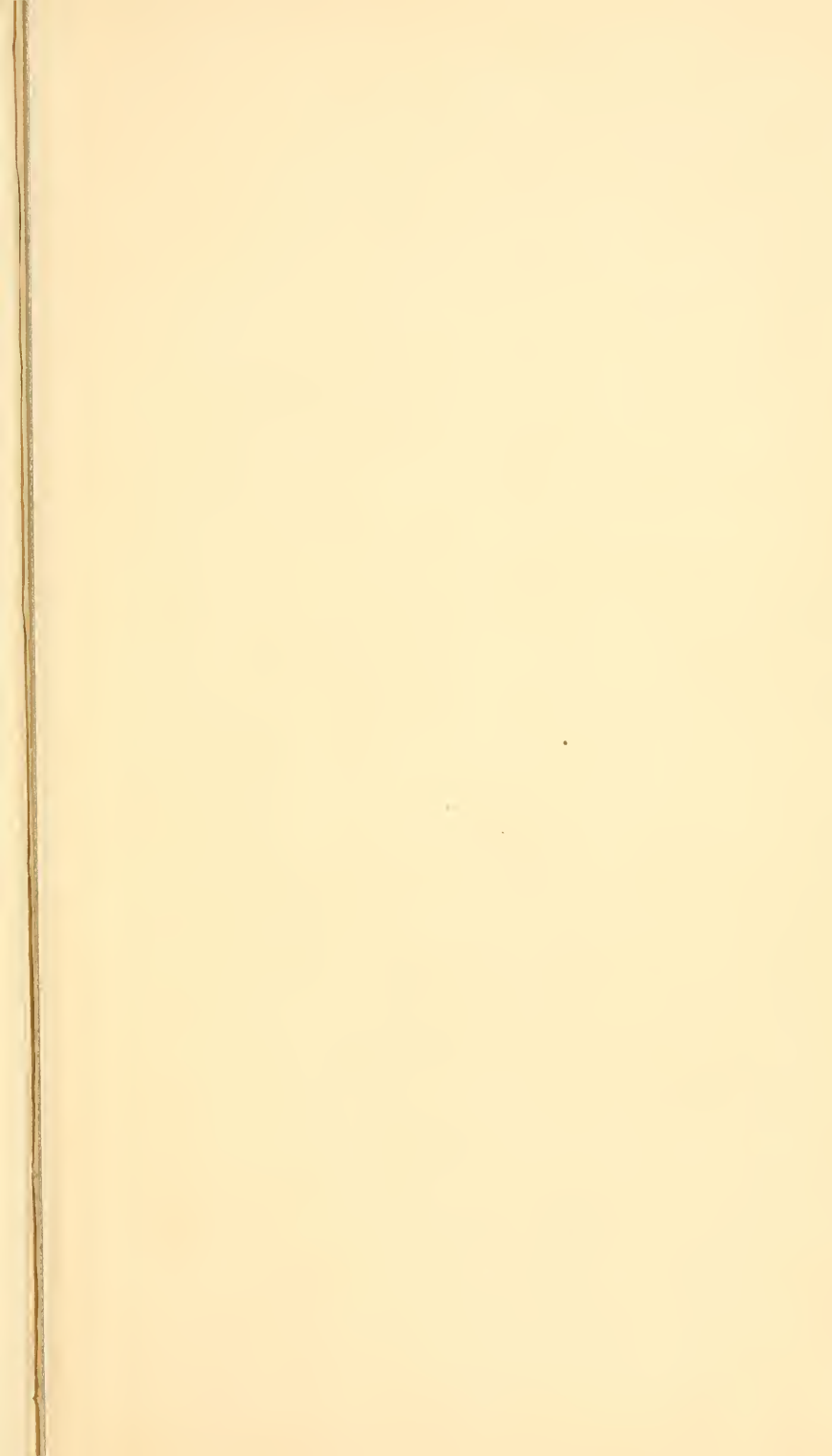


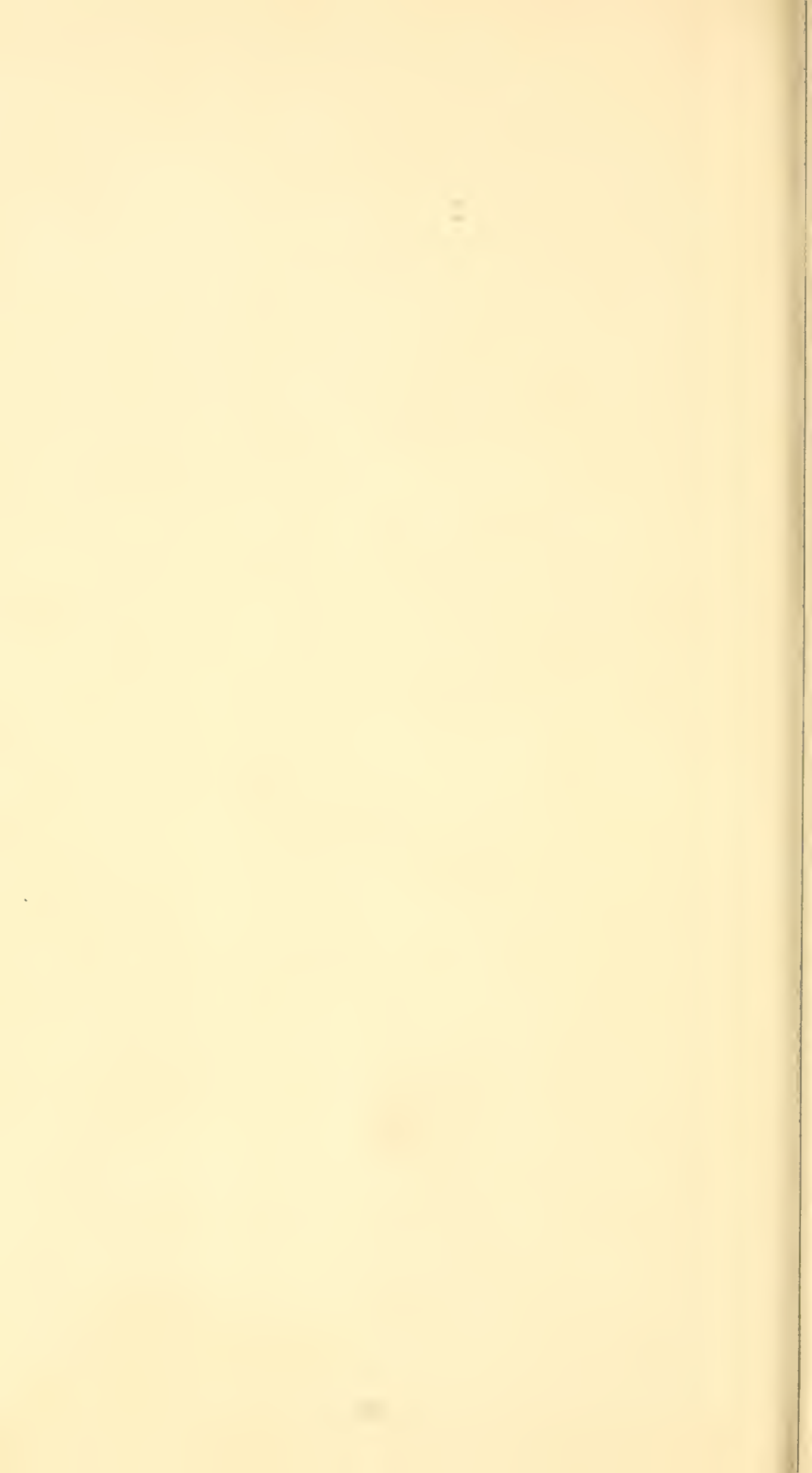


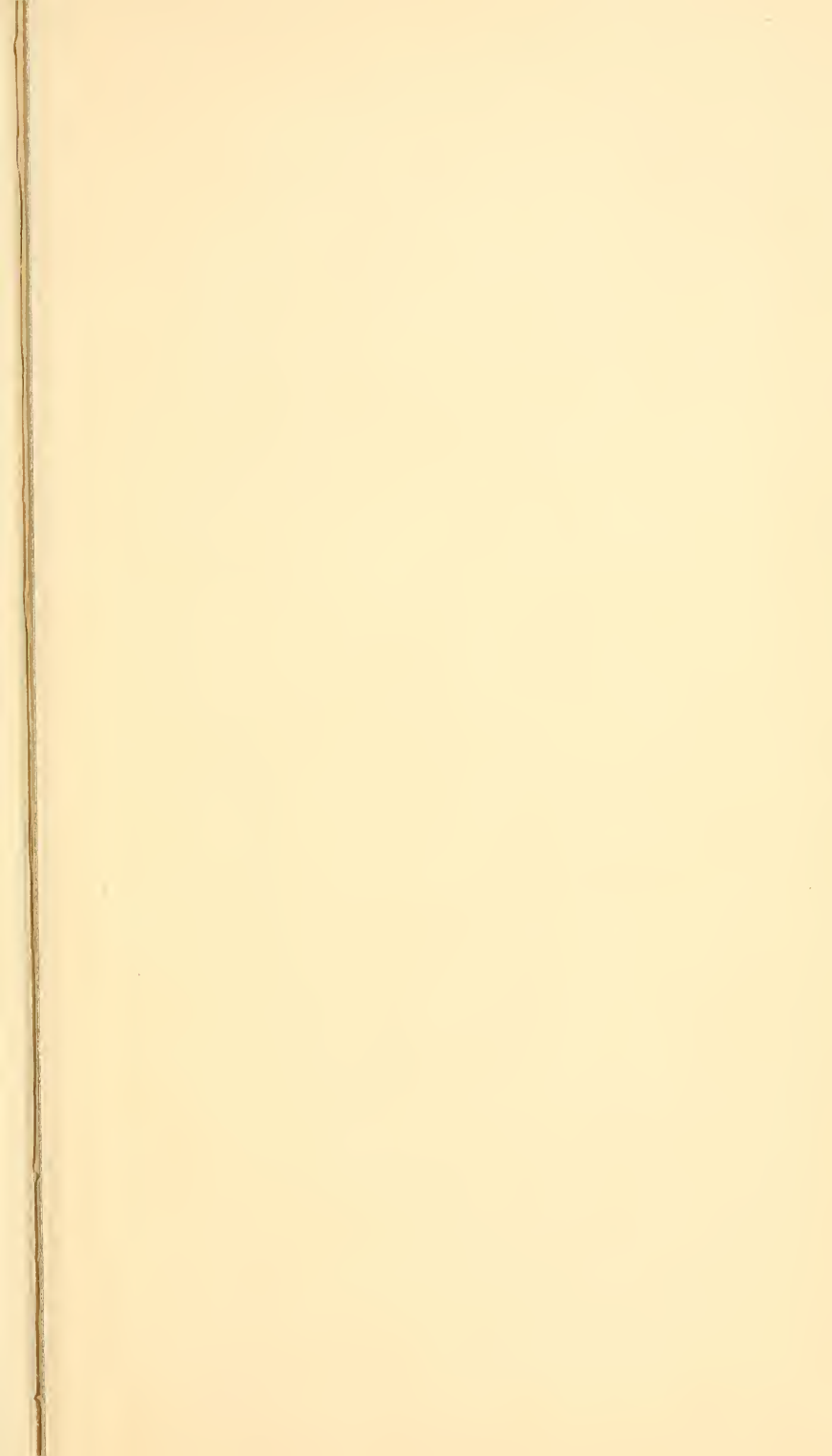


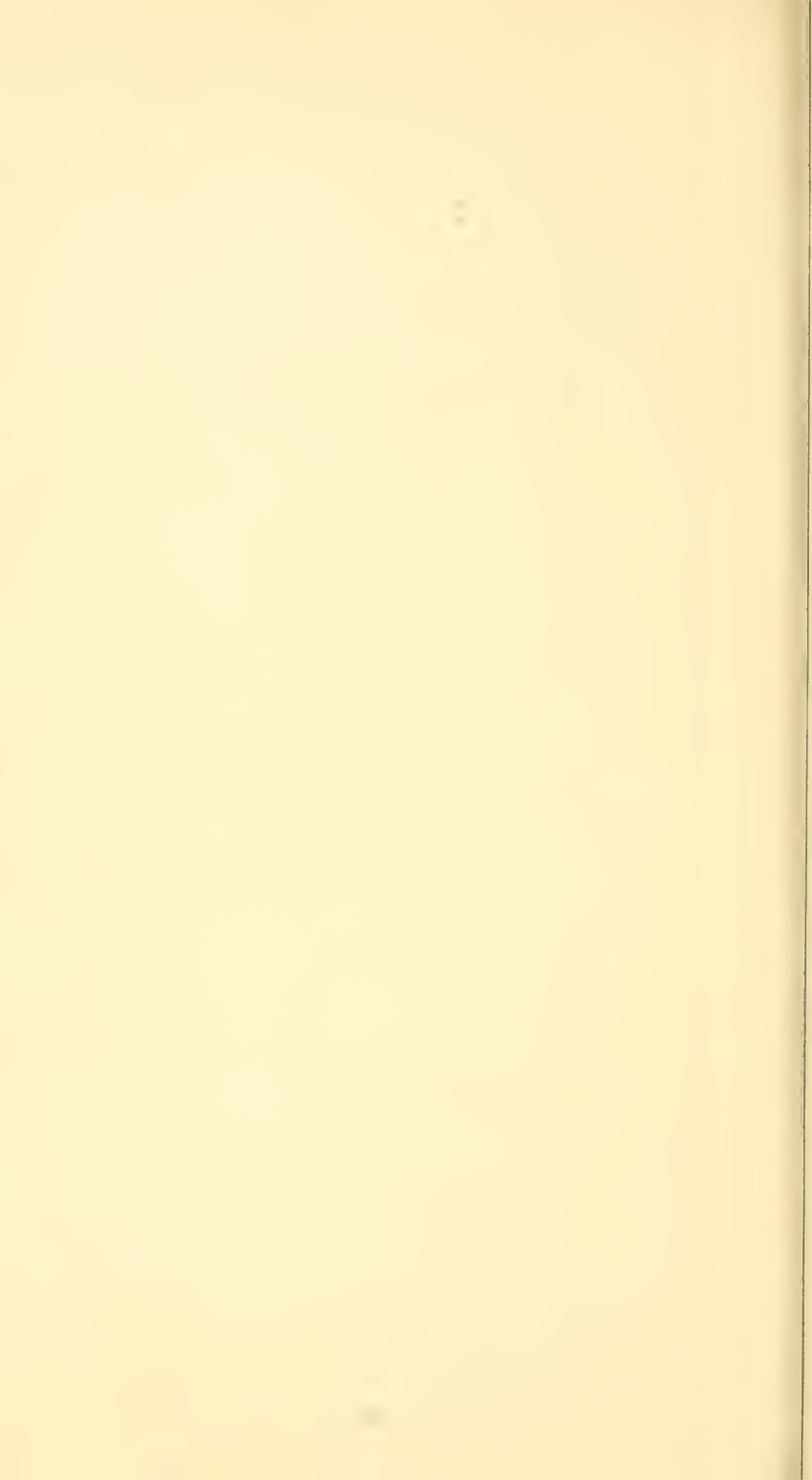


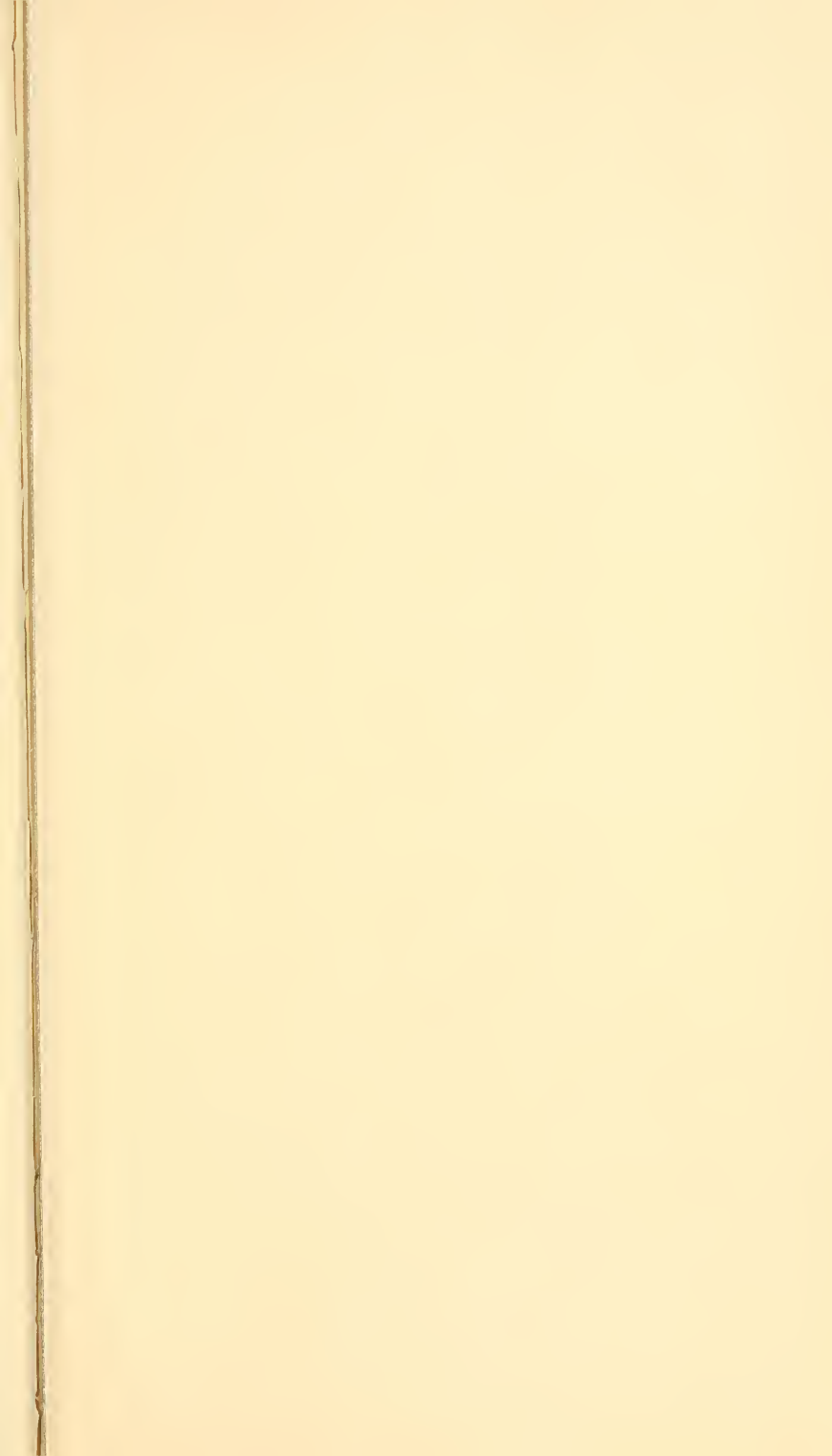


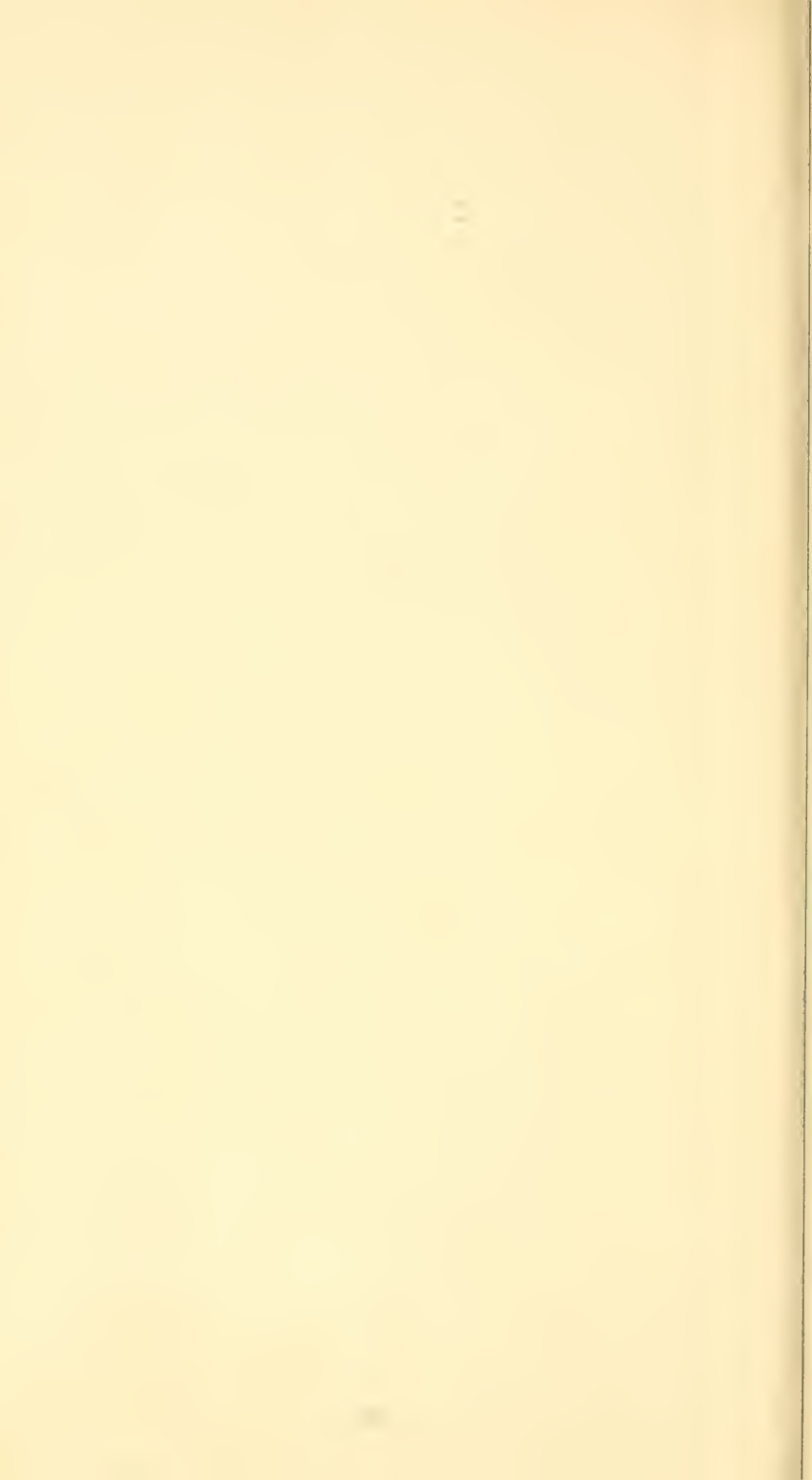


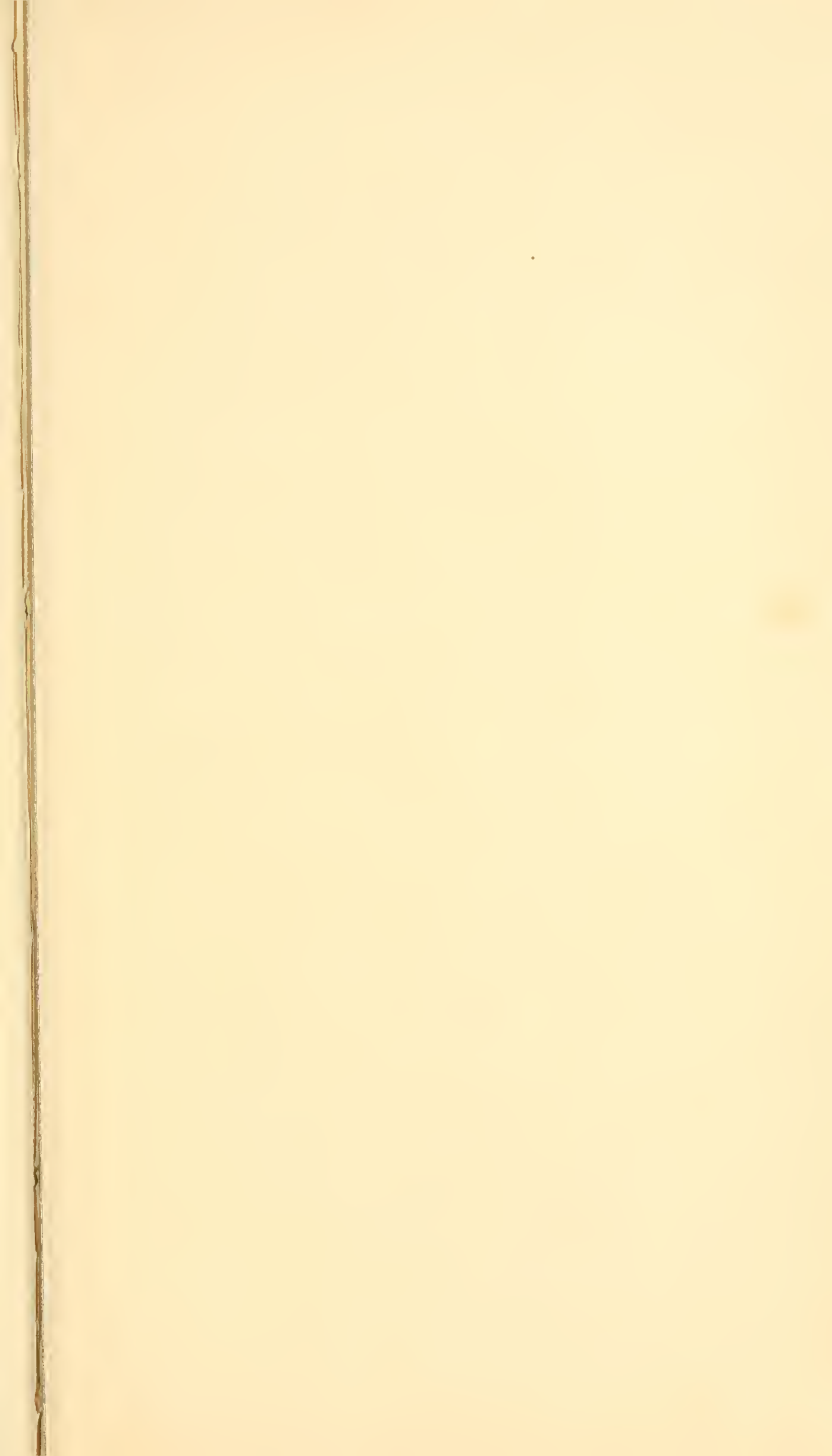


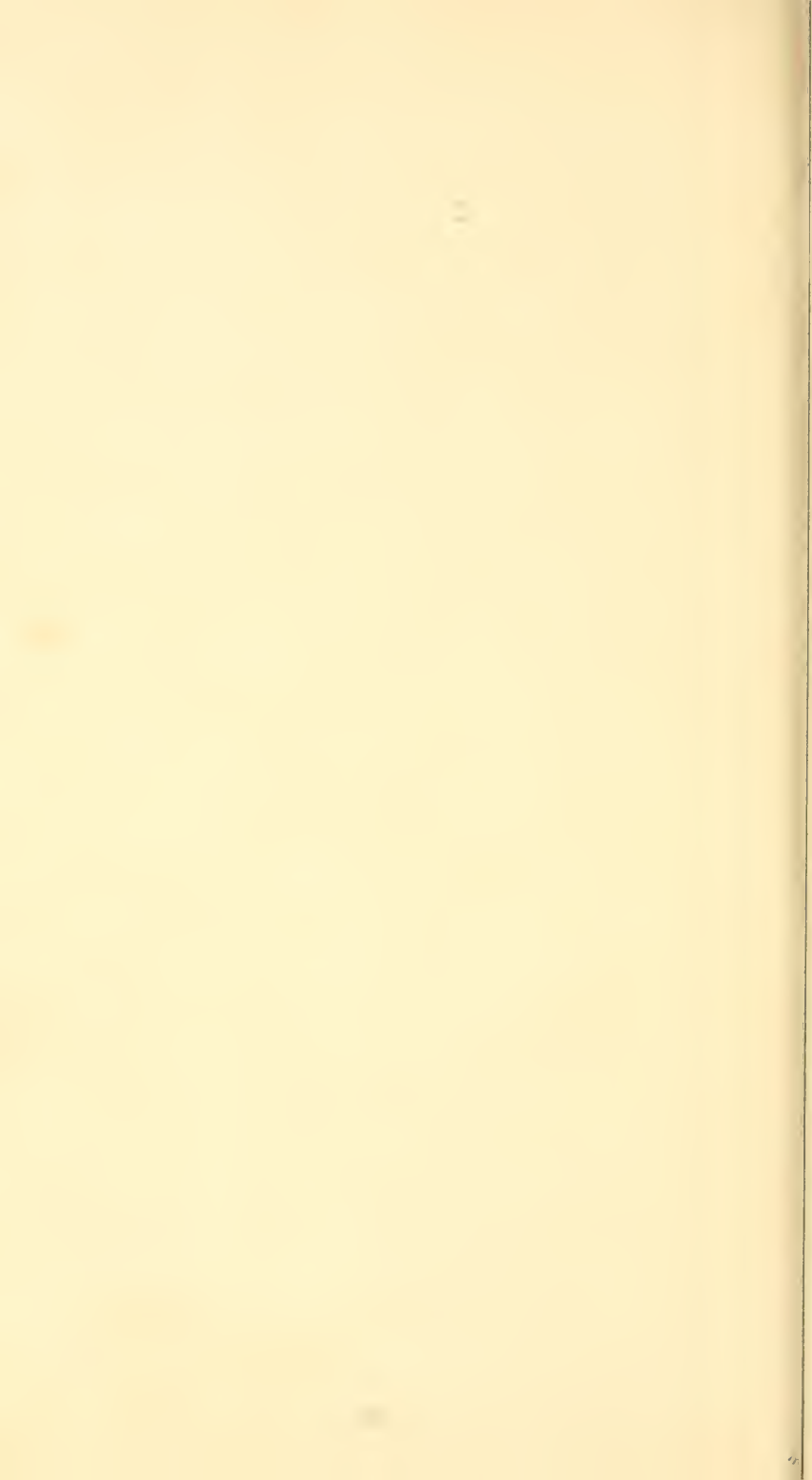


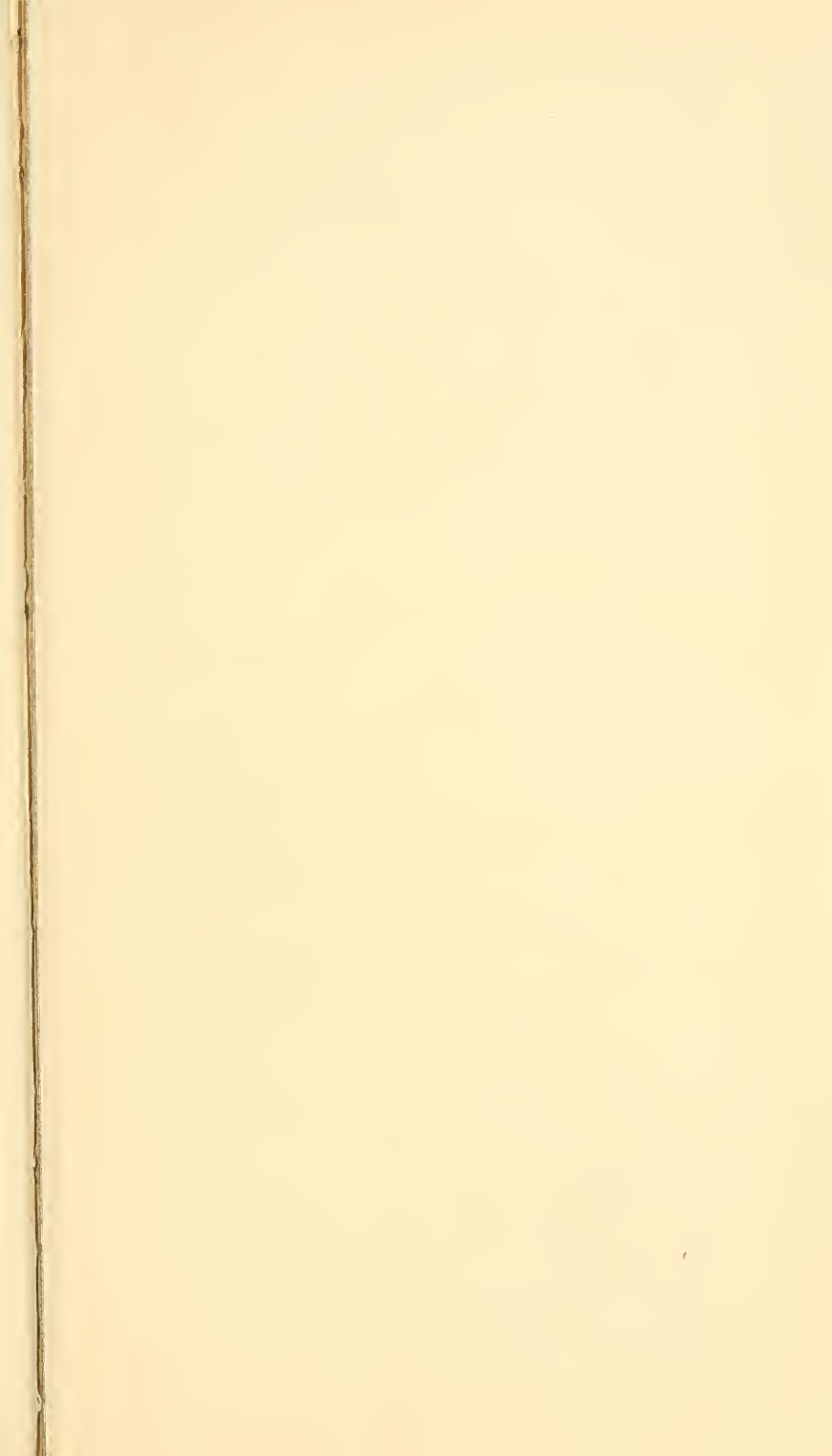


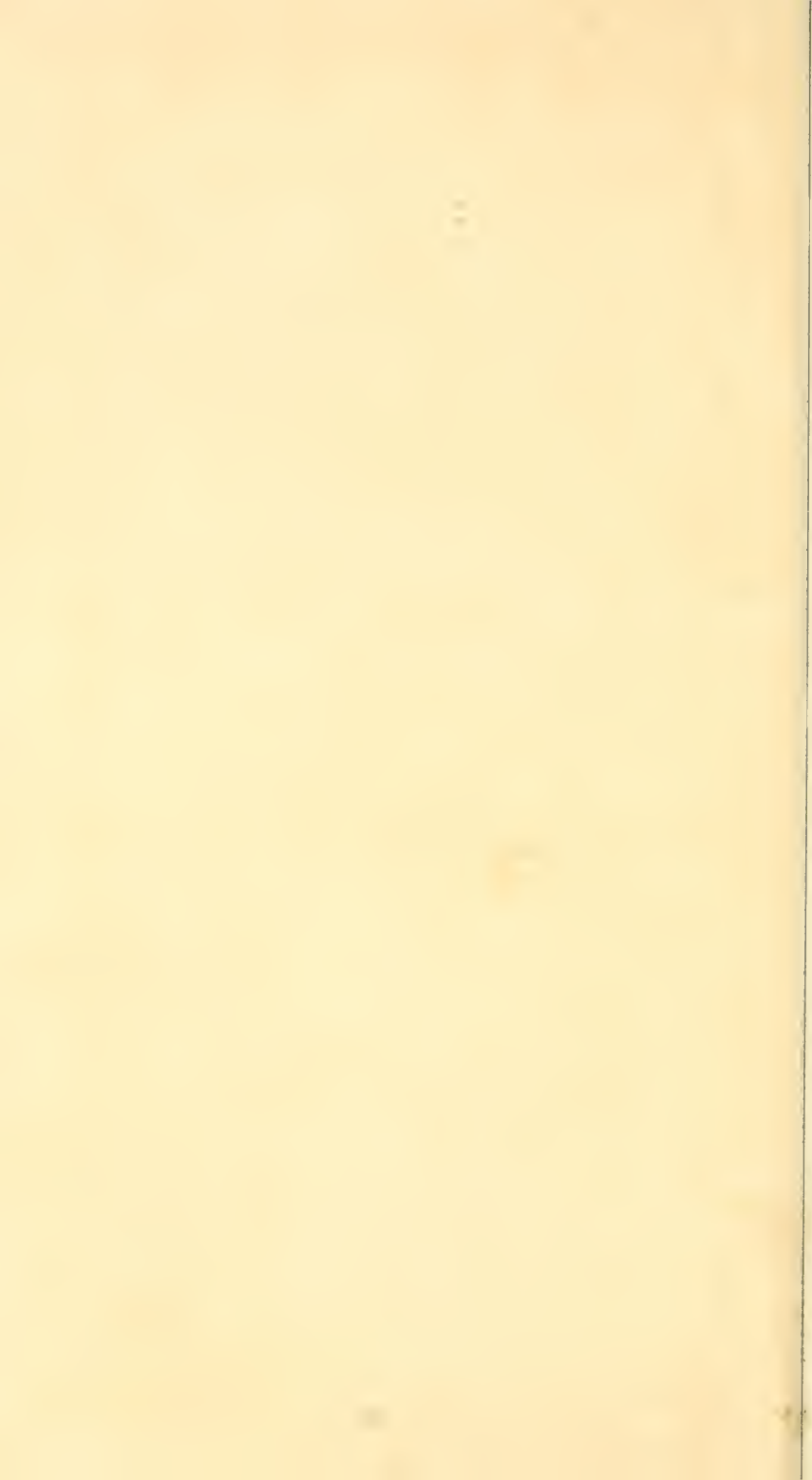


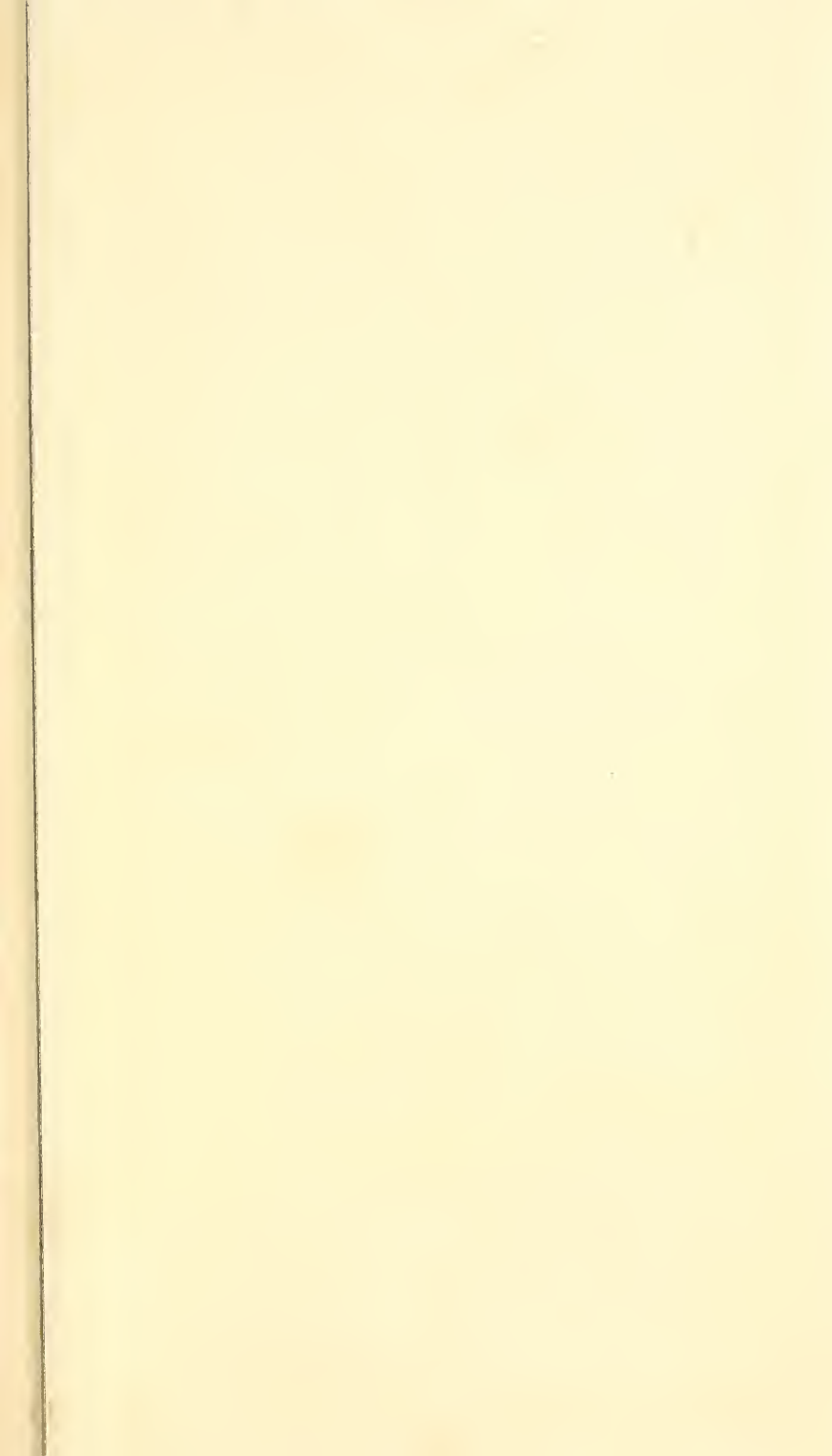












**HOME USE
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
MAIN LIBRARY**

This book is due on the last date stamped below.
1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405.
6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books
to Circulation Desk.

Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior
to due date.

**ALL BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL 7 DAYS
AFTER DATE CHECKED OUT.**

REC CIR JUN 23 '80

SEP 2 1984

REC CIR AUG 2 1984

LD21-A30m-7,'73
(R2275810)476-A-32

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

U. C. BERKELEY LIBRARIES



C054761308

